THE

WHOLE WORKS

OF

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

k

CONTAINING,

- I. THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, FROM THE CREATION OF THE WORLD, TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE BY THE EMPEROR CAIUS CALIGULA. IN TWENTY BOOKS.
- II. THE DEFENCE OF THE JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IN ANSWER TO APION. IN TWO PARTS.
- III. THE WARS OF THE JEWS WITH THE ROMANS. IN SEVEN BOOKS.
- IV. THE MARTYRDOM OF THE MACCABEES.
- V. PHILO'S EMBASSY FROM THE JEWS OF ALEXANDRIA TO THE EMPEROR CAIUS CALIGULA.
- VI. THE LIFE OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

Tranſlated from the ORIGINAL GREEK,

By CHARLES CLARKE, D.D.

Profeſſor of Languages, and Teacher of the Greek, Latin and Hebrew.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

Marginal References, and hiſtorical, critical, and explanatory Nótes,

By the Reverend Mr. YORKE, of OXFORD.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETORS,
And ſold by J. WALKER, No. 44, Paternoſter-Row; PEARSON and RAWLINSON, Birmingham; JACKSON, Oxford; CRUTWELL, Bath; THORN, Exeter; WOOD, Shrewſbury; FROBISHER, York; and HODSON, Cambridge.
MDCCLXXXV.

15 AUG 59

15 AUG 59

PREFACE.

OF all men Joſephus was in every reſpect the moſt perfectly qualified to write the Hiſtory of the Jews; for being of the order of the Prieſthood, he was neceſſarily converſant in the Jewiſh laws and cuſtoms, and religious rites and ceremonies. His extenſive learning, long experience in the diſcharge of the moſt important public commiſſions, ſurpriſingly retentive memory, accuracy of obſervation, and ſtrong judgment, peculiarly adapted him for this taſk. He was a man of high rank, being of the Royal Aſmonean line, not only by deſcent, but alſo by the high offices he filled with ſuch diſtinguiſhed honour to himſelf and advantage to the public; and therefore great and noble ſentiments might naturally be expected to flow from his pen.

The following ſheets will be found to exhibit a great number of very ſingular examples whereby the reader, whatever his rank or ſtation in life, will be induced to ſhun the vices that degrade, and practice the virtues that exalt human nature.

It may not here be improper to ſay a few words with reſpect to the order in which the ſeveral parts of this work are diſpoſed. It is a matter of doubt, whether the Antiquities were written before or after the Wars of the Jews: but the moſt general opinion being, that the Antiquities preceded the Wars, we have adopted that mode of arrangement; which indeed ſeems to be the moſt proper, ſince the hiſtory of thoſe Antiquities commences with an account of the aſtoniſhing works of the creation of the world.

Though the modern practice is, to place the life of an author at the beginning of his works, we ſee no very powerful reaſon for adhering to that cuſtom. The Life of Joſephus, which was written by himſelf in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, will ſerve to illuſtrate and explain ſome other parts of his works, and to give the reader an idea of his religious and moral ſentiments, and his natural diſpoſition and turn of mind: but as we do not thence conceive it intitled to a precedency of order, we have adopted a different mode of arrangement, as appears in the title of the book.

Upon the whole, this will be found a fair and accurate tranſlation of the Works of Flavius Joſephus, embelliſhed with a more numerous and ſplendid collection of copper-plate engravings than has hitherto accompanied any publication either in this or any other country.

THE

THE

WHOLE WORKS

OF

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

PREFATORY DISCOURSE.

Different inducements to hiſtorical writings.

THAT hiſtorical writers are actuated by various and contradictory motives, is an obſervation that experience has proved to be incontrovertible. Some write with a view to obtain reputation and popular applauſe, by a vain diſplay of their talents; and there are ſome whoſe object is to exalt the characters of thoſe whoſe actions they record, being leſs attentive to the recital of an impartial and faithful narrative of facts, than to render their writings ſubſervient to the ignoble purpoſe of complimenting the perſons whoſe favour and patronage they are ambitious to obtain:—but there are hiſtorians alſo of another claſs; namely, thoſe who having been actually concerned in the occurrences they relate, as well as minute obſervers thereof, and their ſeveral immediate and remote cauſes and conſequences; and theſe conſider themſelves as bound in duty to their cotemporaries, and to poſterity to perpetuate the memory of the tranſactions they have witneſſed; and further, ſome writers exerciſe their talents in the province of hiſtory with a view of ſecuring great exploits and atchievements, ſingular revolutions, and other memorable occurrences, the knowledge of which may operate towards encreaſing the wiſdom, or yielding advantages to mankind, from being loſt in oblivion, or miſrepreſented, either through ignorance or partiality.

Reaſons whereby the author was urged to write his hiſtory.

Of theſe four conſiderations, I am influenced by the two latter to write the HISTORY OF THE JEWISH ANTIQUITIES. Having been actively concerned in the war between the Jews and the Romans, I had ocular demonſtration of the principal events that affected the intereſts of either of the contending parties. Other writers having vitiated their narratives by interweaving imaginary and idle with real and important events, I conceived it to be a duty incumbent on me to reſcue the hiſtory from the falſities that had been obtruded upon the world, and to vindicate truth from the corruptions that had impaired its purity. An additional conſideration urging me to undertake this work was, a firm perſuaſion that the Greeks would derive conſiderable ſatisfaction from having the antiquities of the Jews, and the form and nature of their government and conſtitution tranſlated into the Grecian from the Hebrew language.

Joſephus ſignifies his intention to write the hiſtory of the Wars of the Jews.

It was my intention to treat of the origin of the Jewiſh nation, and the various revolutions of fortune experienced by that people, during a ſucceſſion of ages; to delineate the character and commemorate the admirable conduct of Moſes, their law-giver, who impreſſed upon their minds the principles of virtue, and educated them in the practice of piety; and to relate the tranſactions of the ſeveral wars they have maintained, and particularly the laſt, which neceſſity compelled them to wage againſt the Romans. But upon more mature conſideration, theſe ſubjects appeared to be of too much importance to be curſorily treated of in the preſent undertaking; and thereſore I formed the reſolution of reſerving them for the materials of a ſubſequent work.

Having made ſome progreſs in my undertaking, I experienced what moſt people do after ſuggeſting great projects. The labour and attention required in the compilation of ſo voluminous a hiſtory, at different times occaſioned me to deliberate as to whether I ſhould not relinquiſh the idea of purſuing ſo arduous a taſk as I had propoſed to accompliſh. But many perſons expreſſing an eareſt deſire of being informed of the particulars of the great events I had propoſed to compriſe in this hiſtory, urged me to perſevere; and of theſe, the ſolicitations of Epaphroditus were the moſt preſſing. I at length yielded to their perſuaſions; and muſt confeſs, that my acquieſcence was chiefly in conſequence of the encouragement I received from Epaphroditus, and the reflection that it would be more reputable and meritorious to endure the fatigue of bringing to completion the important undertaking, than to decline it, merely for the ſake of indulging myſelf in eaſe and inactivity. Epaphroditus was an admirer of polite literature in all its branches, and particularly of hiſtory: in the diſcharge of his duty while intruſted with a variety of confidential and important public employments, he manifeſted a dignity of mind, and a ſeverity of virtue that no change of fortune could impair: and a very conſiderable portion of reſpect was unqueſtionably due to the advice and authority of ſo generous a patron of learning, and ſo ardent a friend to the public welfare. Influenced by theſe conſiderations, I proceeded with greater chearfulneſs; and even became more anxious to bring my taſk to a concluſion, when I reflected, that our anceſtors had ever been diſpoſed freely to communicate to foreigners all matters that were worthy of commemoration. Hiſtory informs us, that king Ptolomy the ſecond, who was a paſſionate admirer as well as a truly liberal promoter of the arts and ſciences, at a vaſt expence purchaſed books from different parts of the world, and was extremely deſirous to have juſt accounts of the laws, cuſtoms and manners of the Jews tranſlated into the Greek language: nor did Eleazar, the high prieſt, who in virtue was not inferior to any man dignified with pontifical honours, heſitate to gratify him in this reſpect, though it may be reaſonably preſumed, that his concurrence would not have been obtained, had not the examples of our anceſtors convinced him of the impropriety of concealing any thing, the knowledge of which might tend to the benefit of mankind. To adopt the example of the high prieſt Eleazar, I conſidered as an honourable proceeding; and entertain no doubt of there being among my cotemporaries many who have as ſtrong a diſpoſition to patronize and encourage learning as was manifeſted by the great king Ptolemy. It is not to be underſtood that Ptolemy had poſſeſſion of entire and complete copies of all the ſacred writings: on the contrary, he had tranſcripts only of ſuch parts of the Scriptures as have relation to our laws, which were delivered to him at Alexandria by the deputies appointed for that purpoſe, and who gave him faithful and correct interpretations of the ſame. The ſacred Scriptures exhibit a complete hiſtory of the ſpace of five thouſand years, and abound with extraordinary revolutions in government, great and ſplendid exploits and atchievements by illuſtrious chiefs, various fortunes of war to mighty armies, and an infinite diverſity of memorable events that the mind of man cannot contemplate without aſtoniſhment.

Epaphroditus, a patron of learning, encourages the author to perſevere in writing his hiſtory.

The Scriptures contain the hiſtory of 5000 years.

In the peruſal of this hiſtory, the reader is peculiarly recommended to obſerve, that thoſe who yield an implicit obedience to the will of Almighty God, and rigidly obey his Divine commands, may repoſe a firm reliance on a happy iſſue attending all their undertakings, and that to reward them for the exerciſe of piety and virtue in this life, they will inſure to themſelves the enjoyment of tranſcendant happineſs in futurity; but on the contrary, thoſe who preſume to act in defiance of the ſacred pleaſure of the Omnipotent Creator, notwithſtanding a deluſive appearance of proſperity may attend them, will infallibly plunge themſelves into irredeemable miſery and perdition. I therefore take this opportunity of ſeriouſly recommending and exhorting the readers of this work to comport themſelves through life in an exact obſervance of the pleaſure of the Almighty, and to be attentive to what is ſaid by Moſes, our excellent law-giver, reſpecting the nature of the Divinity; to notice the correſpondence and agreement ſo conſpicuous in his ſeveral productions, which upon examination will be found wholly exempt from thoſe fictions and levities ſo frequently abounding in other narratives. When we reflect that he wrote, at a very remote period, it will appear, that he might have impoſed falſities upon the world, with little danger of refutation; for our hiſtory commences upwards of two thouſand years prior to the fabulous productions of the poets: nor had even the Pagans confidence enough to recur to ſo remote a period for the date of the pretended exiſtence of their deities, the exploits of their heroes, or the inſtitutions of their legiſlators. But in the progreſs of this work, theſe matters will, in the proper places, be ſpoken of more particularly.

The antiquity of the hiſtory.

But ſince the credibility of the whole hiſtory, in a conſiderable degree, depends on the authority of thoſe records which Moſes, in his great wiſdom, judged proper to tranſmit to poſterity, it will be proper in this place to mention ſome particulars relating to that excellent legiſlator; for otherwiſe the reader might be ſurpriſed that a book, the title of which expreſſes that it will be found to contain only matters of fact, ſhould, notwithſtanding, include in the text divers digreſſions on natural and moral philoſophy, and other ſubjects. Therefore

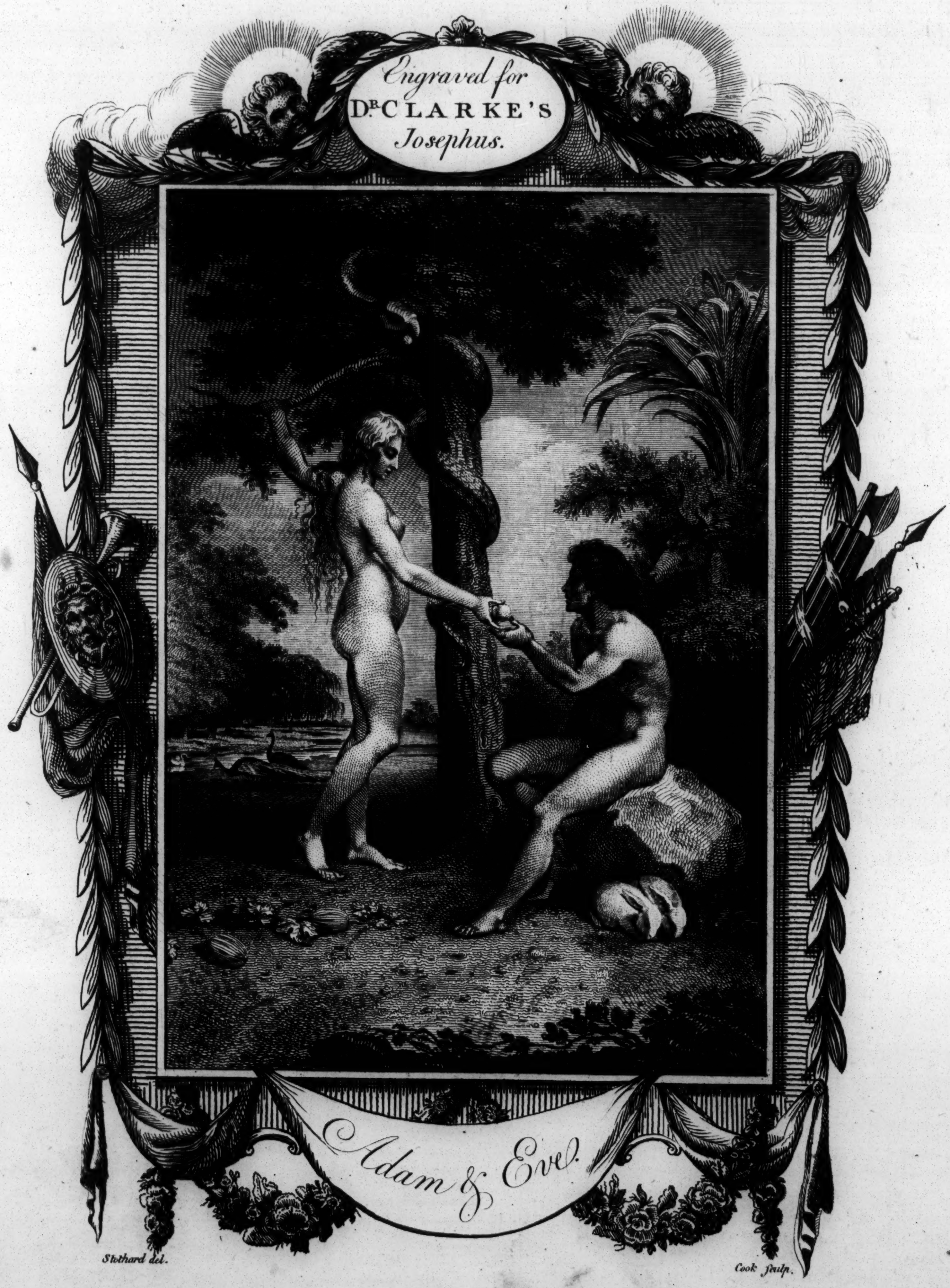
Directions for the conduct of legiſlators and magiſtrates.

be it obſerved, that Moſes declared it to be indiſpenſably neceſſary for every man who would himſelf conform to the dictates of virtue, or preſcribe rules for the regulation of the conduct of others, ſteadily to direct his attention towards the attainment of a proper knowledge of Almighty God, and having contemplated the wonderful works of his creation, exert every poſſible effort in imitation of his exemplary perfection. A legiſlator who is regardleſs of the rule thus enforced by Moſes, cannot poſſibly diſcharge his duty in a manner correſponding with his profeſſion; nor will his writings tend to the benefit of mankind, unleſs they are calculated to induce a firm and immoveable perſuaſion and confidence that God is the author and ſovereign diſpoſer of all things, that no act or occurrence can poſſibly be concealed from his knowledge, that thoſe who practice righteouſneſs and virtue, will be rewarded with everlaſting happineſs, and, on the contrary, that the profligate and wicked will be puniſhed with miſeries terrible beyond the powers of deſcription. According to theſe doctrines Moſes trained up the Jews. This wiſe and virtuous law-giver did not, like many others of the ſame profeſſion, imagine that the principal part of his duty conſiſted in forming ſtipulations for the ſecurity of perſonal liberty and property, and preſcribing the nature of contracts between individuals; but the grand objects of this ruler were, to inſpire the people under his care with ſentiments of religion and virtue, to convince them that God was the ſupreme governor of the world, and man was the work of his hands, and ordained to be ſuperior to the reſt of the animal creation; conſcious that when he had ſucceeded in theſe points, they would naturally be rendered ſuſceptible of every other good impreſſion. With regard to thoſe legiſlators who have nothing more than fabulous traditions for the rule of their conduct, they aſcribe to the imaginary objects of their worſhip the licentious practices of the moſt lewd and profligate of the human race, and thereby ſtimulate men to and encourage them in the moſt abominable acts of wickedneſs. But having eſtabliſhed the maxim, that God is the eſſence of truth, virtue and righteouſueſs, Moſes proceeds to inform us, that it is the duty of mankind to employ every endeavour within the limits of their power to become, in ſome degree, participators in the holineſs of the great Author of their being; and he concludes with a ſevere denounciation againſt ſuch as do not receive theſe great truths with the reſpect and veneration ſo manifeſtly due to them.

The manner in which Moſes educated the Jews.

I am convinced, that if this work is peruſed according to the above rules, which I anxiouſly hope it will be, it will be found entirely exempt from whatever can be deemed inconſiſtent with reaſon and common ſenſe, or derogatory to the majeſty and infinite goodneſs of the Almighty. The reader will find this hiſtory to correſpond with the manner in which the ſame ſubjects are treated of by our excellent legiſlator; ſome circumſtances are mentioned in a curſory way; others are accompanied with appoſite allegories, by way of illuſtration; and with regard to thoſe parts of the work which our intereſt requires we ſhould be the moſt perfectly acquainted with, they are written in as clear a ſtile as the nature of language will admit. To explain the reaſons of ſo many different modes of writing being adopted in the ſame work, would require an extenſive ſpeculative diſquiſition: but if it ſhall pleaſe the Almighty to prolong my life and preſerve my health till this undertaking is completed, my next taſk ſhall be to ſatiſfy the reader in reſpect to theſe points. In the mean time I ſhall proceed to the hiſtory, commencing with the wonders of the creation of the world, as the particulars thereof are tranſmitted to us by Moſes.

BRITISH
MUSEUM



Engraved for Dr CLARKE'S Josephus.

Adam & Eve.

Stothard del. Cook ſculp.

Publiſhed as the Act directs Marh 4th 1786 by J. Walker Paternoſter Row.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS,

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK I.

From the Creation of the World to the Year 2230.

CHAPTER I.

The creation of the world. The ſeventh day appointed a Sabbath, or a day of reſt. Adam and Eve placed in Paradiſe. They are commanded not to eat of the forbidden fruit. Eve tempted by the ſerpent. The fall of man. The expulſion of our firſt parents from Paradiſe.

Gen. chap. I. ver. I. IN the beginning God created
"the heaven and the * earth;"
but on account of a thick darkneſs
with which it was overſpread,
the earth was not viſible. The holy
Ver. 2. ſpirit having moved over the face of the
Ver. 3. earth, God commanded that there ſhould be
Ver. 4. † light; and immediately upon the appearance
of the light, he viewed the confuſed
maſs, and divided the light from the darkneſs,
Ver. 5. calling the light day, and the darkneſs
night. God called the beginning of the
day ‡ morning, and the concluſion of it
evening, or the time of reſt. By Moſes
it is indefinitely called one day, or a day,
not being diſtinguiſhed as the firſt day, for
which the moſt ſatisfactory reaſon can be
advanced: but having pledged myſelf to
treat of divers intricate and nice points in a
ſeparate performance, I ſhall wave attempting
an explanation thereof in this place.

God created the firmament on the ſecond Ver. 6. day, and called it heaven; and he divided the waters that were above from thoſe that were beneath the firmament, to which he aſſigned the moſt elevated part of the univerſe, as being the moſt noble; and he encompaſſed the heavens, as it were, with chryſtal. God tempered the air with a humidity that would naturally fall in ſhowers to refreſh and fructify the earth.

God ſettled the earth on the third day, Ver. 9. and ſurrounded it with the ſea. The ſame day the Lord commanded the earth to become fruitful, and it accordingly brought forth herbs, plants and trees, each yielding ſeed and fruit according to their various kinds.

On the fourth day the Lord made thoſe Ver. 14. great luminaries the ſun and the moon, ordaining the ſun to light the day, and the moon to light the night; and he regulated their motions and courſes in the firmament, ſo that they ſhould diſtinguiſh ſeaſons, years and days. On this day the Lord alſo made the ſtars to light the night, and placed them in the firmament.

---

* The words "heaven and earth," are to be underſtood as comprehending angels, men, and all created beings, and, in ſhort all things, animate or inanimate, of what kind or nature ſoever. It is impoſſible that thoſe who believe in the exiſtence of a God, ſhould doubt of his being the Creator of the world.

† *God ſaid, let there be light.* In the account of the creation tranſmitted to us by Moſes, the above phraſe is ſeveral times introduced, and it is conſidered as one of the moſt beautiful in the Old Teſtament.

‡ Several of the ancient philoſophers have contended for the propriety of beginning with the night in the computation of time. This was, and ſtill continues to be, the practice of the Jews. We derive the cuſtom of beginning the day at midnight from the Romans.

Ver. 20. God created an infinite multitude of fiſh to inhabit the waters on the fifth day, and likewiſe the numerous ſpecies of winged animals to fly in the air; and he bleſſed them, and commanded them to increaſe and multiply. Ver. 24. On the ſixth day the Almighty created the different ſorts of four-footed beaſts, and alſo creeping animals. On this day God likewiſe made man, who, though the laſt, was the moſt perfect of the animal creation. Having bleſſed the ſeveral creatures he had formed, the Lord bad them increaſe and multiply. Thus we ſee, that, agreeably with the accounts Ver. 26. given by Moſes, the Almighty completed the ſtupendous work of the creation of the world, and all that it contains, in the ſpace of ſix days.

Gen. II. 2. The * ſeventh day the Lord ceaſed from his labours; and therefore conſecrated that day particularly for his worſhip and ſervice. Hence it is, that we do not work on the Sabbath, which in the Hebrew language ſignifies Reſt.

Having mentioned the Creation in general, Moſes proceeds to ſpeak more particularly of man. Ver. 7. "The Lord God formed man of the duſt of the ground, and breathed into his noſtrils the breath of life; and man became a living ſoul." He adds, that the firſt created human being was named Adam, ſignifying † red in the Hebrew, becauſe the earth whereof he was formed was of that colour.

Ver. 19. God commanded the whole animal creation to appear before Adam, who called all creatures by the reſpective appellations by which they are diſtinguiſhed at this time. Ver. 21. Of the reſt of the living creatures there were a male and a female; but for want of the ſociety of a companion, Adam was for ſome time ſolitary and diſſatisfied. At length, the Almighty occaſioned Adam to fall into a profound ſleep, and then took a rib out of his body, of which he formed the mother of all mankind. Adam no ſooner perceived the newly created female than he acknowledged her to be part of himſelf, being bone of his bone, and fleſh of his fleſh. Iſſa is the denomination of a woman in the Hebrew language, but the female whom the Lord created as a companion for Adam was called Eva, Chap. III. 20. which word in the ſame tongue, implies the mother of all living.

Paradiſe planted. Chap. II. 8. We are further informed by Moſes, that to the eaſtward of Eden God ‡ planted the garden of Paradiſe, a ſpot delightful beyond deſcription to the eye, and abounding in every produce of the earth that could gratify the taſte. In the midſt of this garden ſtood the tree of life, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil.

Adam and Eve placed in Paradiſe, ib. The Lord placed Adam and Eve in the garden of Paradiſe, and intruſted to them the care and cultivation of it. The garden was encompaſſed and watered by a ſpacious river, branching out into ‖ four ſtreams. The rivers of Paradiſe, ver. 10. The firſt of theſe rivers was called Piſon, ſignifying fulneſs, or innundation, in the Hebrew tongue: but the Greeks call it Ganges; and this ſtream, after taking a courſe into India, diſcharges itſelf into the ſea. The ſecond is called in Hebrew Phora, and Euphrates in Greek, and it ſignifies diſperſion, and alſo a flower. We call the third Diglath, which ſignifies narrow and rapid, and in Greek it is called Tigris. Both theſe empty themſelves into the Red-ſea. The fourth is Gihon, or according to the Greeks, Nile, which ſignifies that it has its riſe in the eaſt.

Adam and Eve interdicted from eating the forbidden fruit, ver. 17. God gave Adam and Eve permiſſion to eat of the produce of every tree and plant in the garden of Paradiſe, excepting that of the tree of knowledge, prohibiting them from taſting of the fruit of this tree, upon pain of death. Hitherto a perfect union and harmony had ſubſiſted in the whole animal creation; and the ſerpent lived in familiarity with Adam and Eve: but envious of the happineſs they enjoyed, and conſcious, that if they perſevered in their obedience, their ſtate of bleſſedneſs would be perpetual, and alſo that if they acted in violation of the command of the Almighty, the moſt deplorable calamities and miſeries would be their portion, he reſolved to tempt Eve to eat of the forbidden fruit. To accompliſh his malicious deſign he judged that the moſt ſucceſsful way would be to inflame her curioſity; and therefore he inſinuated to her that the forbidden fruit had a quality which im-

---

* The Scripture ſays, *And on the ſeventh day God ended his work.* From this paſſage it ſeems that God did not complete the creation of the world till the ſeventh day. The readings of the Jewiſh doctors, and of the learned Noldius, run thus: *And on the ſeventh day, when God* HAD *finiſhed his work, &c.* The Septuagint renders it the ſixth day, as do the Syriac and Samaritan writers.

† This is controverted by Voſſius. *Vide Etymolog.* V. *Homo.*

‡ *God planted a garden eaſtward in Eden.* This has reference to what is before ſaid of the creation. The reader is not to underſtand that God formed the garden of Eden after the completion of the ſtupendous work of the creation: but this paſſage is meant to imply, that when making the world, the Almighty prepared a place for the reception of Adam. It is not upon record that the garden of Eden ſubſiſted after the flood, and where it was ſituated cannot be preciſely aſcertained.

‖ Modern travellers have not been able to diſcover that the river divides itſelf into four branches: but there are numerous inſtances of ſome rivers having found new courſes and channels, and of others having become dry.

mediately upon taſting it would communicate the knowledge of good and evil, and render her equal in happineſs even to the Almighty himſelf. By this ſtratagem the ſerpent ſeduced the woman to taſte of the fruit, in diſobedience to the expreſs command of God; and having eaten of it, it proved ſo grateful to her palate, that ſhe urgently recommended her huſband to eat of it alſo; and he yielded to her ſolicitation. The firſt conſequence of their diſregard of the will of God was, that they perceived they were naked, of which they were before not ſenſible, or, at leaſt not aſhamed: but they now gathered fig-leaves, for the purpoſe of concealing their nakedneſs, and falſely imagined, that the diſcovery they had made, ſince the eating of the forbidden-fruit had opened their underſtandings, would contribute to the increaſe of their happineſs.

Eve tempted by the ſerpent, Gen. III. 5.

Ver. 7.

After our firſt parents had committed this act of tranſgreſſion, the Lord entered the garden of Paradiſe; when Adam and Eve, who till then had always rejoiced in his preſence, upon hearing the voice of their Creator, fled among the trees to conceal themſelves. God called upon Adam, aſking him the reaſon that he, who till then had been accuſtomed with chearfulneſs and delight to preſent himſelf before his Maker, now retired from his ſight in terror and confuſion. Oppreſſed with the conſciouſneſs of his guilt, Adam was incapable of making a reply. The Lord then reproved Adam, by reminding him that he had repleniſhed the garden of Eden with every thing that could conduce to render his life perfectly comfortable, agreeable and happy; that he had exempted him from the neceſſity of ſuſtaining life by toil and labour, and likewiſe from the infirmities and other inconveniences of old age that might interrupt the enjoyments ſo liberally provided for him. And the Lord told him, that as a puniſhment for the contempt of his commands, the term of his life ſhould be contracted, and old age ſhould ſpeedily overtake him. Adam ſupplicated pardon of God, and endeavoured to ſoften his diſpleaſure by alledging that he had been ſeduced to ſin by the perſuaſions of Eve, who ſtrove to excuſe herſelf by aſcribing her guilt to the ſeductive practices of the ſerpent having beguiled her to eat of the forbidden fruit. But theſe excuſes not being ſufficient to vindicate their diſobedience in violating his law, as a puniſhment to Adam, God curſed the earth, pronouncing that it ſhould thenceforward be unfruitful, unleſs cultivated by the toil and labour of man, and that what he ſhould extort from it by the ſweat of his brow ſhould not always be equal to his expectations. For yielding to the perſuaſions of the ſerpent, and then prevailing upon her huſband to adopt her ſinful example in eating the forbidden fruit, God denounced this puniſhment againſt Eve; that ſhe ſhould bring forth children in ſorrow, and that her huſband ſhould rule over her. The ſentence againſt the[*] ſerpent was, that he ſhould no longer have the faculty of ſpeech, be deprived of his legs, and be condemned ever after to crawl upon his belly, and be declared the enemy of mankind. The Lord alſo commanded Eve to tread upon the head of the ſerpent, as being the original cauſe of all her misfortunes, and to point out the place where that creature is moſt ſuſceptible of a mortal wound. The Lord now expelled Adam and Eve from[†] Paradiſe, to deplore the calamities conſequent upon their rebellious tranſgreſſion of his divine law.

Expoſtulation to Adam, ver. 9.

Ver. 12.

Ver. 13.

The curſe againſt man, ver. 17.

Againſt woman, ver. 14.

Againſt the ſerpent, ver. 14.

Ver. 15.

Adam and Eve driven out of Paradiſe, ver. 23.

CHAP. II.

Abel murdered by his brother Cain. God accuſes Cain of the murder, pronounces a curſe againſt him and his poſterity, and ſets a mark upon him. Cain invents weights and meaſures. Enos the firſt city erected. Jubal the inventor of muſic. Braſs and iron-work invented by Tubal-cain. Nine hundred and thirty years the period of Adam's life. Seth and his ſons addicted to aſtronomy. The pillars of Seth.

THE immediate iſſue of Adam and Eve conſiſted of two ſons and three daughters. The name of the eldeſt[‡] ſon was Cain, a word ſignifying poſſeſſion or acquiſition; the other was called Abel, meaning affliction or mourning. Theſe brothers were of tempers and diſpoſitions extremely oppoſite: Abel who was a ſhepherd, regulated all his conduct conformably to the will and pleaſure of God: but Cain, who was the firſt man that applied himſelf to the practice of huſbandry, on the contrary, was, under the dominion of

The progeny of Adam and Eve, Gen. IV. ver. 2.

---

[*] The opinion of the Jewiſh rabbies is, that before this curſe was pronounced, the ſerpent walked erect; and there are many who imagine it to have been an animal of moſt beautiful form.

[†] It is related in the Jewiſh Targum, that, after their expulſion from Paradiſe, Adam and Eve repaired to Mount Moriah: but the moſt celebrated commentators on the Scriptures concur in opinion, that, excepting the garden of Eden, no particular ſituation was appointed for their reſidence. Milton, in his Paradiſe Loſt, favours this conjecture.

[‡] The time intervening from the birth of Cain to that of Abel does not appear; but it is ſuppoſed not to have been more than a year. According to the Arabian tradition, Eve always had two children, a male and a female, at a birth.

malice, envy, cruelty, avarice, and other
inordinately wicked paſſions; and ſo exceſſive
was his impiety, that upon the following
occaſion he murdered his brother
Abel. In conſequence of theſe brethren
having agreed to offer a ſacrifice to the
Lord, Cain produced for that purpoſe the
Ver. 3. fruits of the earth; but the offering of
the other brother was the milk of the
firſtlings of his flock. The offering of
Abel, being the ſpontaneous production of
nature, proved acceptable to God, who
Ver. 4. * diſapproved of the offering of Cain, as
being a mercenary oblation, extorted from
the earth by labour and art. Becauſe
God, knowing the wicked intention of
Cain, had ſhewn a preference to the offering
made by his righteous brother, the
envy and malice of the former were ſo
inflamed, that he formed the impious reſolution
of putting him to death. To
effect this iniquitous purpoſe, he invited
his unſuſpecting brother to walk with him
into the fields, and there aſſaulted him by
Cain murders Abel, ver. 8. ſurprize, and perfidiouſly ſlew him; and
after this act of barbarity, he buried the
body of the deceaſed, expecting that the
murder would for ever remain a ſecret.
But God, from whoſe knowledge no
thought or action can be concealed, demanded
of Cain, what was become of his
brother, and the reaſon, that for ſeveral
days, they had not, as uſual, been ſeen
Ver. 9. together. Theſe unexpected queſtions
ſtruck Cain with ſuch ſurprize and confuſion,
that for ſome time he was unable
to reply: but upon recovering his ſpirits,
he ſaid he had not ſeen his brother for ſome
days, a circumſtance that had given him
much uneaſineſs, and for which he was
wholly unable to account. Hereupon the
Almighty urged Cain to diſcloſe the cauſe
of his, Abel's, abſence, when he audaciouſly
ib. ſaid, that he was neither the keeper,
nor the guardian of his brother, and,
being a ſtranger to his motives and intentions,
was not reſponſible for any of his
Ver. 10. proceedings. God now accuſed him in
direct terms of his heinous offence, upbraiding
him for having declared himſelf
ignorant of the cauſe of his brother's abſence,
ſince he had cruelly deprived him
of life, and concealed the body, with a
view to prevent a detection of his abominable
guilt. The Lord now ſaid to Cain,
"The † voice of thy brother's blood crieth
unto me from the ground:" but in conſideration
of the compunction and the ſubmiſſion
expreſſed by Cain, and the oblation
he had made, the Lord was pleaſed
to omit enforcing the law requiring blood
for blood, and to pronounce a curſe againſt Cain accurſed, ver. 11.
him and his deſcendants to the ſeventh
generation, at the ſame time baniſhing him
and his wife from their native land, ſo
that for the remainder of his days he was
to be a deſpiſed fugitive. Cain expreſſed
great terror, leſt in the courſe of his wanderings
he ſhould be killed either by man
or beaſt: but God diſpelled this apprehenſion,
by an aſſurance that the evil he dreaded
ſhould not befal him; and having ſet a
mark upon him to diſtinguiſh him from Ver. 15.
the reſt of the human race, commanded
him to depart.

After traverſing various countries, Cain
and his wife eſtabliſhed their reſidence
in the land of ‡ Nais, or Nod, where they Ver. 16.
had ſeveral children. But ſo far was the
puniſhment inflicted upon him from producing
any reform in the conduct of Cain,
that he abandoned himſelf ſtill more to
every ſpecies of wickedneſs and impiety.
He aſſociated with, and at length became
the chief, or ring-leader, of the moſt incorrigibly
profligate of the human race,
whom he inſtructed and encouraged in the
practice of a continual ſucceſſion of atrocious
offences againſt the laws of God and
man. Cain corrupted the ſimplicity of
the manners of former times, and ſubſtituted
fraud and artifice in the place of honeſty
and plain dealing. He was the original
inventor of weights and meaſures, Cain the inventor of weights and meaſures; the firſt incloſer of lands, and builder of the firſt city, Gen. V. 21.
the builder of the firſt ‖ city in the world,
and alſo the firſt man who divided the
common property in the earth by incloſures
and land-marks. He encompaſſed
the city with walls, and peopled it with
his aſſociates and dependants, calling it
Enoch, after the name of his eldeſt ſon.

Enoch begat Irad, Irad begat Mehujael, and Mehujael begat Lemech, who by his two wives, Zillah and Adah, had ſeventy children. By Adah he had Jabal, who was the firſt man that dwelt in tents, and followed the ſimple and inoffenſive life of a ſhepherd. His brother Jubal had a natural diſpoſition to muſic, inſomuch that he invented the inſtrument called the harp,

---

* It is not to be inferred that God rejected Cain's offering merely becauſe it differed in its nature or quality from that of his brother: on the contrary, it proved not acceptable becauſe it was made when the Almighty knew Cain harboured in his mind the impious deſign of murdering Abel.

† *The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground.* The Jews underſtand this paſſage to mean the voice of the poſterity that would have deſcended from Abel had he not been prematurely put to death. However, it certainly implies, that murder is an offence calling aloud for the vengeance of heaven.

‡ According to the tradition of the Turks and Arabians, this place was near the part of Syria, where Damaſcus now ſtands.

‖ By the word City, probably no more is meant than ſuch a ſettlement as was neceſſary to the convenience of Cain, his family and aſſociates.

Tubalcain, ver. 22.

Ver. 23.

and alſo the art of pſaltery. By his wife Zillah, Enoch had Tubalcain, who proved a great warrior, and enriched himſelf by his ſucceſs in that profeſſion. Tubalcain diſcovered the method of manufacturing iron and braſs: and he had a daughter named Naamah. Lemech being converſant in the nature of the Divine law, conſidered himſelf and his iſſue as neceſſarily involved in the puniſhment denounced againſt Cain for the murder of his brother Abel; and this circumſtance he communicated to his two wives.

The progeny of Cain daily became more addicted to and hardened in vice; they not only imitated but ſurpaſſed the worſt examples of former times; war, rapine, and violence, were the practices in which they derived their greateſt ſatisfaction; and when they happened to eſcape being polluted with the guilt of human blood, they triumphed in pride, avarice, cruelty, and other deteſtable paſſions and propenſities.

At this time Adam was ſtill living, being two hundred and thirty years of age. The death of Abel and the baniſhment of Cain, induced him ardently to wiſh for other children, of whom he had many, and among the number, one named * Seth. After this period Adam lived ſeven hundred years.

It would be foreign to the object of this hiſtory to enumerate the various particulars of all the immediate deſcendants of Adam, and therefore I ſhall confine myſelf to the moſt remarkable ones relating to Seth.

Seth and his ſons, Gen. V. 6.

Seth's pillars.

Being educated under the direction of his father, Seth was no ſooner capable of diſtinguiſhing between virtue and vice, than he applied himſelf to the ſtrict and conſtant practice of the former; and his children followed the example of ſo truly excellent a parent. They lived in perfect union and harmony among themſelves, and peaceably and inoffenſively with regard to the public. They were the firſt who employed their attention upon the motions, courſes and revolutions of the ſun, moon, ſtars, and other conſtellations, and heavenly bodies, and are therefore deemed the primitive practitioners in the ſcience of aſtronomy. Adam having foretold to them the univerſal deluge, and the conflagration of the world, they erected a pillar of brick, and another of ſtone, on each of which they engraved the diſcoveries they had made, as a means of tranſmitting them to poſterity, conceiving that if the pillar of brick ſhould be deſtroyed, that of ſtone would remain; ſo that future generations might derive benefit from their ſcientific acquiſitions being thus commemorated. This was not an idle and chimerical project, but a ſtrong inſtance of prudence and foreſight; and it is commonly believed, that the ſtone pillar is ſtill to be ſeen in Syria.

CHAP. III.

God's judgment upon the wickedneſs of mankind. Noah builds the Ark. The genealogy of Noah. The univerſal deluge. Teſtimonies of former writers relating to Noah's ark. Noah's prayer. The Almighty's covenant with Noah.

Gen. V. and VI.

Gen. VI. 2.

MANKIND lived for the ſpace of ſeven generations in obedience to the will of the Almighty, acknowledging him as the only God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and the ſupreme Lord of the univerſe: but from that period, they degenerated from the practice of piety and virtue to the commiſſion of the moſt abominable ſins. The great and powerful † men of the earth cohabiting with the women, an impious and wicked race of people was produced. Noah ſeverely regretted the ſhocking degeneracy of the age, and exerted his utmoſt endeavours to reclaim mankind from their iniquitous practices; but, inſtead of effecting a reformation in their conduct, they became ſtill more incorrigibly abandoned to their evil propenſities; and apprehending that his efforts to diſpoſe them to righteouſneſs, might excite them to wreak their vengeance upon him by aſſaſſinating him and his whole family, as the moſt effectual means of preſervation, he judged it prudent to depart from the country.

The piety and virtue of Noah had obtained him the favour of the Almighty: but ſuch were the general depravity and corruption of mankind as to inflame the wrath of God, who determined to exterminate them from the face of the earth, and produce another race of men, who ſhould live more conformably to his Divine will. God alſo reſolved to abridge the period of human exiſtence, ſo that the life of man ſhould not exceed an hundred and twenty years.

The Almighty communicated to Noah his intention of deluging the earth, and

---

* The Jewiſh writers ſay, that the birth of Seth took place one hundred and thirty years after the murder of Abel: but archbiſhop Uſher, and others, are of opinion, that he was born next after Abel, the interval between their births not exceeding a year.

† In the original Greek they are called the angels of God. In this point Lactantius agrees with Joſephus; but the truth of the paſſage is denied by St. Auſtin and other writers. *Vide* Seldon's Proleg. de Diis Syris, *cap.* III. But perhaps the true meaning is, that the ſons of Seth contracted alliances with the daughters of Cain, who were abandoned to wickedneſs, and thereby the general corruption of the world was increaſed.

commanded

Noah's ark, Gen. VI. 15.

commanded him to conſtruct an ark, according to the principles which he was pleaſed to explain. This ark,* agreeable to the expreſs direction of God, was to conſiſt of four ſtories, to be three hundred † cubits in length, fifty in breadth, and thirty in height. Noah having accordingly built the ark, he ſtored it with various kinds of proviſion neceſſary for the conſervation of animal life. By the command of the Almighty, Noah went into the ark, taking with him his wife, his three ſons, and their three wives, together with pairs of the different animals, a male and a female, and of ſome creatures that the Lord had particularized to him ſeven couples, for the preſervation of the ſeveral kinds. By the direction of God the ſides and the roof of the ark were made ſufficiently ſtrong to reſiſt the violence of the approaching inundation. By means of the ark Noah and his ‡ family were preſerved, while the general deluge annihilated all the reſt of the human race. By a direct line Noah was the tenth in ſucceſſion from Adam, being the ſon of Lamech, Lamech of Methuſelah, Methuſelah of Enoch, Enoch of Jared, Jared of Maleleel (who had ſeveral brothers) Maleleel of Cainan, Cainan of Enos, Enos of Seth, who, as we have before mentioned, was the ſon of Adam.

The time of the deluge.

The general deluge took place in the ſecond month, which is called Dius by the Macedonians, and Marſonane by the Hebrews, according to the Egyptian mode of dividing the year. Moſes calls the firſt month Niſan, which is Xanthicus, becauſe it was the time when he led the Iſraelites out of Egypt; and the ſame method of computation he obſerves in all matters relating to the worſhip of God; but he makes no alteration in the ancient mode of reckoning with regard to markets, traffic, fairs, and other civil concerns. At the time of the flood, Noah was ſix hundred years old. It is recorded by Moſes, that the rain, occaſioning the flood, began to fall on the twenty-ſeventh day of the month mentioned above, and in the year of the world one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-ſix. This computation is according to the Holy Scripture, where a very exact account is given of the times of the birth and deceaſe of the remarkable characters of the primitive age.

The line of the patriarchs, Gen. V.

Adam died at the age of nine hundred and thirty years, and he was one hundred and thirty years old when he begot Seth, who was one hundred and five years of age when he begot Enos. In his nineteenth year Enos begot Cainan, and he died at the age of nine hundred and twelve years. Cainan departed this life at the age of nine hundred and ten, having begot Maleleel at the age of ſeventy. At the time of his deceaſe Maleleel was eight hundred and ninety-five years old. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Jared, whom he begot at the age of ſixty-five. Jared died at the age of nine hundred and ſixty-five years. The ſucceſſor of Jarad was Enoch, at the time of whoſe birth his father was one hundred and ſixty-two years old. After three hundred and ſixty-five years Enoch was taken to God, and the particulars of his life are not recorded. In the ſixty-fifth year of his age Methuſalah was born to Enoch. At the age of one hundred and eighty-ſeven Methuſalah had a ſon, who was named Lameck, and the former died at the age of nine hundred and ſixty-nine. When Lamech had continued ſeven hundred and ſeven years in the exerciſe of the government in which he ſucceeded his father, he transferred his authority to his ſon Noah, who was born when Lamech was one hundred and eighty-two. Noah, who was born ſix hundred years before the flood, died at the age of nine hundred and fifty. ‖

Chap. IX. ver. 29.

The commencement and progreſs of the flood, Gen. VII. 12, &c.

The appointed time being arrived, the Almighty diſplayed a ſignal in the heavens, when the clouds poured forth their waters in vaſt abundance, and the rain § continued to deſcend without intermiſſion for the ſpace of two-and-forty days and nights; ſo that the waters roſe ¶ fifteen cubits above the tops of the higheſt mountains; and excepting thoſe incloſed in the ark, the whole animal creation was drowned. At length, the waters gradually ſubſided, and in one hundred and fifty days, being the twenty-ſeventh day of the ſeventh month, the ark

---

* The ark was not a veſſel conſtructed in a manner convenient for its being navigated, but formed in ſuch a manner as merely to occaſion it to float upon the water, and therefore it was called an ark, or a cheſt. It was made of a kind of wood capable of reſiſting the worm; and, the better to ſecure it, it was covered with pitch both within and without.

† The Scripture cubit, according to the learned doctor Cumberland, was twenty-two inches; and, if the doctor is right, the ark muſt have been five hundred and forty-ſeven feet in length, ninety-one in breadth, and in height fifty-four.

‡ The family was compoſed of eight perſons, namely Noah and his Wife, and their three ſons with their wives. The apoſtle Peter ſays, the number was eight, 1 Pet. III. 20.

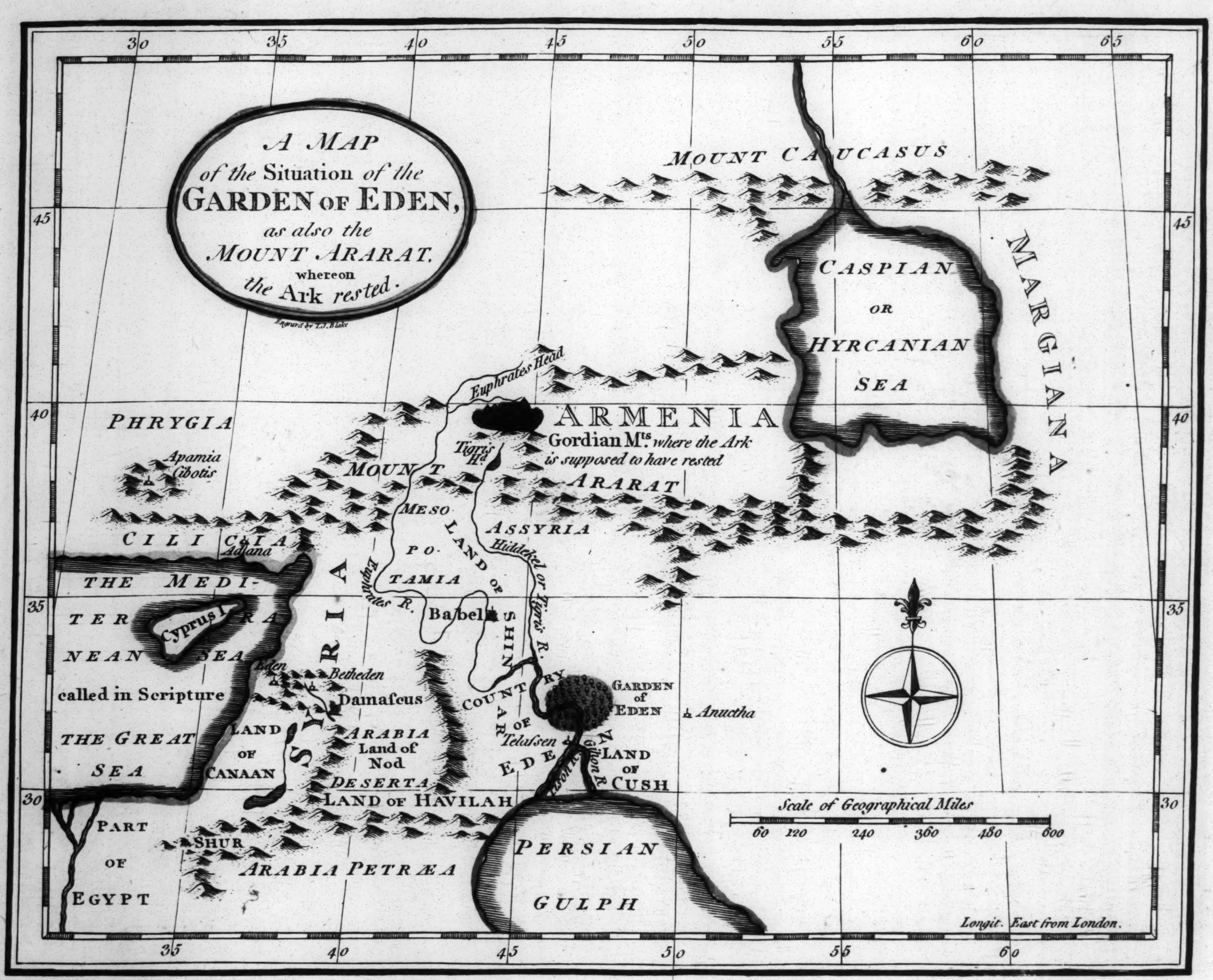
‖ In the ſeveral tranſlations that have heretofore appeared, there is manifeſtly great inaccuracy in theſe computations, which we have endeavoured to rectify, by carefully conſulting Doctor Hudſon, and other writers upon chronology.

§ The deluge was in part occaſioned by the acceſſion of waters iſſuing from beneath the earth.

¶ Thus it appears that on the ſummits of the higheſt mountains the depth of the waters was two-and-twenty feet.

went

BRITISH MUSEUM



A MAP
of the Situation of the
GARDEN OF EDEN,
as also the
MOUNT ARARAT,
whereon
the Ark rested.

Engrav'd by T. J. Blake

MOUNT CAUCASUS
CASPIAN OR HYRCANIAN SEA
MARGIANA
PHRYGIA
Apamia Cibotis
CILICIA
Adana
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA called in Scripture THE GREAT SEA
Cyprus I.
Eden
Betheden
Damascus
SYRIA
LAND OF CANAAN
ARABIA Land of Nod
DESERTA
LAND OF HAVILAH
PART OF EGYPT
SHUR
ARABIA PETRÆA
MOUNT ARARAT
ARMENIA
Euphrates Head
Tigris Hd.
Gordian Mts. where the Ark is supposed to have rested
MESOPOTAMIA
Euphrates R.
LAND OF SHINAR
Babel
ASSYRIA
Hiddekel or Tigris R.
COUNTRY OF EDEN
Telassen
GARDEN of EDEN
Anuctha
Pison R.
Gihon R.
LAND OF CUSH
PERSIAN GULPH
Scale of Geographical Miles
60 120 240 360 480 600
Longit. East from London.

Noah ſends out a raven, ver. 7.

and a dove, ver. 8.

Noah goes out of the ark, ver. 18.

Teſtimonies of the flood, by ancient writers.

went aground on the ſummit of a * mountain in Armenia, whereupon Noah looking out of a window, obſerved ſigns, in ſeveral ſparks of the water having retired, which greatly cheered his ſpirits, as he ſuppoſed he ſhould ſoon be able again to inhabit the land. In a few days after, during which the waters continued to decreaſe, Noah let fly a † raven, in order to aſcertain whether he might ſafely quit the ark; but finding the earth ſtill flooded, the bird flew back, and was re-admitted into the ark. In conſequence thereof, Noah poſtponed further enquiry for the ſpace of ſeven days, and then ſent out a ‡ dove with the ſame view that he had let the raven fly. In a ſhort time the dove returned with an ‖ olive-branch in its mouth, and dirt appearing upon its feet; and hence Noah underſtood, that the waters were greatly decreaſed. In ſeven days after the return of the dove, Noah and his family quitted the ark, as did all the animals that had been preſerved in it by Noah, in obedience to the command of God. Noah had no ſooner departed out of the ark than he returned thanks and ſacrificed to the Lord, after which he collected the ſeveral perſons compoſing his family, and made rejoicings with them. The ſpot where Noah and his people went out of the ark is called § Apobaterion, or the place of deſcent. All the ancient writers, not excepting even the Barbarians, ſpeak of the flood and the ark. Beroſus, the Chaldæan, writes to the following purpoſe: "It is reported, that at this time ſome of the remains of Noah's ark are actually to be ſeen upon the Cordyæan mountains in Armenia, and that the neighbouring inhabitants ſcrape the pitch from the planks, carrying ſmall portions of it conſtantly about them, imagining that it has the quality of operating as a charm, or amulet, in protecting them from misfortunes." The ſame circumſtance is alſo mentioned in the Phœnician antiquities of Hieronymus, the Egyptian, by Manaſeas, and many other writers. Nicolaus of Damaſcus writes to the following effect: "There is a high mountain called Baris, in the province of Minyas in Armenia, to which, it is reported, many people fled at the time of the deluge, in hopes of finding ſafety there; and the tradition adds, that a man encloſed in a veſſel, or ark, went on ſhore at the top of this mountain when the waters had ſubſided, and that many of the fragments of the veſſel were preſerved for a great number of years after. Probably this was the man mentioned by Moſes, the legiſlature of the Jews."

Noah's prayer.

Noah being apprehenſive that the intention of the Almighty was annually to overflow the earth, ultimately for the total extermination of the human race, he offered ¶ ſacrifices and prayers to God, as the means of averting ſo dreadful a judgment. The purport of Noah's prayer was, humbly to beſeech God, that in his great mercy he would be pleaſed to preſerve the world in the order eſtabliſhed at the creation; that he would inflict puniſhment upon the guilty, and ſhew mercy to the good; that for the crimes of individuals, he would not exerciſe his diſpleaſure by involving the whole animal creation in a common ruin. He pleaded, that if there ſhould be an annual deluge, the ſituation of the ſurvivors would be more calamitous than that of thoſe who ſhould periſh in the waters; for having eſcaped falling victims to one ſcene of de-

---

* The benevolence and wiſdom of the Almighty are conſpicuous in his chooſing one of the higheſt mountains for the convenience of Noah, his family, and the other creatures, deſcending from the ark; for there would neceſſarily remain leſs ſediment upon the elevated ſpots than in the vallies, and the former were capable of being reſtored to a ſtate of cultivation in the ſhorteſt time.

† Noah was perſuaded that the effluvia ariſing from the carcaſes of drowned animals would atract the raven, and that it would continue ſome time feeding thereon. According to the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and the Syriac, this paſſage imports that the raven did not return to the ark; and this opinion is adopted by Bochart, as well as by ſeveral of the learned among the Rabinical writers. But the Arabic, Samaritan, and Chaldee copies eſpouſe the common reading.

‡ This bird is remarkable for flying to a great diſtance, and for its inclination to procure food upon the ground. It appears from the Scripture, that the dove returned, like the raven, without bringing any token of the waters having ſunk to the ſurface of the earth; and that the olive branch was brought after a ſecond flight. It may naturally be preſumed that the dirt adhering to the dove's feet was the ſlime or ſediment left by the water.

‖ Aſſyria abounded in olive-trees, and it is conjectured that the olive branch was brought from thence. It is probable that by natural inſtinct the bird ſelected the olive rather than the branch of any other tree, becauſe it has the quality of remaining green under water for a longer time than moſt others. The circumſtance of the dove bringing in the olive-branch to Noah is doubtleſs the origin of its being conſidered, in almoſt every part of the known world, as the emblem of peace.

§ Moſes informs us, that, "The ark reſted in the ſeventh month, on the ſeventeenth day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat." Gen. VIII. 4. There are various conjectures reſpecting the true ſituation of Mount Ararat: but the moſt generally received opinion is, that it is about the middle of Armenia, in the neighbourhood of the River Araxes.

¶ Here we ſee the reaſon of ſeven couples of ſome animals being taken into the ark. The Scripture ſays, "Of every clean beaſt thou ſhall take to thee by ſevens, the male and his female: and of beaſts that are not clean by two, the male and his female." Gen. VII. 2. Till the law was given to the Iſraelites the diſtinction of clean and unclean beaſts was not eſtabliſhed with regard to food: but it appears that the rule prevailed in reſpect of ſacrifices to the Lord. Of the ſeven couples of clean animals ſome were to be offered as ſacrifices upon the decreaſe of the waters, and the reſt preſerved for propagating their kinds.

ſolation, their lives would be rendered inexpreſſibly miſerable by the reflection, that they would be deſtroyed by a ſubſequent viſitation of a ſimilar nature. He therefore earneſtly ſupplicated the Almighty to accept his ſacrifice, to turn his diſpleaſure from mankind, to the end that the then exiſting generation, and their poſterity, might cultivate the earth, build cities, and enjoy thoſe comforts and conveniencies of life which were aſſigned to them before the deluge. He concluded with praying, that his own life might be prolonged, and that future generations might live to the age of their anceſtors.

Such were the righteouſneſs and virtue of Noah, that God attended to his prayer, and condeſcended to inform him, that the enormous crimes of mankind had loudly called upon his juſtice for puniſhment; that it would have been more agreeable to him to have preſerved, than have taken away the lives of his creatures; for he would not have given life with a view of reclaiming it without provocation. However, God conſented to accept the mediation of Noah whom he promiſed that the world ſhould not be again deſtroyed by water. God then commanded Noah, to keep his hands free from and undefiled by * human blood, and to exerciſe ſeverity of puniſhment upon thoſe who ſhould perpetrate the abominable crime of murder. The Almighty told Noah that thence forward, all the reſt of the animal creation, whether inhabiting the earth, air, or water, ſhould be ſubject to the power and controul of man, whom he, at the ſame time, prohibited from feeding upon their blood, wherein, he ſaid, the vital principle reſided. God now informed Noah that the bow he would ſee in the heavens was to be underſtood as a ſign or token, or his covenant with mankind, to ſecure them from the apprehenſions of a ſecond deluge.

The covenant of God with Noah, Gen. VIII. and IX.

The Rainbow a token of the covenant, IX. 13.

After the flood, Noah enjoyed a life of happineſs for the ſpace of three hundred and fifty years, ſo that at the time of his deceaſe he was nine hundred and fifty years of age. Notwithſtanding the vaſt diſparity that appears upon a compariſon of the term of the life of man in the primitive ages, and the ſhort date to which it is now contracted, no argument can be adduced to diſcredit what is related concerning the longevity of our forefathers. In the early ages, when men regulated their lives in obedience to the will of the Almighty, in addition to other bounties he was pleaſed to beſtow upon them the bleſſings of † long life, as being the work of his own hands; and further, the ſimplicity of their way of life, the wholeſomeneſs of their diet, and the abſtemious manner in which they received nouriſhment might eſſentially contribute towards protracting the term of their exiſtence. It is alſo to be remembered, that a great length of time was neceſſary for the ſtudy and promotion of righteouſneſs and virtue, and for improving aſtronomy, geometry, and other ſciences. In the infancy of aſtronomy and geography ſix hundred years (according to the computation of the great year) are ſuppoſed to have been requiſite for making any conſiderable progreſs in thoſe arts. In confirmation of what I have written reſpecting the longevity of the people of the early ages, I have the concurring teſtimony of various writers, both Greek and Barbarian. Manetho, in the Egyptian Chronicle, Beroſus in his Chaldæan Hiſtory, Hieronymus in the Egyptian Antiquities, ‡ Mochus, Heſtiæus, Heſiod, Hecatæs, Hellanicus, Acuſilaus, Ephorus, and Nicholaus of Damaſchus, agree that in ancient days there were not wanting inſtances of the age of man being extended to a thouſand years. But on this ſubject every reader will decide according to his own judgment.

The longevity of the Antideluvians.

CHAP IV.

Shem, Japheth, and Ham, the three ſons of Noah, ſettle in Sennaar. Admoniſhed to diſperſe. Their diſobedience. Nimrod their chief. His character. Nimrod propoſes to erect a tower of vaſt height. The abominable impiety of the progeny of Noah. The Tower of Babel, and the confuſion of Tongues.

THE three ſons of Noah, who were named Shem, Japheth, and Ham, and born about an hundred years before the deluge, were the firſt that had the reſolution to deſcend from the mountain on which the ark ſtruck, into the plain. At length the others, who were apprehenſive of a ſecond deluge, being encouraged by the example of Shem, Japheth, and Ham, ventured to follow them. The firſt ſpot on which theſe people eſtabliſhed their reſidence they called Sennaar. God in his great wiſdom commanded them to diſperſe themſelves into different parts of the land, and to form colonies, or ſmall communities, as a more effectual means of increaſing the population of the world; to the end alſo that they might cultivate larger portions of land, and more abundantly ſupply them-

The ſons of Noah firſt deſcend from the mountain.

They ſettle in Sennaar.

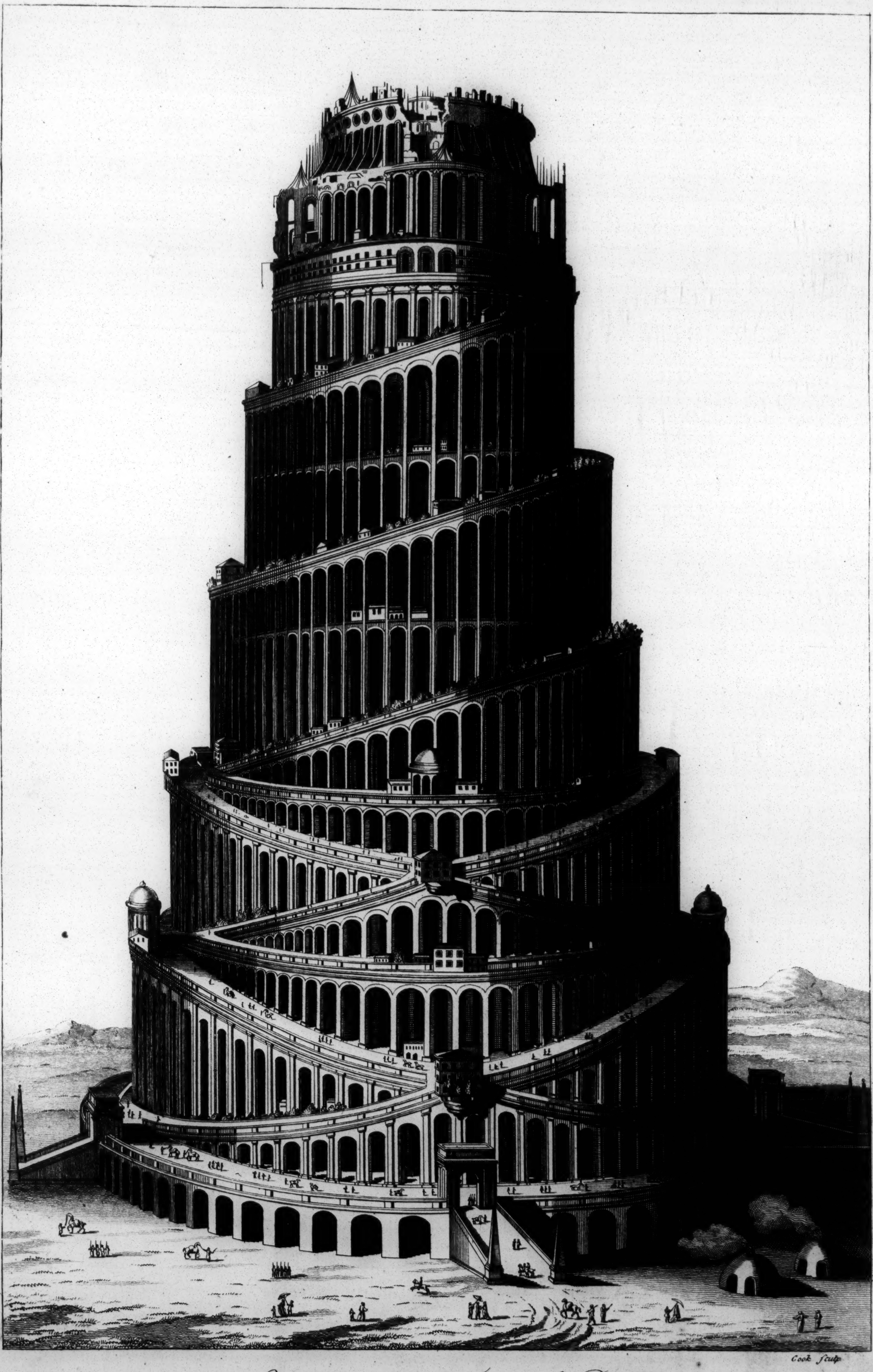
---

* There cannot be a more outrageous offence againſt the majeſty of God than the commiſſion of murder; for the Almighty alone having the power to give life, he alone has the right of taking it away.

† See Gallæus's comment on the Sybylline, Oracles, p. 72, 73.

‡ In the comment upon the Sybylline Oracles, p. 62, the reading is Molus or Molon, for Mochus.

BRITISH MUSEUM


Cook ſculp

Elevation of the Tower of Babel.

Publiſhed as the Act directs, Nov.r 12.th 1785, by John Walker Pater noſter Row.

ſelves with the produce of the earth. But ſo wicked and perverſe were theſe people, that they treated the command of the Almighty with contempt, and ſtill continued to aſſociate together, till they were overtaken by the judgment of heaven; and then, indeed, they became ſenſible of the wickedneſs of their conduct. At length, they became exceedingly numerous, and God repeated the admonition for them to ſeparate into diſtinct communities: but in defiance of this divine command, they perſiſted in their contumacy. Forgetful that they were indebted to the bounty of God for all the bleſſings they enjoyed, theſe ungrateful people attributed all their ſucceſs to their own merits; and they had alſo the horrid impiety to conſider the expreſs command of their Creator as a ſtratagem for diminiſhing their power, in order the more eaſily to ſubjugate them to the yoke of oppreſſion.

Character of Nimrod.

* Nimrod, the grandſon of Ham, who was the ſon of Noah, was the chief or leader of theſe impious and rebellious people. He was intrepid and ferocious: but ſo exceſſive were his pride and arrogance, that he diſclaimed all obligation to the goodneſs of God, inſolently boaſting that the power and conſequence he had attained, were the natural reſult of his own deſerts. The wicked notions that this man entertained, he neglected no opportunity of impreſſing upon the minds of his companions, over whom he formed the project of gaining unlimitted power and authority; and in this he thought he could not fail of ſucceſs, after having induced them wholly to apoſtatize from God.

Leſt the apprehenſion of a ſecond deluge ſhould reſtrain them from acknowledging obedience to him as their ruler, Nimrod informed them, that he had ſuggeſted a means for effectually ſecuring them from the effects of another flood. He explained to them that his propoſal was, to conſtruct a tower of ſuch vaſt height that it would be impoſſible for the waters to riſe to a level with its ſummit; and he added, that the completion of this great undertaking would afford them an opportunity of avenging the deſtruction of their forefathers.

Nimrod propoſes to build a tower of vaſt height.

The infatuated multitude unanimouſly applauded this propoſal, and ſo vain and extravagant were they in their expectations, that to acknowledge ſubjection to the Almighty, they conceived beneath the dignity to which they aſpired. They immediately employed themſelves in erecting this ſtately edifice with ſurpriſing vigour and reſolution, and the number of labourers being immenſe, the work advanced with a degree of celerity exceeding their moſt ſanguine expectations. The materials uſed on this occaſion were bricks thoroughly burnt, the apertures between them being filled with a † pitchy ſubſtance, in order that the water might be leſs liable to penetrate. The tower was built with wonderful ſtrength, its great circumference making it appear not ſo high as it was in reality.

Notwithſtanding the enormity of their tranſgreſſions, and their contempt of the admonition afforded them in the example of the judgment of Heaven upon their forefathers, ſuch was the benevolence of God, that he declined to manifeſt his diſpleaſure by extirminating this rebellious and impious people: but that they might not proceed in their abominable purpoſe, he introduced among them a confuſion of tongues. Before this ‡ time one general language was in uſe, nor was any other known: but, in an inſtant, ſo wonderful a change was effected, that the people employed in building the tower, expreſſed themſelves in a great number of different languages, and conſequently were incapable of comprehending the meaning of each other. Babel, in the Hebrew, implies confuſion; and therefore the building was called the Tower of Babel; and the place where it ſtood, at this time bears the name of ‖ Babylon.

The confuſion of tongues.

With regard to the tower of Babel, the

---

* Speaking of Nimrod, the Scripture ſays, "And he began to be a mighty one." In the Septuagint it is rendered "a giant," an appellation frequently applied in the Sacred Writings to perſons of great ſtature and uncommon ſtrength, who delighted in martial exploits, and were addicted to wickedneſs. The Chaldee renders the word "a robuſt man": but the Syriac and the Arabic copies adopt the reading of the Septuagint.

† *Slime they had for mortar*, Gen. XI. ver. 3. This ſlime was the Alphaltites bitumen, a kind of liquid pitch, a kind of cement, which Suidas ſays, being mixed with bricks and ſmall ſtones formed a compoſition as ſtrong as iron. Herodotus ſays; the baſe of the temple was a mile and a half in circumference. The ſtile and proportion of the building are accurately repreſented in a fine plate, engraved for this work. It is alſo called Aſphaltos, or Aſphaltum, being a black ſubſtance found in the lake Aſphaltites in Paleſtine; whence it is called bitumen Judiacum, or Jewiſh pitch. This is the principal ingredient in the compoſition uſed by engravers for ſpreading a ground upon their plates, which they intend to etch, or eat in, by means of the corroſive quality of aqua-fortis, after it has been properly diluted with water.

‡ The language prevailing at this time is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with that ſpoken by Adam and Eve in Paradiſe: from them it was probably communicated to Methuſelah, and by him tranſmitted to his grandſon Noah.

‖ It is preſumed that Babylon was the capital of Nimrod's kingdom. He commenced his reign in the year of the world 1757, and continued in the government about one hundred and forty-eight years. The plain where the tower of Babel was erected, is ſaid to be ſituated on the banks of the river Tigris, and to comprehend that tract of country where the garden of Eden was formed.

[*] Sibylline oracles, which are ſtill extant, ſpeak to the following effect: "At a certain time, when only one language was known in the world, the people aſſembled in great numbers, and erected an immenſe tower, which they raiſed to ſo great a height, that it appeared as if the deſign of it was to enable mankind to penetrate into the regions of heavens; but the gods, by means of a violent hurricane, laid this ſtupendous building in ruins; and thoſe employed in raiſing it, in a moment utterly forgot their native tongue, and ſpoke in new and unknown languages, ſo that not one man was able to underſtand another." Of the land of Sennaar, Heſtiæus ſpeaks thus: "The prieſts who eſcaped this great diſaſter, preſerved the ornaments and other things conſecrated to the worſhip and ſervice of Jupiter the conqueror, and carried them to Sennaar of Babylon."

CHAP. V.

The diſperſion of the ſons of Noah, and the peopling of the world.

The peopling of the world.

A Diverſity of languages being introduced among mankind, they found themſelves under the neceſſity of forming themſelves into ſmall ſocieties or colonies. Some diſtributed themſelves in different parts of the interior country, and others upon the coaſts of the ſea, according as their minds were diſpoſed by the ſuperintending providence of God, for the purpoſe of giving inhabitants to the different parts of the earth. Some built veſſels or boats, and tranſported themſelves into different iſlands. To the places where the different bodies of people repaired they gave appellations, which many of them retain at this time. Many of the names of theſe places have been altered, and principally by the Greeks, in order to familiarize them, and render them more intelligible to the neighbouring inhabitants. The Greeks coming into poſſeſſion of thoſe countries in ſucceeding ages, they claimed to themſelves the merit of having been the original and primitive founders of the ſeveral communities reſident therein, impoſing upon them ſuch names, ſubjecting them to ſuch laws and regulations, and introducing ſuch cuſtoms and manners as were agreeable to their own diſpoſitions.

CHAP. VI.

The deſcendants of Noah give their own names to the places where they ſettle. Noah plants a vineyard, and becomes intoxicated with the firſt produce thereof. His malediction upon the poſterity of Ham. The genealogy of Abraham.

The deſce ants of No Gen. X.

THE deſcendants of Noah had children, who diſtinguiſhed the ſeveral parts of the country into which they diſperſed themſelves by their own names, by way of doing honour to their own memories. [†] Japheth, one of the deſcendants of Noah, had ſeven ſons, who eſtabliſhed themſelves in Aſia, in that part of the country extending from the mountains of Taurus and Amanus, to the river Tanais; and in Europe as far as Gades. Gomar founded the colony of the Gomarites, which people are at this time called [‡] Galatians, or Gauls, by the Greeks. Magog was the chief of the Magogians, called Scythians by the Greeks. The Ionians, and the whole race of the Greeks received their name from Javan. Madæus was the founder of the Madæans or Medes. The Thobelians received their name after that of Thobal their founder, and they are now called Iberians, or Spaniards. The Meſchinians received their name from Meſches; they were afterwards called Capadocians: but one of the towns of this diſtrict is now called Maxaca, which evidently bears affinity to its original appellation. The Thiſæans received their names from Thires, their chief or governor; and afterwards the Greeks called them Thracians. Thus we have enumerated the nations that were originally eſtabliſhed by the ſeven ſons of Japheth.

Aſchanaxes, Rhiphates, and Thygrammes were the three ſons of Gomar: from the firſt the Aſchanaxians received their name; but the Greeks call them Rheginians; the Riphateans, who in Greek are called Paphlagonians, received their name from the ſecond; as did the Thygrammes, from the third ſon, the founder of that colony of people, who are now called Phrygians, by the Greeks.

Aliſas, Tharſus, and Chethimus were the [‖] three ſons of Javan, who was the ſon of Japheth. They were the founders of Aliſeans, now called Æolians, the Tharſians, called Cicilians by the Greeks, and of the people inhabiting the iſland of Cyprus, the original name of which was Chethima. Hence it is, that not only all iſlands, but alſo places adjacent to the ſea, are by the Hebrews called Chethim. In the iſland of Cyprus there is ſtill a town called Citium, which has an affinity in

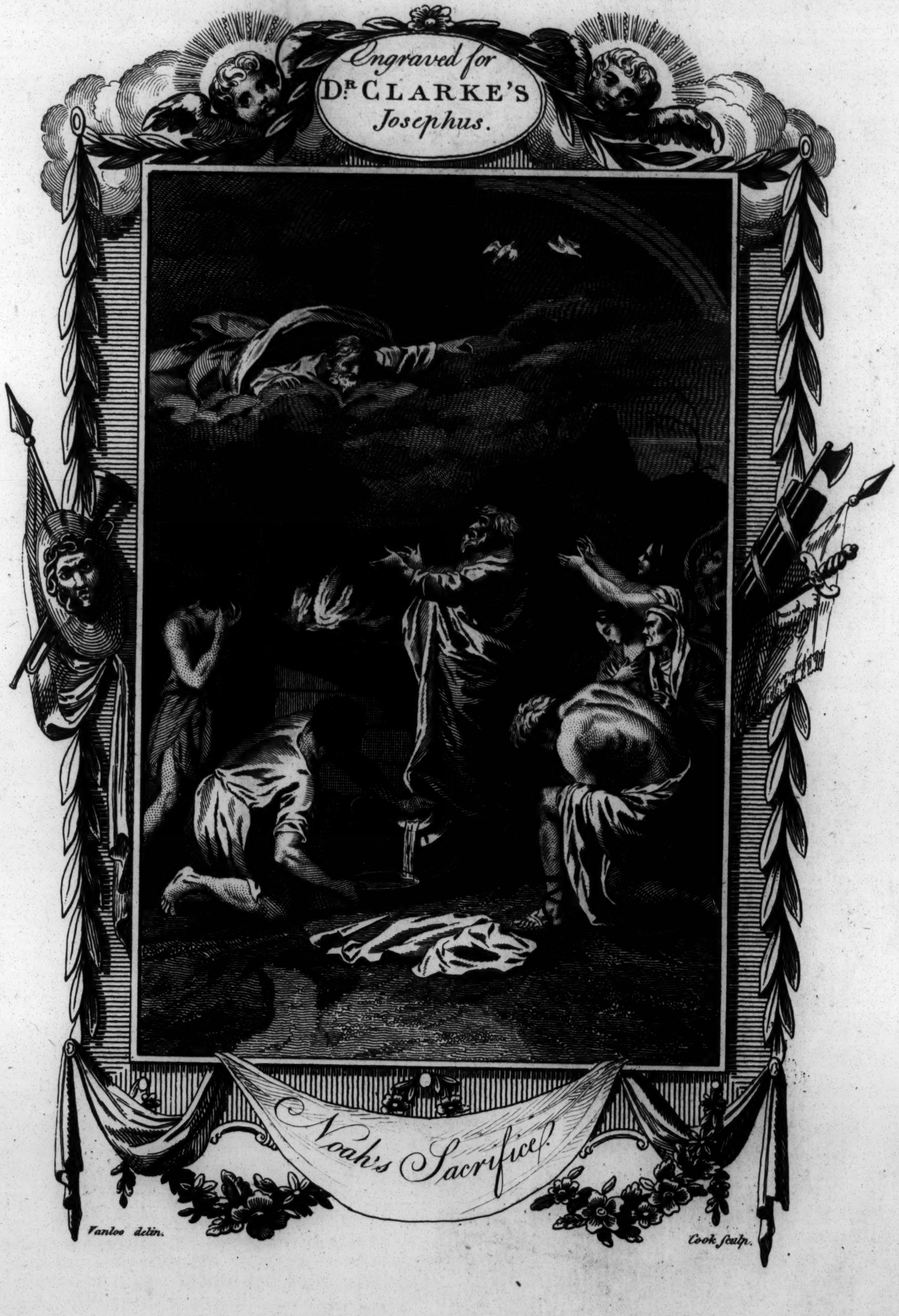
---

[*] See Dr. Beveredge's Cordex, Can. Vindic. c. 14.

[†] Europe, the Leſſer Aſia, Media, part of Armenia, Iberia, Albania, and a vaſt extent of country towards the North, anciently inhabited by the Scythians, and now by the Tartars, devolved to the poſterity of Japheth.

[‡] *Vide* the Diatriba de Noæ in Italiam adventu, by E. Dickinſon.

[‖] The Scripture ſays Javan had four ſons. *Vide* Gen. X. 3.


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

Noah's Sacrifice.

Vanloo delin. Cook sculp.

Publish'd as the Act directs Decr. 30.1785 by J. Walker Paternoster Row.

15 59
AUG

found to Chetim. It may not here be improper to obſerve, that for the harmony of ſound, the Greeks are accuſtomed to vary from the true orthography and pronunciation of proper names: but innovations of this kind are never countenanced by the Hebrews.

Gen. X. 6.

The ſons of Ham eſtabliſhed their reſidence in Syria, and the countries adjacent to the mountains of Libanus and Amanus, and extended their juriſdiction as far as the ſea coaſt. They gave names to the ſeveral places ſubject to their authority; but moſt of them are either forgotten, or ſo corrupted that their origin cannot be traced. But the Ethiopians are ſtill diſtinguiſhed by their original appellation. The founder and governor of that people was Chus, one of the four ſons of Ham, and they are at this time called Chuſites, not only by themſelves, but alſo by the inhabitants of the different parts of Aſia. The Meſreans have alſo preſerved their ancient name; for Egypt is ſtill called Meſrim, and the inhabitants of that country are called Meſreans.

The government of Lybia was exerciſed by Phutes, who gave the people of that country the name of Phutians. Several of the Greek hiſtorians mention a river in Mauritania, and a country adjoining its banks, both of which were called Phute: but it has ſince been named Libys, after one of the ſons of Meſraim. We ſhall hereafter mention on what account this country afterwards received the name of Africa. Canaan, the fourth ſon of Ham, was the founder of the people, to whom he denominated Canaanites, whoſe country has been ſince called Judea.

All the ſons of Ham had children. Chus, the eldeſt, had ſix, of whom Sabas was governor of the Sabeans; Evilas of the Evileans; Sabbathes of the Sabbathenians, whom the Greeks call Aſtabarrians: Romus, prince of the Romeans, had two ſons named Judadas and Sabas. The former was the founder of the Judadeans, who inhabited the weſtern part of Ethiopia, and the latter gave the name of Sabeans to the people under his juriſdiction. Nimrod, the ſixth ſon of Chus, uſurped the government of the Babylonians, over whom, as we have already mentioned, he exerciſed arbitrary and tyrannical power.

The eight ſons of Meſraim had the government of the country between Gaza and Egypt. Philiſtin gave his name to the tract of land under his government, which the Greeks call Paleſtine. Labim conſtituted a colony, and called it Lybia. With reſpect to the other ſix ſons of Meſraim, but little more than their names is known, the cities built by them being deſtroyed in the Ethiopic war, the particulars of which will be related in the courſe of this work. Their names were Ludim, Ananim, Nedem, Phetroſim, Cheſlem, and Chepthorim.

Canaan had eleven ſons. Sidonius erected a city in Phœnicia, which the Greeks call Sydon. Amath founded Amathe, which is ſtill in exiſtence, being called Amathine by its inhabitants: but in honour of one of their rulers, the Macedonians have given the name of Epiphania to this place. Arudeus governed the iſland of Aradus. The town Arce, upon Mount Libanus, was under the juriſdiction of Arucæus. The names of the other ſeven ſons of Canaan were Euæus, Chetæus, Jebuſæus, Eudæus, Sinæus, Samaræus, and Gergeſæus: but the tranſactions of their lives are not recorded in the Scriptures, their towns being deſtroyed by the Hebrews, in conſequence of the occurrences which we ſhall now proceed to relate.

A vineyard planted by Noah, Gen. IX. 20.

As ſoon after the general deluge as the earth was reſtored to a proper ſtate for cultivation, Noah* induſtriouſly applied himſelf to the buſineſs of agriculture. He planted vines, and by preſſing the juice from the fruit, made wine. After an oblation of the firſt-fruits of his vineyard to the Almighty, he drank ſo liberally of the juice as to become † intoxicated to inſenſibility; and in conſequence thereof, his nakedneſs was expoſed. Ham, his youngeſt ſon ‡, obſerving Noah in this indecent ſituation, called to his brothers, and addreſſed them in a ſtile of mirth and deriſion of his aged parent: but they, Shem and Japheth, concerned that their father ſhould be ſo indecently expoſed, procured a garment, and laid it over him. After the effects of the liquor had ſubſided, Noah awaked, and knowing what had happened during his ſleep, he pronounced a benediction upon Shem and Japheth, whoſe filial veneration had induced them to conceal a circumſtance which their younger

Noah's intoxication, ver. 22.

---

* The Scripture ſays, "Noah began to be a huſbandman." The word rendered began, alſo ſignifies continued; ſo that we are to underſtand, that he returned to the occupation he had been accuſtomed to before the deluge.

† The original does not imply an exceſſive degree of intoxication; but only that his ſpirits were ſo overpowered by the liquor, which was of a quality different from his common beverage, ſo as to diſpoſe him to ſleep As to the expoſure of thoſe parts of the body which are concealed from a regard to decency, it was probably occaſioned by the wind, or his altering his poſition; for the garments worn in thoſe times were ſlight and looſe coverings.

‡ Some writers are of opinion, that Ham's crime was the commiſſion of inceſt with his father's wife. In the Scripture phraſe, the uncovering a father's nakedneſs, implies, that the ſon has had criminal intercourſe with his wife; and they further ſuppoſe, that his brothers, having ſurpriſed him in that baſe act, communicated their knowledge to Noah.

brother had made the ſubject of contempt and ridicule. In conſequence of his diſregard of filial reſpect and reverence, Noah uttered a dreadful imprecation upon the poſterity of Ham, who was himſelf not included in the curſe, in conſideration of his affinity to Noah. This imprecation was followed by an act of divine vengeance, the particulars of which will be related in the progreſs of this hiſtory.

The poſterity of Ham curſed, Gen. IX. 12.

The poſterity of Shem, X. 22.

Shem was the father of five ſons; and they had poſſeſſion of the whole tract of Aſia, from the Euphrates to the Indian Sea. Elam was the founder of the colony of Elamites, from whom the Perſians are deſcended. Ninive was founded by Aſſur, and from thence is derived the opulent and powerful nation of Aſſyrians. The Arphaxadians, or Chaldeans, were founded by Arphaxed; the Arameans, whom the Greeks call Syrians, by Aram; and the Luddians, or Lydians, by Lud.

Aram, ver. 3.

Aram was the father of four ſons. Trachonitis and Damaſchus, which are ſituated between Paleſtine and Cœle-Syria, were founded by Uz; Hull poſſeſſed Armenia; the Bractrians were under the government of Gether; and Meſas was prince of the Meſoneans; and the whole country inhabited by that people now bears the name of the valley of Paſin, in conſequence of the camp of Paſinus having been eſtabliſhed there.

Sales, and his poſterity, ver. 42, &c.

Arphaxed had a ſon named Heber, after whom the Jews were anciently called Hebrews. Heber was the father of Jucta and Phalec, which latter word, in Hebrew, implies partition, Phalec being born at the time of the diviſion of the land, and the diſperſion of mankind. The iſſue of Jucta were Elmodad, Saleph, Azermoth, Eiraes, Edoram, Uzal [*], Declas, Ebal, Abiamel, Sabeus, Ophir, Euilath, and Jobab. The extent of their territories was from Cophene, in India, to the boundaries of Syria.

The genealogy of Abraham, XI.

Phalec had a ſon named Ragaus, who was the father of Serug, Serug of Nachor, Nachor of Thares, and [†] Thares of Abraham, he being the tenth deſcended in a right line from Noah. Abraham was born about two hundred and ninety-two years ſubſequent to the general deluge. When Thares begat Abraham he was in the ſeventeenth year of his age; Nachor was one hundred and twenty years old when he begat Thares; Serug, at the birth of Nachor, was about an hundred and thirty-two years old; Ragaus and Phalec were each about an hundred and thirty-four when the former begat Serug, and the latter begat Ragaus; when he begat Phalec, Heber was one hundred and thirty-four; Sales was an hundred and thirty when he begat Heber; and at the time of the birth of Sales, his father Arphaxad was an hundred and thirty-five. The birth of Arphaxad, the ſon of Shem and grandſon of Noah, took place [‡] two years after the flood.

Nachor and Haran, brothers of Abraham, ver. 27.

Abraham had two brothers, who were named Nachor and Haran. The latter departed this life at Uz, in Chaldea, where a ſepulchral monument conſecrated to his memory is ſtill to be ſeen. Haran was ſurvived by his ſon Lot, and his two daughters, Sarah and Melcha. Nachor eſpouſed Melcha, and Abraham took Sarah to wife.

Thares, father of Abraham, goes from Chaldea.

On account of his ſon Haran dying in that country, Thares, the father of Abraham, conceived ſo ſtrong an averſion to Chaldea, that he determined no longer to reſide there; and he and his whole family accordingly removed to Chanaan in Meſopotamia, where Thares died, being two hundred [||] and fifty years of age. For ſome time previous to the period of which we are writing, the Almighty had been gradually abridging the period of human exiſtence, which at length was contracted to an hundred and twenty years, which was the exact age of Moſes.

The poſterity of Nachor.

By his wife Melcha, Nachor had eight ſons, whoſe names were Uz, Baux, Camuel, Cazad, Azaus, Pheldus, Jadelphas, and Bethuel. But, excluſive of theſe legitimate offspring, he had by Ruma, his concubine, Tabæus, Gaham, Tavaus, and Machas. The iſſue of Bethuel were, a ſon named Laban, and a daughter named Rebecca.

CHAP. VII.

In default of legitimate iſſue, Abraham adopts his nephew Lot. He departs from Chaldea, and eſtabliſhes his reſidence in Canaan. He promulgates the doctrine of one God, the Creator and Sovereign Ruler of the World.

Abraham removes from Chaldea into Canaan, Gen. XII. 5.

DESPAIRING of having children by his wife, Abraham adopted Lot, the ſon of his brother Aram, and brother

---

[*] Uzal is the name that was given to Sannaa, the capital town of Yaman, by the Jews inhabiting that place.

[†] According to ſome of the Jewiſh writers, the mother of Abraham was named Chamtelaah, being the daughter of Carnebo: but others ſay her name was Amthalai. The Jews entertain an opinion, that Thares, the father of Abraham, was the original inventor of the art of coining money, and that during his life idolatrous worſhip was firſt introduced. That he was himſelf an idolater is evident from Scripture, though he afterwards repented. *Vide* Joſh. XXIV. 2.

[‡] Here we vary from the Greek, where, by miſtake, twelve years are mentioned inſtead of two.

[||] This does not correſpond with the Scripture account, where he is ſaid to have lived only two hundred and five years.

of Sarah his wiſe. In obedience to the command of the Almighty, Abraham departed from Chaldea, and, being accompanied by his whole family, repaired into the land of Canaan, which, upon his deceaſe, he bequeathed to his poſterity. This departure from Chaldea into Canaan, was in the ſeventy-fifth year of his age.

Abraham was a man who excelled his cotemporaries in righteouſneſs, piety, wiſdom, and eloquence; his knowledge was extenſive, his genius quick and penetrating; his judgment was ſtrong, and his fortitude was not to be ſhaken by the common accidents of life. He had the reputation of poſſeſſing virtues and talents ſuperior to thoſe of all other men. Notwithſtanding the general depravity of mankind, he had the courage ſingly to oppoſe the overbearing current of iniquity, and to exert his authority in aboliſhing the worſhip of imaginary divinities, and recommending the only means of ſalvation, by yielding obedience, love, and veneration to the great and omnipotent Author of the creation.

Abraham was the firſt man who had the reſolution to explain to the degenerate race among whom he lived, the neceſſity of practiſing the religion tranſmitted to mankind by our God. He informed the people, that it was not in conſequence of any power or capacity reſiding in themſelves, but to the infinite benevolence, love, and tenderneſs of the Almighty Creator of Heaven and earth, that they enjoyed the comforts and conveniencies of life. To exemplify this doctrine, he expatiated on the common operations of nature, both at ſea and on the land, mentioning the courſes and revolutions of the ſun, moon, and other heavenly bodies. Hence he contended, that, without the interference of an over-ruling providence, the whole univerſe muſt inevitably fall into diſorder, deſolation, and ruin; and that, as a neceſſary conſequence, mankind were bound in an indiſpenſable obligation to aſcribe the bleſſings ſo bountifully beſtowed upon them, to the goodneſs of the divine and eternal Creator of Heaven and earth.

The inhabitants of Meſopotamia and Chaldea were highly exaſperated againſt Abraham, for propagating a doctrine ſo contrary to the impious opinions they entertained. God, therefore, commanded Abraham to depart out of * Chaldea into the land of Canaan; and he accordingly repaired into that country, where he erected an altar, and offered ſacrifice to, and devoutly worſhipped the Almighty. Though his name is not mentioned, Abraham is evidently alluded to in the following paſſage of Beroſus: "There reſided among the Chaldeans, in the tenth generation after the flood, a man of ſtrict juſtice, who acquired great celebrity, by his obſervations on the motions of the heavenly bodies." The teſtimony of Hecatæus is ſtill ſtronger, he having written a whole book upon that ſubject. In the fourth book of his hiſtory, Nicolaus of Damaſcus, ſays, "Though a ſtranger, Abraham commanded in Damaſcus, to which place he repaired with a very numerous company of adherents from Chaldea, a country ſituated beyond Babylon. After ſome time, he removed with his followers into Canaan, which country is now called Judea, and there had a number of children, of whom I ſhall ſpeak more particularly in a ſubſequent book." At Damaſcus the name of Abraham is at this time time held in high veneration; and there is a village, ſtill in exiſtence, where he reſided, and which bears his name.

Abraham alluded to by Beroſus, and other writers.

CHAP. VIII.

A dreadful famine in Canaan. Abraham goes into Egypt, accompanied by his wiſe Sarah. Pharaoh, king of Egypt, becomes enamoured of Sarah. The judgment of Heaven upon the laſcivious king. Abraham applies himſelf to the ſtudy of the laws, cuſtoms, and manners of Egypt. The partition of lands between Abraham and Lot.

WHEN Abraham had reſided ſome time in Canaan, that country was afflicted by a dreadful famine; and therefore upon learning that there was an abundance of all the neceſſaries of life in † Egypt, he reſolved to viſit that country. He had two motives for undertaking this journey; the firſt was, to partake of the plentiful ſupply of all the neceſſaries of life there, and the ſecond was, to converſe with the prieſts on ſubjects of divinity, and thereby either receive or communicate information, and enable himſelf to form a juſt opinion of the laws of the country, and the ſentiments and opinions of the people.

A famine in Canaan, Gen. XII. 10.

---

* The Scriptures ſay, "Abraham paſſed through the land into the place of Sichem, unto the plain of Moreth." The place of Sichem ſignifies the ſpot where Sichem was afterwards built. The Chaldee reading is, the plain of Moreth; but the Hebrew is, the oak of Moreth; the Septuagint read, the lofty oak; and the Arabic and Syriac, the oak of Mamre. Hence, it is preſumed, that oaks abounded in the place, or that it was remarkable for one of uncommon ſize.

† This country is repreſented as exceedingly fertile in grain, and capable of ſupplying other countries with abundance of that article, as well as various other of the neceſſaries of life: and it is therefore preſumed, that agriculture was improved there by art; for no country can be a plentiful one, where this art is not cultivated, and where civil policy is not eſtabliſhed.

Appriſed of the liſcentious diſpoſitions of the Egyptians, he was apprehenſive that their king might put his wife to death, in order to gain poſſeſſion of her perſon, ſhe being a woman of ſingular beauty. To provide againſt this danger, he reſolved, if there ſhould be occaſion, that Sarah ſhould paſs under the character of his *ſiſter. Upon conſulting his wife upon this ſubject, they agreed, if occaſion ſhould require it, to adopt the project he had ſuggeſted.

Abraham goes into Egypt, where Pharaoh becomes enamoured of Sarah, Gen. XII.

Upon their arrival in Egypt, the beauty of Sarah greatly attracted public notice; and upon her perſonal charms being repreſented to Pharaoh, the king of the country, he conceived an ardent deſire of poſſeſſing himſelf of this miracle of female perfection; and in order to gratify his laſcivious deſires, he cauſed her to be brought before him, flattering himſelf that he ſhould have but little difficulty in prevailing upon her to yield to his ſolicitations. But to repreſs the inordinate inclinations of this liſcentious ſovereign, and to reſcue Sarah from being forcibly diveſted of her chaſtity, God was pleaſed to occaſion a peſtilence and an inſurrection at the ſame time to prevail throughout Pharaoh's dominions. Thus involved in the moſt deplorable calamities, the king applied to his prieſts for information as to what offence he had committed to occaſion ſuch terrible viſitations in his kingdom. After having performed ſacrifice, the prieſts informed him, that he had incurred the diſpleaſure of Heaven by meditating deſtruction to the chaſtity of a ſtranger's wife. This greatly alarmed the king, who immediately queſtioned Sarah as to her country and family, and the character of the man who had accompanied her into Egypt. Without heſitation ſhe avowed herſelf to be Abraham's wife, and explained the reaſon that had induced her to aſſume the character of his ſiſter. Upon this, Pharaoh aſſured Abraham, that entertaining no ſuſpicion of the woman being allied to him by marriage, he meant to connect himſelf with her in an honourable alliance, and had not harboured the deſign of violating her perſon. As ſome atonement for diſturbing his peace of mind, he made Abraham a preſent of a conſiderable ſum of money, and granted him permiſſion to converſe freely with ſuch of his ſubjects as were moſt celebrated for their learning and abilities. Thus was he offered an opportunity of diſplaying his great virtues and brilliant talents, and of procuring himſelf to be held in public eſteem and veneration. By his conferences with the learned men of Egypt, he gained a perfect knowledge of the religious rights and ceremonies, and laws, cuſtoms, and manners of the people. By the ſtrength of his arguments, enforced in a ſtile of eloquence irreſiſtibly perſuaſive, he clearly demonſtrated to the prieſts, that the mode of their religious worſhip was impious and abſurd, and contrary to reaſon and common ſenſe; and ſuch were the powers of his elocution, that he reconciled the violent animoſities and factions prevailing at that time on the ſubject of religion; and his wonderful abilities and exemplary virtues rendered him the object of univerſal admiration. He alſo inſtructed them in the principles of aſtronomy and arithmetic, of which they were before entirely ignorant; and thoſe ſciences the Egyptians tranſmitted to the Greeks.

Abraham ſtudies the laws and cuſtoms of Egypt.

The partition of lands between Abraham and Lot.

Upon the return of Abraham into Canaan, he found that a † diſagreement had ariſen between his own ſervants and thoſe of Lot, reſpecting the boundaries of the paſture where the ſheep and other cattle were fed. A partition of land was therefore propoſed, Abraham admitting Lot to have a precedency of choice. Abraham then fixed upon Hebron as the place of his reſidence, which city was built ten years before Tanis in Egypt. Lot ſettled in the plains bordering upon the river Jordan, at a ſmall diſtance from Sodom, which, at that time, was a great and flouriſhing city, but it was afterwards ſo utterly deſtroyed by an act of divine vengeance, that not the ſmalleſt veſtiges of it remain. The cauſe of the deſtruction of the city of Sodom will be mentioned in the proper place.

CHAP. IX.

The people of Sodom defeated by the Aſſyrians, and the five kings made tributary to the conquerors. Lot taken priſoner.

Gen. XIV. 1.

THE Aſſyrians were at this time in poſſeſſion of the empire of Aſia; and the city of Sodom was extremely rich and populous, being under the government of the five kings, Ballas, Barſas, Senebar, Symobar, and the prince of the Ballinians, who maintained an arbitrary ſyſtem of government in their reſpective territories.

---

* Some writers contend that this conduct in Abraham was inconſiſtent with his general character, he being repreſented averſe from all practices of deception and falſehood: but it ſhould be obſerved, that ſhe was in reality his ſiſter as well as his wife, Abraham and Sarah being deſcended from the ſame father, though by different mothers.

† The words of the Scripture are truly pathetic, "And Abraham ſaid unto Lot, Let there be no ſtrife, I pray thee, between me and three, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen; for we be brethren." Gen. XIII. 8. Here are ſhewn a peaceable and friendly diſpoſition, and great meekneſs of temper.

The defeat of the people of Sodom, Gen. XIV. 10.

The Aſſyrians having reſolved to beſiege the city of Sodom, they led an immenſe army of well diſciplined troops into the field, in four diviſions, the commanders being men of approved courage and great ſkill in the art of war. After an obſtinate engagement, during which much blood was ſpilt on both ſides, the people of Sodom were defeated, when the conquerors impoſed an annual tribute upon the five kings. The tribute was paid for twelve years: but the ſtipulated payment being neglected the following year, the Aſſyrian army again marched againſt the city, being under the command of Amraphel, Arioch, [*] Chodollogomor, and Thabal. After great ravage and devaſtation throughout Syria, this powerful army ſubdued the race of the giants, and making an irruption into the land of Sodom, encamped in the valley among the [†] brimſtone pits, which in ancient days were very numerous in that country. After the deſtruction of the city of Sodom, the above mentioned valley was converted into the lake of Aſphaltites, which we ſhall hereafter ſpeak of more at large. A fierce and bloody battle was fought between the Aſſyrians and the people of Sodom; the loſs of lives on the ſide of the latter being by far the moſt conſiderable, and the Aſſyrians making priſoners of ſuch of their enemies as ſurvived the conflict, Lot, who had aſſiſted in oppoſing the aſſailants, was among the number.

Lot taken priſoner by the Aſſyrians, ver. 12.

CHAP. X.

Abraham attacks the Aſſyrians by ſurprize, puts them to flight; and reſtores Lot and the other priſoners to liberty. On his return, Abraham and his followers are hoſpitably entertained by Melchiſedech, king of Solyma, to whom he preſents a tenth of the ſpoil obtained from the Aſſyrians. The Almighty promiſes Abraham a ſon. Abraham offers a ſacrifice to God. The Egyptian bondage predicted. Sarah takes Hagar to Abraham's bed. The flight of Hagar, who being comforted by an angel, returns. The birth of Iſhmael. Iſaac promiſed. The ceremony of circumciſion inſtituted.

Abraham attacks the Aſſyrians by ſurpriſe, ver. 15.

UPON receiving intelligence of the defeat of the people of Sodom, that ſo great a number of his friends and neighbours were ſlain or taken priſoners, and that his nephew Lot was among the number of the latter, Abraham was exceedingly afflicted. He immediately collected the people attached to his intereſt, and led them in purſuit of the Aſſyrians, whom he ſurpriſed in their quarters near Dan, one of the heads of the river Jordan, on the fifth night after his departure, ſome being in bed, ſome in a ſtate of intoxication, and others not provided with any weapons of defence: in ſhort, ſuch was their conſternation at being thus overtaken by ſurpriſe, that they were neither in a condition to reſiſt the aſſailants, nor to ſeek their ſafety in flight. Before they had time to recover from the terror and confuſion into which they were thrown by this ſudden and unexpected attack, Abraham put great numbers of them to the ſword; and the next day he purſued the reſt as far as Soba of Damaſcus. Thus Abraham reſtored Lot and his fellow priſoners from captivity. When he performed this great atchievement, Abraham's followers conſiſted only in three hundred and eighteen of his own domeſtics, and three of his ſelect friends; ſo that the victory over the formidable Aſſyrian army, was in conſequence of the attack being made when the men were unprepared for defence, and the vigour and reſolution with which the aſſailants purſued their advantage.

Melchiſedech entertaineth Abraham, ver. 18.

On his return, Abraham was met at a place called the Royal Plain by the king of Sodom, who congratulated him on the great victory he had obtained. Here alſo Melchiſedech, king of Solyma, now called Jeruſalem, greatly extolled the heroic and noble conduct of Abraham, whoſe followers he entertained with different ſorts of refreſhments. Melchiſedech invited Abraham to his own table, and during the entertainment, ſpoke in high terms of commendation of his bravery and virtue, and returned thanks to the Almighty for having enabled him to accompliſh ſo ſignal an enterprize. The word Melchiſedech ſignifies a righteous king; and the appellation was with great juſtice given to this ſovereign, who by the unanimous voice of his people had been deemed worthy to exerciſe the ſacred functions of the prieſthood.

Abraham's generoſity, ver. 20.

Abraham [‡] preſented to Melchiſedech a tenth of the ſpoil obtained from the Aſſyrians, which he accepted. He alſo made the offer of another part to the king of Sodom; but that prince declined accepting it, ſaying, that all he deſired was, that ſuch of his ſubjects as had been made priſoners by the enemy might be reſtored. Abraham, however, declared, that his abſolute determination was to retain no greater portion of the ſpoil than would be ſufficient to provide his followers with proviſions, and compenſate the ſervices of Eſchol, Enner, and Mambres, his three friends, who bravely ſupported him in the aſſault upon the enemy.

---

[*] The Scripture word is Chedolaomer.

[†] The Scripture phraſe is, "And the vale of Siddim was full of ſlime pits." They are ſuppoſed to have been pits of bitumen, which abounded in that country.

[‡] Melchiſedech being the prieſt of God, according to the cuſtom of the times, Abraham preſented to him a tenth of the ſpoil taken in war, Gen. XXVIII. 22. The tithes were conſecrated to the Almighty, and applied to the maintenance of religion, the relief of the poor, and other pious uſes.

God promiſed Abraham a ſon, Gen. XV. 4.

The diſintereſtedneſs and ſincerity of Abraham proved ſo acceptable to the Almighty, that he was graciouſly pleaſed to ſignify an intention of rewarding him. Hereupon Abraham addreſſed himſelf to God, ſaying, "Heavenly and benevolent Father! of what avail will thy gracious bounties be to a man who has no poſterity to enjoy them after his deceaſe?" Upon this, God promiſed that he ſhould have a ſon, and that his poſterity ſhould be as numerous as the ſtars in Heaven.

Abraham's ſacrifice, ver. 10.

Abraham now offered up his ſacrifice to God, in obedience to the divine command. He procured an heifer, a goat, and a ram, each being three years old, and likewiſe a turtle-dove and a pigeon. The heifer, the goat, and the ram, he * divided into halves, but the birds remained whole. Whilſt he was preparing the altar whereon the ſacrifice was to be made, and the birds of prey were hovering over the ſpot, in expectation of the blood of the victims, Abraham heard a voice from Heaven, predicting that the poſterity of Abraham ſhould remain in bondage in Egypt for the ſpace of four hundred years, upon the expiration of which time, they ſhould triumph over the malice of their enemies, ſubdue the Canaanites, and ſudjugate to their dominion all the cities extending from Egypt to Sidon.

The Egyptian bondage predicted, ver. 13.

At this time Abraham's habitation was in the neighbourhood of Hebron, at a ſmall diſtance from the place now bearing the name of the Oak of Ogyge. While Abraham reſided in this place, the happineſs of his life was interrupted, by reflecting on the barrenneſs of his wife; but he continued to offer up daily prayers to the Almighty for a male child. In compliance with his fervent ſupplications, the Almighty was pleaſed to ratify the promiſe he had made with reſpect to a child, and alſo repeatedly to aſſure him, that he ſhould enjoy all the bleſſings he had promiſed him upon his departure from Meſpotamia.

Gen. XVI. Sarah conducts Hagar to Abraham's bed, ver. 3.

By the expreſs direction of Heaven, Sarah conducted an Egyptian ſervant in the family, whoſe name was Hagar, to the bed of her huſband, in order that ſhe might have children. When Hagar found ſhe was with child, ſhe treated Sarah with contempt and inſolence, being vain in the preſumption, that the child, with which ſhe was pregnant, would be the heir and ſucceſſor of Abraham. Being informed of her diſreſpect and arrogance, Abraham reſigned Hagar to his wife, that ſhe might chaſtiſe her arrogance according to her own diſcretion.

The flight of Hagar, ver. 10, 11.

Mortified by the puniſhment inflicted upon her by Sarah, ſhe determined to abandon the family of Abraham; and while ſhe was on the way from his hibitation, an angel appeared to her, commanding her to return, at the ſame time aſſuring her, that upon acknowledging ſhe had done wrong, her fault would be forgiven; adding, that the puniſhment ſhe had received was due to her pride and ingratitude. The angel further informed her, that her deſtruction would be the inevitable conſequence if ſhe perſiſted in her obſtinacy, and neglected to yield obediance to the divine will of the Almighty; and he concluded with informing her, that if ſhe conformed to the admonition he had pronounced, ſhe ſhould be the mother of a child, which in proceſs of time, ſhould be ruler of that country. In obedience to the command of the angel, Hagar returned to Abraham's habitation, and having apologized for her indiſcretion, Sarah declared herſelf ſatisfied with that atonement. Some time afterwards, Hagar was delivered of a ſon, which was named Iſhmael, a word importing,' prevailed upon.

When Hagar was taken to the bed of Abraham, he was eighty-ſix years of age; and when he was ninety-one, the Almighty appeared to him, and informed him, that his wife ſhould bear him a ſon, commanding him to call the child by the name of Iſaac. The Lord alſo foretold to him, that the poſterity of Iſaac ſhould be † mighty ſovereigns, and by force of arms poſſeſs themſelves of the whole tract of country extending from Sidon to Egypt.

Abraham circumciſed, XVII. ver. 23.

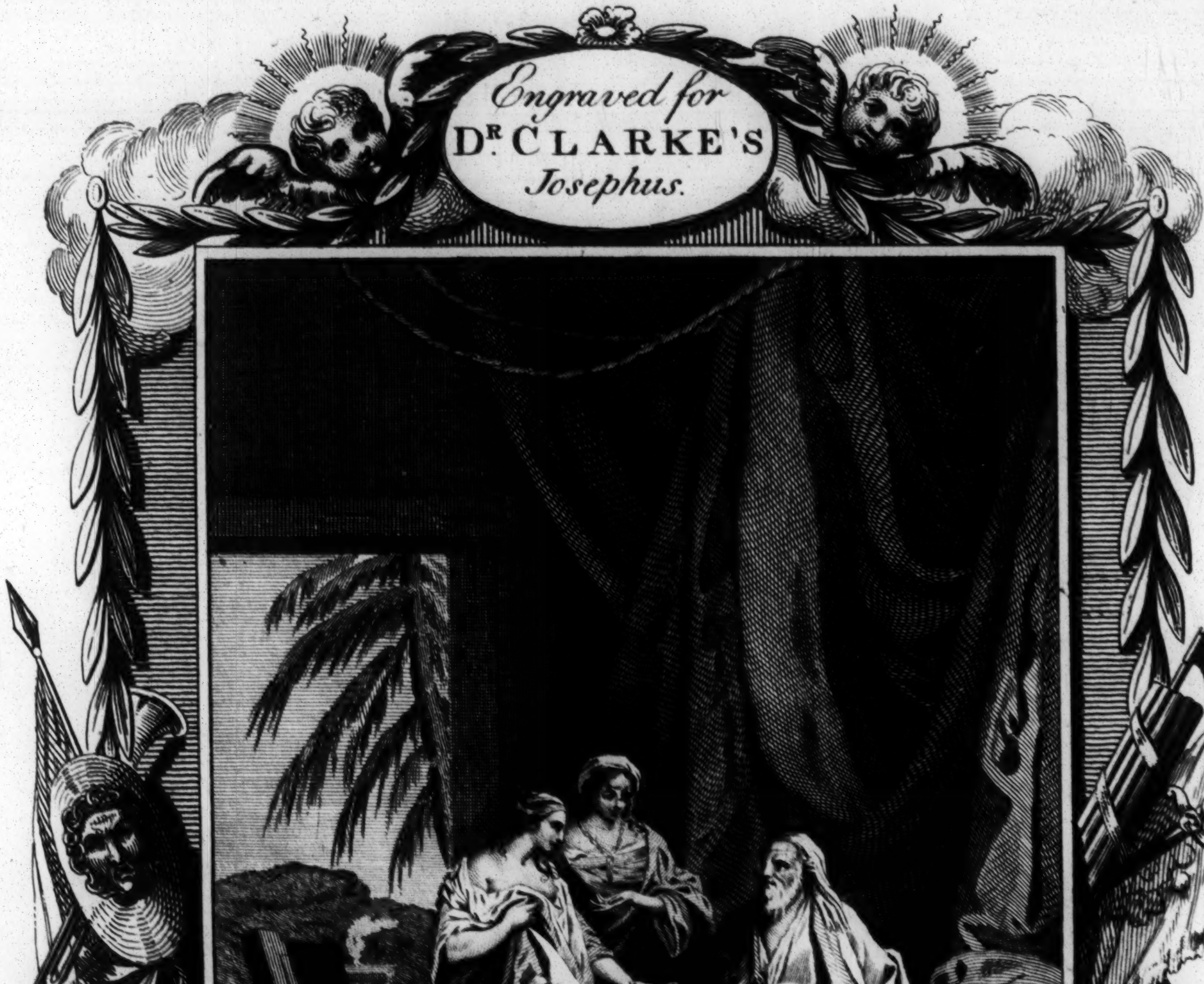
God alſo commanded, that the poſterity of Abraham ſhould be circumciſed at the age of eight days, both for the purpoſe of diſtinguiſhing them from other races of people, and for other reaſons that will be explained in the progreſs this work. He then enquired, whether Iſhmael would die in his youth, or arrive to manhood; when God was pleaſed to inform him, that his life would be long,

---

* St. Chryſoſtom, St. Cyril, and others ſay, that the ancient manner of forming alliances by marriage was, by ſeparating the victims into two parts, and placing them upon two altars, after which the contracting parties walked between the altars, thereby ſignifying, that if either ſhould violate the covenant, he or ſhe ſhould be cut aſunder like the victims.

† The Scripture ſays, "And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations of thee, and kings ſhall come out of thee." Gen. XVII. 6. The kings here meant, are thoſe of the Jews, Iſhmaelites, Idumæans, Medianites, Saracens, Arabians, Babylonians, Egyptians, Africans, Spaniards, and laſtly, the great king of the Chriſtian world, the glorious Meſſiah.

BRITISH MUSEUM

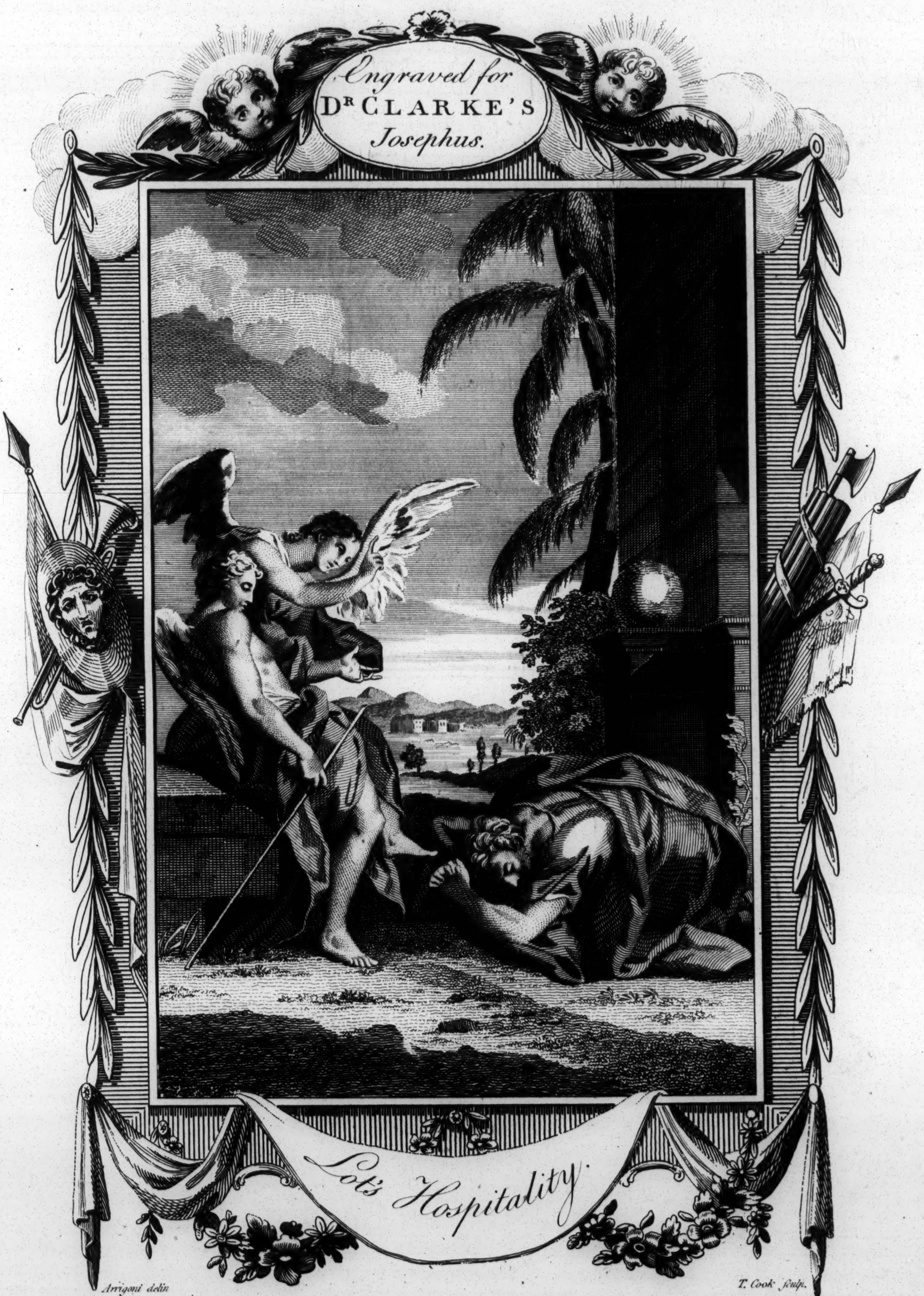

Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

SARAI giveth HAGAR to ABRAM.

C Vanloo del Cook sculp

Publiſh'd as the Act directs Decr. 3.d 1785. by John Walker Pater noſter Row.

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
Dr CLARKE'S
Josephus.

Lot's Hospitality.

Arrigoni delin · T. Cook sculp.

Publish'd as the Act directs Jan.y 21.st 1786 by John Walker Pater noster Row.

and that he would be the progenitor of ſeveral great and famous nations. Abraham now humbled himſelf in prayer before, and returned thanks to God for his repeated favours and bounties; immediately after which, he and all the males of his family were circumciſed, including Iſhmael, who at this time was thirteen years of age.

CHAP. XI.

The abominable wickedneſs of the people of Sodom. Abraham entertains three angels, who promiſe him a ſon. The angels foretel the deſtruction of Sodom. They viſit Lot. Some of the people of the city are ſtruck with blindneſs. Lot departs from the city, which is conſumed by fire. Lot's wife turned into a pillar of ſalt. He commits inceſt.

The wickedneſs of the people of Sodom, Gen. XVIII and IX.

THE wealth and plenty of the people of Sodom pampered their pride and arrogance to the moſt intolerable degree; and they behaved with irreverence towards God, and inſolence and contempt towards men; ingratitude for benefits received was among their crimes; they deſpiſed and hated ſtrangers; and to render their characters completely deteſtable, the men were addicted to unnatural propenſities towards each other. Highly incenſed againſt theſe impious people, God determined to puniſh their complicated crimes by deſtroying their city, and devaſtating the circumjacent country, ſo that in future it ſhould produce neither fruit, plants, nor graſs, nor any otherwiſe conduce to the convenience and uſe of man.

Abraham hoſpitably entertains three angels, Gen. XVIII. 2.

The angels promiſe Abraham a ſon, ver. 10.

While Abraham was one day ſitting at the door of his tent, under the oak of Mambre, he obſerved three figures approach, and imagined them to be ſtrangers and travellers. He roſe to meet them, and, after the uſual ſalutations, invited them to partake of the beſt entertainment and accommodations his habitation could afford. They accepted his hoſpitable offer, and Abraham ordered his domeſtics to bake a cake, and kill and dreſs a calf for their refreſhment. The proviſions being prepared, and ſet before the angels, under the oak, they appeared to eat of them, and expreſſed themſelves grateful for the kindneſs of their hoſt. While the meat remained before them, they enquired of Abraham, where his wife, Sarah, was. He replied, that ſhe was in the tent, to which he pointed. Hereupon they roſe, as if about to depart, ſaying to Abraham, that they ſhould ſoon be in that part of the country again, and ſhould then find his wife, Sarah, a mother. Upon this Sarah was immediately ſent for, and upon her arrival ſhe could not avoid ſmiling to hear the ſtrangers ſay, ſhe ſhould have a child at her advanced time of life, ſhe being then ninety years of age, and her huſband an hundred. After this, the divine meſſengers threw off the garments which they had aſſumed by way of diſguiſe, and explained the purport of the commiſſion which God had appointed them to execute. They ſaid, that one of them was ſent to inform him that a ſon would be born to him, and that the other two were authoriſed to bring about the utter extermination of the inhabitants, and the ruin of the buildings of the city of Sodom.

and predict the deſtruction of the city of Sodom, ver. 17, &c.

The prediction relating to Sodom afflicted the compaſſionate heart of Abraham, who addreſſed himſelf to the Lord, praying, that the innocent might not be involved in the puniſhment of the guilty. God upon this informed him, that all the inhabitants of the city were equally guilty, and if ten righteous men could be found among them, for the ſake of thoſe ten, he would ſhew mercy to the reſt of the inhabitants. Upon this, Abraham ceaſed to intercede in behalf of the people of Sodom.

Two of the angels become the gueſts of Lot, Gen. XIX. 1.

The two angels who were commiſſioned to effect the ruin of Sodom went into that city, and being obſerved by Lot, he invited them to take up their night's abode in his houſe. Lot was naturally of a humane diſpoſition, and exceedingly hoſpitable to ſtrangers. In ſhort, Lot was in righteouſneſs and benevolence of diſpoſition, an admirable imitation of the fine example exhibited in the conduct of Abraham.

Lot's houſe beſet, ver. 4.

Men of Sodom ſtruck blind, ver. 11.

The inhabitants of the town obſerving two ſtrangers enter the houſe of Lot, they ſurrounded his dwelling, endeavouring to force their way in, for the purpoſe of gratifying their unnatural propenſities by a violent aſſault upon their perſons. Lot enforced every argument in his power in recommendation of continence and hoſpitality, with a view of diverting them from the commiſſion of the abominable act of lewdneſs they were meditating againſt his gueſts: but finding his arguments could not prevail, he offered to ſurrender his two daughters into their power; but they rejected this propoſal. Highly incenſed by the abominable wickedneſs of theſe people, God ſtruck the men who had endeavoured to gain acceſs to the habitation of Lot with a judicial blindneſs, and conſequently they were unable to find their way into the houſe.

Lot departs from the city, ver. 16.

In conſequence of Lot being apprized by the two angels of the judgment that was to befal the city of Sodom, Lot departed from that place, being accompanied by his wife, and his two maiden daughters. The perſons with whom the daughters were under a contract of marriage, were earneſtly ſolicited to accompany Lot's family in their flight;

ſlight; but the perſuaſions uſed to induce their compliance, they treated as proceeding from a diſtempered imagination, and, remaining in the city, they periſhed in the general conflagration.

The deſtruction of Sodom, ver. 24.

God now directed the terrible ſhafts of his vengeance againſt this abominably degenerate race of people. The city, and every inhabitant it contained, were conſumed by a judicial fire ſent from Heaven, and the circumjacent country was thrown into a ſtate of irreparable deſolation, as appears in my Commentaries upon the Wars of the Jews. Lot's wife, either from curioſity, or compaſſion for the periſhing inhabitants, in her flight with her huſband, looked back to ſurvey the deſtruction of the city, in direct violation of the command of God, who, as a puniſhment for that act of diſobedience, converted her into a pillar of ſalt *. This pillar of ſalt I have actually ſeen, and it remains to this time.

Lot's wife turned into a pillar of ſalt, ver. 25.

After the conflagration of Sodom, Lot and his daughters fled to a corner of the country called Zoar, which word in the Hebrew imports ſmall. This little tract of land was the only part of the province to which the deſolation did not extend. In Zoar they led a ſolitary life, conſidering themſelves as the only ſurvivors of the human race. They imagined, that they ſhould be juſtifiable in adopting a ſtratagem, whereby the conſervation of the human ſpecies might be effected. Impelled by this conſideration, the daughters went into bed to their father, after prevailing upon him to drink a ſufficient quantity of wine to overpower his ſenſes, and render him incapable of knowing what paſſed. In conſequence hereof, they both became pregnant, and each was delivered of a ſon, that of the eldeſt daughter being named Moab, and that of her ſiſter Ammon. Moab, in the Hebrew, ſignifies, of my father, and, in the ſame lauguage, Ammon purports, of my race. Moab was the progenitor of the Moabites, a great and powerful people; and from Ammon are deſcended the nation of Ammonites. Both theſe generations inhabit Cœle-Syria.

CHAP XII.

Abraham and Sarah repair to Gerar in Paleſtine. Abimelech in love with Sarah. He is admoniſhed in a dream to ſubdue his paſſion. The well of Berſube. In compliance with the ſolicitation of Sarah, Hagar and Iſhmael are diſmiſſed from the family of Abraham. In her deſpair, Hagar is comforted by an Angel. The poſterity of Iſhmael.

Abraham and Sarah go into Paleſtine.

ABRAHAM and Sarah ſet out for Gerar in Paleſtine, Sarah ſtill paſſing under the character of his ſiſter, in order that ſhe might eſcape the amorous overtures of Abimelech, king of Paleſtine. The king, as was apprehended, conceived a violent paſſion for Sarah, which he would have attempted to have gratified, but for the interference of the providence of God, whereby he was afflicted with a dangerous ſickneſs, in order that a check might be given to his intemperate deſires.

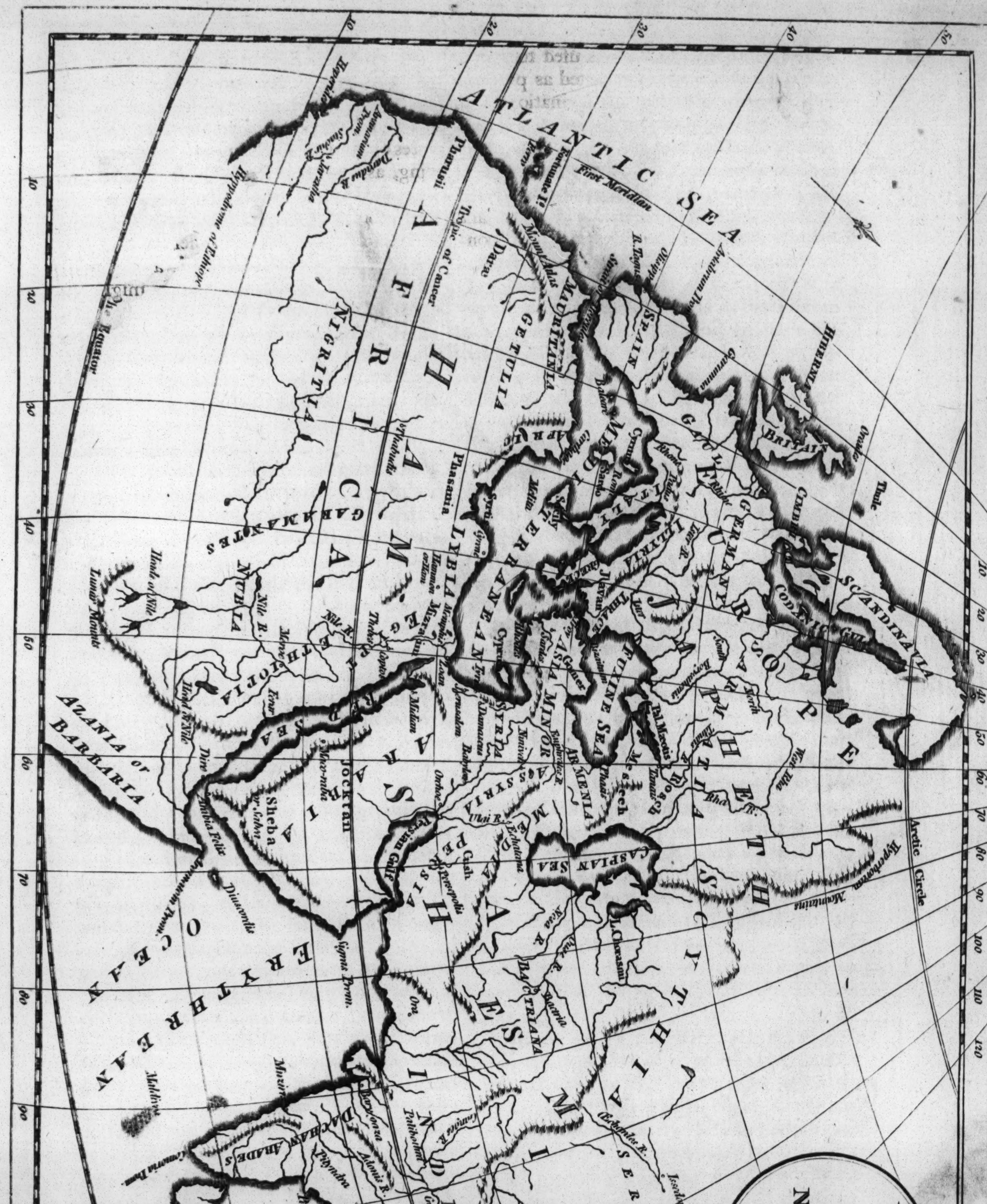
When the health of Abimelech was ſo much impaired, that his phyſicians deſpaired of his recovery, he was admoniſhed in a dream, againſt offering any violence to Sarah, ſhe not being the ſiſter, but the wife of the man ſhe accompanied. When Abimelech found his health in a favourable way of being reſtored, he informed his courtiers, and other perſons with whom he had an opportunity of converſing, of his having become enamoured of Sarah, and the admonition he had received in his dream; concluding with deducing from the whole, that his indiſpoſition had been inflicted upon him as a judgment from Heaven, for having permitted his reaſon to be ſubdued by the intemperance of his carnal deſires.

By the advice of his friends, the king diſpatched a meſſenger to command Abraham to appear in his preſence; and on his arrival, he informed him, that notwithſtanding his wife was in his power, and he had formed the deſign of deſpoiling her of her chaſtity, yet he reſtored her to her lawful huſband with unpolluted purity, appealing to Heaven, and the conſcience of Sarah, for the truth of his aſſeveration, and ſolemnly declaring, that had he been apprized, that ſhe was the wife of Abraham, he would not have harboured the deſign of ſeducing her to tranſgreſs the ſacred obligation of her marriage vow. He expreſſed an earneſt deſire of a reconciliation with Abraham, who he requeſted would not omit to include him in his prayers to the Almighty. Abimelech informed Abraham, that if he had an inclination to reſide in his dominions, he ſhould be provided with every accommodation that could poſſibly contribute to his convenience, agreeable accommodation, and happineſs; or, if it was his inclination to depart from that country, he would provide guides and carriages to attend him to the place of his deſtination. To reſcue himſelf from the imputation of having recourſe to the mean and contemptible arts of fraud and deception, Abraham explained, that Sarah was connected with him in a double capacity, ſhe being the daughter of his brother, and therefore connected with him by an alliance of blood, previous to the ſolemnization of their marriage. Abraham contended, that he was not the intentional

Abimelech invites Abraham to ſettle in Paleſtine.

---

* *Vide* Colomeſius's Obſervat. Sacr. p. 111. and Huetius's Alnet. Queſt. L. II. p. 193.



THE WORLD as Divided between NOAH's three SONS according to the ANTIENTS.

ATLANTIC SEA
SCANDINAVIA
EUROPE
JAPHETH
GAUL
GERMANY
SPAIN
BRITAIN
HIBERNIA
Thule
ITALY
ILLYRIA
THRACIA
SARMATIA
SCYTHIA
EUXINE SEA
CASPIAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
AFRICA
HAM
MAURITANIA
GETULIA
NIGRITIA
LYBIA
GARAMANTES
NUBIA
ÆTHIOPIA
EGYPT
ASIA MINOR
SYRIA
ARMENIA
ASSYRIA
MEDIA
PERSIA
ARABIA
RED SEA
Persian Gulf
SHEM
ASIA
BACTRIANA
INDIA
GULF OF GANGES
Taprobane
SERICA
SCYTHIA
COUNTRY of the SINÆ
ERYTHREAN OCEAN
AZANIA or BARBARIA
Tropic of Cancer
Equator
Arctic Circle
First Meridian
Hyperborean Mountains
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
100
110
120

BRITISH MUSEUM

intentional cauſe of the indiſpoſition of Abimelech, for whoſe recovery, and ſucceſs in all the purſuits of life, he expreſſed himſelf to be much intereſted; and he concluded with expreſſing an inclination to eſtabliſh his reſidence in Melchiſedech's dominions. At length the king generouſly offered to aſſign to the uſe of Abraham a certain portion of land; and, as a further proof of his friendſhip, propoſed contracting a permanent alliance with him, according to the conditions of which, both parties were to conduct themſelves towards each other in an honourable correſpondence of reciprocal friendſhip. This league between Melchiſedech and Abraham was confirmed and ratified at a well called Berſube (or the well of the oath); which name it bears at this time.

Berſube, or he well of he oath, Gen. XXI. 31.

The birth of Iſaac, ver. 2, 3.

A ſhort time after the above tranſactions, Sarah, agreeable to the prediction of God, brought forth a ſon; and, in obedience to the divine command, Abraham gave him the name of Iſaac. This name, in the Hebrew, ſignifies laughter, and was given in alluſion to Sarah's ſmiling when the angels foretold that ſhe ſhould become pregnant at her advanced time of life. The eighth day after his birth, Iſaac was circumciſed. The ſolemnity of circumciſion is at this time obſerved by the Jews. Iſhmael was not circumciſed till his thirteenth year; and therefore the Arabians, who derive their origin from him, do not ſubmit to that ceremony till they have attained the ſame age.

Sarah ſolicits Abraham to diſmiſs Hagar and Iſhmael, ver. 10.

Till the birth of Iſaac, Sarah entertained a moſt tender affection towards Iſhmael, the ſon of Hagar: but afterwards ſhe was averſe to the two ſons of Abraham being brought up together. Every poſſible care and attention was employed in the education of Iſhmael, he being conſidered as the preſumptive heir to the government. Iſhmael being the elder, Sarah was apprehenſive, that in caſe of Abraham's deceaſe, he might erect a claim to the lawful inheritance of her ſon Iſaac; and therefore, to ſecure the ſucceſſion of the government to the latter, ſhe urged every argument in her power to prevail upon her huſband to diſpoſe of Hagar and Iſhmael in ſome remote part of the land. Abraham at firſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this propoſition, inaſmuch as to expoſe a helpleſs woman and her innocent child to want and wretchedneſs would be an act of barbarity diſgraceful to human nature. At length, by the command of God, Abraham complied with Sarah's requeſt, and delivering the child to Hagar, he gave her a portion of bread and water, and commanded her to * depart from his habitation.

After purſuing her journey for ſome time, the water Hagar had taken with her was expended, and the child appeared to be on the point of periſhing through exceſſive thirſt. In this extremity of diſtreſs, ſhe laid Iſhmael at the foot of a fir-tree, and retired to ſome diſtance from the ſpot, in order that ſhe might avoid the horror of beholding her ſon in the laſt agonies of death. While in this ſtate of deſperation, an angel appeared to her, and after ſhewing her a neighbouring fountain, admoniſhed her to be attentive to the ſafety of her ſon, adding, that on his preſervation her own happineſs would depend. This circumſtance revived the ſpirits of the diſconſolate woman, who continued to wander through the country till ſhe met with a company of ſhepherds, whoſe ſociety contributed much to her relief.

Hagar comforted by an angel, and admoniſhed to be careful of Iſhmael, ver. 17.

Iſhmael's twelve ſons.

Iſhmael having arrived to the ſtate of man, his mother gave him in marriage to a woman who was a native of Egypt, by whom he had the twelve following ſons: † Nabaioth, Cedar, Abdeel, Mabſamus, Moſmaus, Idumus, Maſſaus, Chodad, Theman, Jetur, Nephaith and Cadmas. Theſe ſons of Iſhmael had poſſeſſion of all the country from the Euphrates to the Black ſea, which bears the name of Nabathea. The Arabians are deſcended from them; and by the dignity of Abraham, and their own valour, they were enabled to impoſe names upon, and exerciſe authority over, the ſeveral Arabian tribes.

CHAP. XIII.

The Almighty commands Abraham to ſacrifice his ſon Iſaac. His implicit obedience to the divine will. His pathetic addreſs to his beloved Son. The faith and reſignation of Iſaac. When Abraham is preparing to kill his ſon, he is reſtrained from that act by a voice from Heaven. God ſubſtitutes a ram for a ſacrifice in the room of Iſaac. Abraham and Iſaac acknowledge the infinite goodneſs of God.

ISAAC, the only ſon of Abraham and Sarah, was given as a reward for his father's righteouſneſs, to be a bleſſing and comfort to him and his wife in their old age. The tenderneſs and affection of the parents were repaid and juſtified by the exemplary piety and virtue which Iſaac manifeſted at a very early time of life. Happy in the proſpect of having ſo worthy and excellent a ſucceſſor, Abraham was prepared chearfully to reſign his life to him from whom he had received it, and to tranſmit his authority and all his poſſeſſions to his beloved ſon, who every day afforded new inſtances of his piety towards God, and filial reverence and reſpect to his parents.

---

* Though Iſhmael is called a child, he was about fifteen years of age at this time. It was the cuſtom in the early ages for fathers to ſend their younger ſons away from them, in order to form an independent ſettlement. Jacob was diſmiſſed in the ſame manner from Iſaac; and it is only from our ignorance of the cuſtoms and manners of ancient times, when every part abounded with the neceſſaries of life, that we impute cruelty to Abraham with regard to Hagar and Iſhmael. By bread and water various kinds of proviſions are meant.

† In Scripture the orthography is as follows: Nebajoth, Kedar, Abdeel, Mibſam, Miſhma, Dumah, Maſſa, Hadar, Tema, Jetur, Naphiſh, Kedemah. Gen. XXV. 13, 14, 15.

The faith of Abraham tried, Gen. XXII. 1.

Abraham's faith and obedience, ver. 3.

It was the pleaſure of the Almighty to make a further proof of the piety and reſignation of Abraham; and for that purpoſe, after recapitulating the victories he had obtained, the wealth he had acquired, and the various bleſſings conferred upon him, particularly in the birth of his ſon Iſaac, the Lord was pleaſed to demand as an indubitable proof of his faith and obedience, that he ſhould be offered up as a ſacrifice upon an altar to be erected upon the mountain of Moriah. Abraham, whoſe love of God was unlimitted, made not the leaſt heſitation as to becoming the humble inſtrument of yielding back the life which his dear ſon had received from the all-bountiful Creator. Without intimating his deſign, either to his wife or any other of his family, leſt it ſhould be oppoſed by them, Abraham departed for mount Moriah, being accompanied by his ſon, and attended by two domeſtics, the materials for erecting the altar being carried upon an aſs. On the third day they arrived within ſight of the mountain, on the ſummit of which David afterwards built a temple. Leaving the ſervants in a field in the plain, Abraham and Iſaac, who was now twenty-five years of age, aſcended the mount. The altar being prepared, Iſaac took notice that his father had provided no victim; and therefore he enquired what he intended to offer as a ſacrifice. Abraham ſaid in reply, that God, who had power of ſupplying thoſe in want, and of taking away from thoſe enjoying abundance, if an oblation would be acceptable to him, would doubtleſs provide a victim for ſacrifice.

Abraham pathetically addreſſes Iſaac before the altar, ver. 8.

The altar being raiſed, and the wood laid upon it, Abraham addreſſed his ſon to the following effect: “My dearly beloved ſon, you were given to me in conſequence of my earneſt ſupplications to almighty God; and ſince your birth, I have omitted no endeavour within the compaſs of my power in your maintenance and education. The greateſt happineſs I wiſhed to enjoy in this world was to ſee you arrived at the age of maturity. My deſign was, when the Almighty ſhould pleaſe to take me to himſelf, to make you the inheritor of my authority and dominions. But ſince God, who gave you to my prayers, is pleaſed to command me to return you to him, I admoniſh you to acquit yourſelf with fortitude on this occaſion of pious neceſſity. In return for the bleſſings God has heaped upon us both in war and in peace, he requires the life of my tenderly beloved ſon; and therefore you are dedicated to become the ſacrifice to his divine will. The law of nature requires that all who live ſhall die; and it is not poſſible that you ſhould end your days more gloriouſly than by falling under the hand of your own father, as a ſacrifice to the great Author of your being, who has rather choſen to receive your ſoul into eternity amidſt fervent prayers and righteous ejaculations, than that you ſhould die by ſickneſs, the chance of war, or any other common accident to which human nature is liable. Reflect then, that in the heavenly ſtation to which you are deemed worthy to be called, you will become the interceſſor and mediator in my behalf to the Almighty, and thereby more effectually ſupport and comfort me in my age, than you could poſſibly be able to do while remaining with me in this ſtate of ſublunary exiſtence.”

Iſaac heard the above addreſs with a degree of patience, reſignation and fortitude, becoming one deſcended from ſo wiſe and good a man as Abraham. When his father had concluded, Iſaac ſaid, that if he was not diſpoſed freely to ſurrender his life to almighty God and his father, from whom he received it, he ſhould be unworthy of any of the bleſſings he had enjoyed; he avowed himſelf ready and willing to ſubmit to the will of God, and added, that he would, with chearfulneſs, have reſigned his life, if his father only had demanded it. He then advanced to the altar, and reclined himſelf upon it, as a voluntary victim for ſlaughter: but at the inſtant Abraham was about to deprive his ſon of life, God called upon him aloud from Heaven, to reſtrain his hand, ſaying, he did not demand the life of Iſaac becauſe he derived ſatisfaction from the ſpilling of human blood, or from a deſire of making a father the inſtrument of his child's death: but he had ordered the ſacrifice of Iſaac for no other purpoſe than to put the faith and reſignation of Abraham to the proof. The Lord was then pleaſed to inform Abraham, that having received ſo ſignal an evidence of his righteouſneſs and reſignation, he would confirm and ratify to him all his former promiſes. God ſaid Abraham's ſacrifice was acceptable; that he would never forſake him or his poſterity; that the life of his ſon Iſaac ſhould be long and happy; that his poſterity ſhould be a ſucceſſion of illuſtrious

A voice from Heaven calls upon Abraham to ſpare Iſaac, ver. 12.

illuſtrious men, who ſhould rule over and preſcribe laws for the government of many kingdoms; and that the deſcendants of Iſaac ſhould, by the force of arms, ſubdue the land of Canaan, and acquire ſuch wealth, renown and happineſs as ſhould make them objects of the admiration and envy of the reſt of the world.

A ram for a ſacrifice inſtead of Iſaac, ver. 13.

No ſooner had God expreſſed himſelf to the purpoſe above mentioned, than a ram miraculouſly appeared before Abraham and Iſaac for a ſacrifice. After the ſurprize occaſioned by this circumſtance had abated, they embraced each other in a tranſport of joy, bleſſing God for his acts of unbounded goodneſs and gracious promiſes; and having made their oblation, they proceeded on their return to Sarah, attended by the bleſſing of God, whereby they were made happy and proſperous in all their undertakings to the end of their days.

CHAP XIV.

The death of Sarah.

Gen. XXIII. 1, 2.

SOON after the circumſtances recorded in the preceding chapter, Sarah died, being then an * hundred and twenty-ſeven years old, and ſhe was buried at Hebron. † The Canaanites were deſirous of giving interment to the remains of Sarah, and alſo of erecting a monument to her memory: but Abraham declined their offer, prefering rather to purchaſe a piece of land, for a place of interment for himſelf and the people of his family. Accordingly Abraham purchaſed a ſpot of ground for this purpoſe of a native of Hebron, named Ephraim, for the ſum of four hundred ‡ ſhekels; and in this place the body of Sarah was depoſited. In the above place the ſepulchres of Abraham and ſeveral of his deſcendants are ſtill be ſeen.

CHAP. XV.

Abraham marries a ſecond wife, named Chetura. The iſſue of this marriage. The fable of Hercules. Abraham propoſes to marry Iſaac to Rebecca, the grand-daughter of Nachor. Formality of an oath. Inſtance of the kindneſs of Rebecca, who is delivered up to Abraham's ſteward.

The offspring of Abraham and Chetura.

SOME time after the deceaſe of his wife Sarah, Abraham contracted ‖ marriage with Chetura; and ſhe brought him ſix ſons, whoſe name were, § Zembran, Jazar, Madan, Madian, Jozubac, and Suus. They proved men diſtinguiſhed for their wiſdom, ſkill and induſtry.

The two ſons of Suus were named Sabathan and Dadan. Dadan's ſons were Latuſim, Aſſur and Luom. Epha, Opher, Enoch, Ebidas, and Eldas were the five ſons of Madian.

In purſuance of the advice of Abraham, the above mentioned people diſperſed themſelves, and formed different ſettlements in the country of the Troglodytes, and that part of Arabia Felix lying towards the Red ſea. Some writers are of opinion, that the above mentioned is the ſame Opher, who led a powerful army into Lybia, and ſubjugated that country to his dominion. The government of Lybia devolving to his ſucceſſors, they gave it the name of Aphrica, according to the conjecture of many learned men. This opinion is eſpouſed by Alexander Polyhiſtor, who ſays, Cleodemus, otherwiſe called Malchus, the prophet, in his Hiſtory of Jews, written after the manner of Moſes, their law-giver, mentions ſeveral of the children of Abraham and Chetura by name, ſaying that the Syrians received their name from Surim; and the city of Aphra, and the country of Aphrica, being named after Japhran and Apheran. Theſe are the people who are ſaid to have fought Libya and Antæus under the command of Hercules, who, according to the ſtory, eſpouſed the daughter of Aphra, and had by her Dedor, the father of Sophon, from whom the

The fable of Hercules.

---

* Sarah is the only woman whoſe age is aſcertained in Scripture.

† "And Abraham ſtood up before his dead, and ſpake unto the ſons of Heth, ſaying, I am a ſtranger and a ſojourner with you: give me a poſſeſſion of a burying place with you, that I may bury my dead out of my ſight. And the children of Heth anſwered Abraham, ſaying unto him, Hear us, my lord: thou art a mighty prince among us; in the choice of our ſepulchres bury thy dead: none of us ſhall withhold from thee his ſepulcre, but that thou mayeſt bury thy dead." Gen. XXIII, 3, 4, 5, 6. Each family had a diſtinct ſepulcre for itſelf; and the offer of ſelecting the moſt magnificent among them for the interment of Sarah, ſhews in what high veneration the patriarch's character was held. He was, as the Hebrew expreſſes it, a prince of Elolim, or God.

‡ The ſhekel meant here was the common ſhekel of ſilver, in value about two ſhillings, one penny, and three eighths of our money; ſo that the amount of the four hundred ſhekels was about forty pounds, five ſhillings and ten pence.

‖ "Now the ſons of Keturah, Abraham's concubine," &c. I. Chron. I, 32. Hence it appears that ſhe was Abraham's concubine, and not his wife. But Moſes ſays, "Then again Abraham took a wife, and her name was Keturah." Gen. XXV. 1. Though they might have cohabited together without the ceremony of marriage being obſerved, as was in numerous inſtances deemed neceſſary for increaſing the inhabitants of the earth in the early ages; yet it is probable that Moſes gives Keturah the honourable appellation of Abraham's wife, in order to avoid giving countenance to his example being adopted in ſubſequent generations.

§ In Scripture they are called Zimran, Jokſhan, Medan, Midian, Iſhbak, and Shuah, Gen. XXV. 2, 3, &c. The children of Jokſhan were Sheba and Dedan. Dedan had three ſons, named Aſhurim, Letuſhim, and Leummin. The ſons of Midian were Ephah, Epher, Hanoch, Abidah, and Eldaah.

appellation of the barbarous people called Sophaces was derived.

Abraham propoſes a matrimonial alliance between his ſon Iſaac and Rebecca, the grand-daughter of Nachor, Gen. XXIV. 4.

An oath of fidelity adminiſtered to Abraham's ſervant.

At this time Abraham conceived an idea of effecting a matrimonial alliance between his ſon Iſaac, who was about forty years of age, and Rebecca, the grand-daughter of his brother Nachor. In purſuance of this deſign, he determined to diſpatch a confidential ſervant to demand Rebecca as a wife for his ſon. Previous to giving him the commiſſion for propoſing the treaty of marriage, Abraham adminiſtered an oath to the domeſtic, who was to negociate this buſineſs, purporting, that he ſhould diſcharge his truſt with fidelity. Having bound himſelf under the ſolemn obligation of an oath, by putting his hand under his maſter's * thigh, Abraham gave his ſervant authority to propoſe the marriage; and having provided him with divers preſents for the family he was to viſit, more curious in their nature, and of a higher value, than were often ſeen in that country, the man ſet forward on his journey, being furniſhed with proviſions and ſuch other articles as he was likely to have occaſion for. He was to paſs through part of † Meſopotamia, where in ſummer there is a great ſcarcity of water, and in winter the roads are extremely inconvenient to paſſengers, owing to the looſeneſs of the ſoil; and excluſive of thoſe diſadvantages, the country was infeſted with great numbers of robbers. However, he ſurmounted every difficulty he had to encounter, and at length, arrived at Charran.

Upon entering the ſuburbs of the town, he obſerved a number of young maidens going to the ‡ wells for water. Hereupon, he devoutly addreſſed himſelf to Heaven, ſupplicating, if the Almighty approved the alliance he was commiſſioned to propoſe, that Rebecca might be among the number of the young women who were going to the wells for water; and further, that he might know her by the circumſtance of her preſenting him with water to drink, after the others had rejected his requeſt.

The courteous behaviour of Rebecca to Abraham's ſteward, ver. 18, 19, &c.

Approaching the well where the virgins were aſſembled, he ſeverally requeſted the others to oblige him with a draught of water to refreſh his ſpirits which were exhauſted by the fatigue of a long journey: but they declined a compliance, ſome alledging that it was difficult to obtain, and others ſaying they drew water for themſelves and not for ſtrangers; ſo that, in ſhort, under a variety of pretexts, his requeſt was refuſed by them all except one. At length, one of the virgins reproved her companions for the incivility of their behaviour to a ſtranger and a traveller, whom they might have accommodated with the refreſhment he required, with very ſmall inconvenience to themſelves. She then, in the moſt courteous manner, || preſented him her pitcher, in order that he might ſatisfy his thirſt. This inſtance of a kind and hoſpitable temper, he conſidered as an occurrence auſpicious to the ſucceſs of his negociation. However, to remove his doubts, as to the family from which the young woman who had behaved in ſo gracious a manner to him was deſcended, he, in a modeſt and reſpectful manner, after acknowledging his gratitude for her civility, enquired the names of the perſons who had the happineſs of poſſeſſing ſo excellent a daughter, concluding with a prayer, that it might be their good fortune to give her in marriage to one with whom ſhe might enjoy every comfort and happineſs of which human nature was capable. With the utmoſt condeſcention ſhe replied, that her name was Rebecca; adding that ſhe was the daughter of Bathuel, who upon his deceaſe, ſome conſiderable time before, left her and her mother, together with his whole property, under the management of her brother Laban. Tranſported by this information, he conceived a full reliance that the Almighty would ſecure a proſperous iſſue to the buſineſs in which he had engaged. He then preſented to the young

---

* "And Abraham ſaid unto the eldeſt ſervant of his houſe, that ruled over all he had, put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh: and I will make thee ſwear by the Lord, the God of Heaven, and the God of earth, that thou ſhalt not take a wife unto my ſon of the daughters of the Canaanites: but thou ſhalt go into my country, and to my kindred, and take a wife unto my ſon Iſaac, Gen. XXIV. 2, 3, 4." The uſual way of taking an oath was by putting the hand under the thigh; this method being practiced not only by the Hebrews, but alſo by all the Oriental nations. With reſpect to the origin of the ceremony, conjectures are various; however, it was not the ceremonial part, but the words which were binding. The ſolemnity of the oath proves the purity of Abraham's religion. He ſwears by "the Lord, the God of Heaven, and the God of earth;" for the omnipreſence of the Creator renders him a proper object of ſo ſolemn an appeal, and by his omnipotence he is capable of avenging a forfeiture of the obligation.

† Abraham laid an injunction upon him to go into Meſopotamia, the place of his nativity, and not to contract his ſon to a Canaanitiſh woman; the inhabitants of Canaan being immerſed in the moſt abominable wickedneſs.

‡ According to the cuſtoms of the eaſtern countries, a part of the employment of the young women was to draw water from the wells, as appears from I. Samuel, IX. 11. "And they went up the hill to the city, and found young maidens going out to draw water."

|| The kindneſs and hoſpitality of Rebecca on this occaſion are a proof of the diſcretion of Abraham's ſervant, who was deſirous of ſelecting a wife for Iſaac of a diſpoſition capable of rendering her worthy his affection.

maiden a * chain and other ornaments which generally prove acceptable to women of her age, thereby at once acknowledging the obligation ſhe had conferred upon him, and faciliting his introduction to a family, to obtain an intereſt in which was the great object of his journey. He then requeſted Rebecca would inform him, whether the family, of which ſhe was a part, could accommodate him with a lodging for that night; for as the evening was approaching, it might be dangerous for him to continue his journey till the following day; and he ſaid, that he had in his cuſtody a valuable charge of jewels and other female ornaments, and he could not depoſit theſe articles in greater ſafety than under the roof of her relations, ſince he might fairly eſtimate the honour and integrity of the mother and ſon, from the virtuous diſpoſition he had diſcovered in herſelf: in concluſion he ſaid, that he meant not to be an incumbrance upon the family, for he would chearfully defray all expences attending his entertainment. In reply, Rebecca ſaid, he had acted right in profeſſing a favourable opinion of the hoſpitality of her relations: but ſhe requeſted he would do them the juſtice to ſuppoſe, that they poſſeſſed a generoſity of mind that would not permit them to receive any gratuity for ſuch accommodation as they ſhould be able to afford him; and concluded with informing him, that ſhe would apply for her brother's permiſſion to introduce him to the family.

Rebecca's brother hoſpitably entertains Abraham's ſervant, ver. 31, &c.

Having obtained her brother's conſent, Rebecca invited him into the habitation, when † Laban ordered his ſervants to take proper care of the ſtranger's mules, and requeſted that his gueſt would refreſh himſelf with a ſupper. ‡ After the meal, the ſtranger communicated to the mother and brother of Rebecca, the object of his viſit. Addreſſing his diſcourſe to the mother he ſpoke in the following terms: "I am come to your habitation by the command of Abraham, my maſter, the ſon of Thares, and your kinſman, Nachor, the grandfather of your ſon and daughter being Abraham's brother by the ſame father and mother. The commiſſion which I am intruſted to execute is, to propoſe an alliance by marriage between Rebecca and Iſaac, the heir and only legitimate ſon of my maſter Abraham. So great are the conſequence and influence of Abraham, that he might ſelect a wife for his ſon from any of the great families of his own country; but preferring an alliance with his own blood, he has made his election in your family, and has authoriſed me to demand this virgin as a bride for his ſon. It is my earneſt requeſt, that you will not oppoſe the overture I have made, ſince the Almighty has plainly manifeſted himſelf in favour of the alliance; for it was by an extraordinary interference of Heaven that I was induced to addreſs myſelf to this virgin, and to become a gueſt in this habitation; and further, ſeveral auſpicious circumſtances occurred to me during my journey, which contribute to an aſſurance that the propoſed marriage has the approbation of the divine Power. Upon approaching this town, I obſerved ſeveral maidens going to the wells for water, when I fervently prayed, that I might be directed to this virgin; and by the impulſe of the divine Providence I addreſſed myſelf to her; therefore the alliance plainly appearing to have received the approbation and ſanction of Heaven; my earneſt ſupplication is, that you will conſent to the union of Rebecca with my maſter's ſon Iſaac." This offer was ſo advantageous to the family, and ſo manifeſtly agreeable to the will of the Almighty, that the mother and brother of the maiden made no heſitation in granting their conſent; and therefore Rebecca was delivered into the care of the ſteward, according to the conditions of the treaty; and he conducted her in ſafety to Iſaac, who eſpouſed her, he having now ſucceeded to the poſſeſſions of his father Abraham, whoſe ſons by Chetura had diſperſed themſelves into different provinces.

Abraham's ſteward propoſes a marriage between Rebecca and Iſaac, ver. 34, 35, &c.

The treaty of marriage concluded, and Rebecca delivered to Abraham's ſteward, ver. 59.

CHAP. XVI.

The death and funeral of the patriarch Abraham.

---

* "And when ſhe had done giving him drink, ſhe ſaid, I will draw water for thy camels alſo, until they have done drinking. And ſhe haſted, and emptied her pitcher into a trough, and ran again unto the well to draw water, and drew for all his camels. And the man wondering at her, held his peace, to wit, whether the Lord had made his journey proſperous or not. And it came to paſs, as the camels had done drinking, that the man took a golden ear ring of half a ſhekel weight, and two bracelets for her hands of ten ſhekels weight of gold." Gen. XXIV. 19, 20, 21, 22. According to Scripture, the benevolence of Rebecca, we ſee, extended to the brute creation. The word tranſlated ear-ring, being in the ſingular number, probably was meant to imply the ſame kind of ornament which in other parts of the Scripture is called a noſe-jewel. Writers vary in their eſtimation of the value of theſe preſents, ſome computing them at eighteen guineas, and others at upwards of five-and-twenty pounds ſterling.

† Though Abraham's ſervant was an entire ſtranger to Laban, before imparting the advantageous offer he had to make, he was received with that kindneſs, hoſpitality and benevolence, ſo highly characteriſtic of the amiable ſimplicity of the manners of ancient times.

‡ This does not correſpond with the Scripture, where it is ſaid, "And there was ſet meat before him to eat: but he ſaid, I will not eat, until I have told my errand." Gen. XXIV. 33.

The death and burial of Abraham, Gen. XXV. ver. 7, 8, 9.

SOME ſhort time after the ſolemnization of the marriage of Iſaac and Rebecca, Abraham* departed this life. He was a man diſtinguiſhed for many and eminent virtues, and was exceedingly beloved by God, and held in the higheſt reſpect and veneration by men. At the time of his deceaſe, he was one hundred and ſeventy-five years of age. Iſaac and Iſhmael undertook the care of his funeral, and depoſited the remains of their righteous father by the ſide of the body of Sarah at Hebron.

CHAP. XVII.

Rebecca delivered of Jacob and Eſau. A famine in Canaan. Iſaac makes a journey to Gerar. After a diſagreement with Abimelech, Iſaac renews his alliance with that King. Eſau marries two wives from Canaan. Iſaac ſends Eſau to hunt, and in his abſence Jacob perſonates him, and obtains his father's bleſſing. Eſau's diſappointment. Jacob retires into Meſopotamia, fearing his brother might avenge the injury he had done him. Eſau eſpouſes an Iſhmaelitiſh woman.

A ſhort time after the deceaſe of Abraham, Iſaac's wife, Rebecca, was found to be pregnant; and her ſize was ſo extraordinarily increaſed, that her huſband became exceedingly apprehenſive for her ſafety. Under this depreſſion of ſpirits, he addreſſed himſelf to God, praying that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to reveal the cauſe of Rebecca's unuſual appearance. The Almighty condeſcended to inform him, that his wife would be delivered of twins, from whom two † great and powerful nations would deſcend, and be diſtinguiſhed under their names, adding, that in proceſs of time the youngeſt would became the moſt powerful.

The birth of Jacob and Eſau, ver. 24, 25.

A ſhort time after this prediction, Rebecca was delivered of two ſons at a birth, one of them being covered with hair from head to foot, and the other holding him by the heel as they came into the world. The elder of theſe was named Eſau, or Seir, importing hair, in the Hebrew: he was the favourite of the father; and the youngeſt, whoſe name was Jacob, was the darling of the mother. At this time a a dreadful famine prevailed in Canaan; and there being an abundance of all the neceſſaries of life in Egypt, Iſaac formed a deſign of going into that country: but God diverted him from his purpoſe, and he went to Gerar. On account of the former alliance contracted with Abraham, on his firſt arrival, king Abimelech received and behaved towards him with every appearance and reſpect and friendſhip; but the good correſpondence between them was not of long continuance. The ‡ king perceiving that Iſaac had obtained a greater ſhare of the favour of God than himſelf, his diſguſt and enmity towards him became manifeſt on divers occaſions: Iſaac obſerved this change of diſpoſition, and knowing it to proceed from envy, he retired from Gerar into a valley in the neighbourhood of that place.

A famine in Canaan, Gen. XXVI. ver. 1.

Iſaac goes to Gerar, 11. 16.

While Iſaac was ‖ digging in the valley in ſearch of water, Abimelech's ſhepherds violently aſſaulted him, and interrupted his labours; not diſpoſed to maintain a contention with theſe people, he removed to another ſpot, and there dug, in hopes of finding water, but being again diſturbed by the ſame ſhepherds, he reſolved to poſtpone his purpoſe till a more favourable opportunity. He afterwards renewed his labours, and obtained the king's permiſſion to dig. The place where he made his third attempt he called § Roobath, ſignifying large, or ſpacious, becauſe his cattle had now room to feed at large, and range the country in ſearch of better paſture. The ſpot where he was firſt aſſaulted by the ſhepherds he called Eſcon, purporting contention; and to the place where he was next interrupted he gave the name of Sitenna, the meaning of which is, enmity, or hatred.

The daily increaſe of the power, authority, wealth, influence and reputation of Iſaac, occaſioned Abimelech to look upon him with an eye of jealouſy. His conſcience upbraided him with having practiced inſincerity towards Iſaac; who he was apprehenſive, upon contraſting the countenance he had formerly ſhewn him with his

---

[*] The Scripture ſays, "Then Abraham gave up the Ghoſt," Gen. XXV. S. This phraſe ſignifies to die without pain or agony.

[†] The two nations were the Iſraelites and the Edomites. The Edomites deſcended from Eſau, as did the Iſraelites from Jacob. Their religions, cuſtoms and manners greatly differed, and they were continually at variance with each other. As they grew up, the purſuits and inclinations of Eſau and Jacob were oppoſite; and the ſame diverſity prevailed with their poſterity; a mutual diſcord and enmity conſtantly being maintained between the two nations that were founded by theſe brothers.

[‡] 'And Abimelech ſaid unto Iſaac, go from us, for thou art much mightier than we," Gen. XXVI. 16. Thus we ſee that notwithſtanding the league contracted with Abraham, and his former profeſſions of kindneſs, Abimelech was induced by a ſelfiſh diſpoſition, to order the departure of Iſaac from the city. According to the common policy of kings, he wiſhed his departure, leſt an increaſe of power ſhould render him a formidable rival.

[‖] The meaning is that Iſaac ſuperintended his herdſmen while they were digging The Hebrews calls the water of ſprings, living waters, to diſtinguiſh it from rain water, which people ſaved in ciſterns and other veſſels. The value of a ſpring was doubtleſs the cauſe of contention with Iſaac and the herdſmen, the latter claiming a right to the ſpring, becauſe it was found upon their maſter's ground.

[§] The names in Scripture are Rehoboth, Eſek, and Sitnah, Gen. XXVI. 20, 21, 22.

late unfriendly conduct, might be inſtigated to purſue meaſures for procuring revenge: and upon conſidering, that he might prove a formidable and dangerous enemy, he determined immediately to repair to Iſaac, in order to propoſe a renewal of their treaty of alliance and friendſhip. Accompanied by the great officers of his court and ſome of his friends, who were to become parties in the treaty, he repaired to Iſaac, who from a pious veneration to the memory of the good offices his father had received at the hands of the * king, and the friendſhip that had long ſubſiſted between them, was eaſily prevailed upon to agree to an accommodation of all differences and animoſities; and the treaty was accordingly renewed and ratified with the uſual formalities.

The alliance between Abimelech and Iſaac renewed, ver. 31.

When he was about forty years of age, Eſau, the favorite ſon of Iſaac, † married Adah, the daughter of Elon, and ‡ Alibama, the daughter of ‖ Eſbion. Theſe were women of high rank among the Canaanites. Eſau contracted theſe alliances unknown to his father, who, had he been conſulted, could ſcarcely have been expected to have given them the ſanction of his approbation; for he had made a firm determination never to enter into any treaty or contract with the people of Canaan. However, as Iſaac was averſe from proceeding to the extremity of compelling his ſon to repudiate his wives, he paſſed over his miſconduct in ſilence.

§ Iſaac being now declined into old age, he was either entirely blind, or his ſight was greatly impaired. Thus circumſtanced, he called Eſau to him; and after ſome obſervations on the infirmities incident to perſons of his years, he lamented that he had no longer power to ſerve the Almighty with that fervency of zeal and devotion to which he had been accuſtomed in the former part of his life. He then ordered Eſau to go out a hunting, in order to procure ſome food for his ſupper, ſaying, that on his return, he would beſtow upon him his prayers and bleſſing, and implore the Almighty to become his protector and comforter till the end of his days. "I am conſcious, ſaid Iſaac, that the period of my life is faſt approaching; the particular time when that event ſhall happen cannot be aſcertained; and I cannot employ the remainder of my days better than in offering up prayers to Heaven for your welfare and happineſs."

Iſaac ſends Eſau a hunting, Gen. XXVII. 3.

Eſau departed to execute his father's order; and during his abſence Rebecca conceived a ſtratagem for impoſing upon her huſband, ſo that while he ſuppoſed he was beſtowing a bleſſing upon Eſau, it ſhould in reality be pronounced in favour of her favourite ſon Jacob. She therefore directed him to kill a kid, and dreſs it for ſupper. Jacob obeyed his mother's command, and when the ſupper was ready, he, in conformity with the directions of Rebecca, covered his arms and hands with the ſkin of the kid, ſo that they might ſeem to be naturally overgrown with hair, and he might be the leſs liable to detection in perſonating his brother Eſau. Jacob placed the meat before his father, being greatly agitated by the apprehenſion, that if he ſhould be diſcovered while committing this impoſition, he ſhould draw a ¶ curſe inſtead of a bleſſing upon himſelf. In a converſation previous to the meal, Jacob aſſumed the name of Eſau; but the father, remarking ſomething particular in the ſound of his voice, ordered him to approach, that he might ſatisfy himſelf by touching him. Having touched his hands, and found them covered with hair, Iſaac imagined his feeling could not be deceived, though his hearing might; and his ſuſpicions being entirely removed, he ſaid, "The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Eſau." Immediately after this, he eat

Jacob perſonates Eſau, ver. 19.

---

* Probably this king was the ſon of him with whom Abraham concluded a treaty of amity. Abimelech was the common appellation of the kings of Paleſtine. In I Sam. XXI. 10. he who is called Achiſh, which it is preſumed was the prince's proper name, is called Abimelech, in Pſalm, XXXIV. Our author and the Scripture frequently vary with reſpect to the orthography of the names of perſons and places; and therefore, where the difference is ſo great as to produce confuſion, our method is to exhibit in the notes the authority of Scripture, while that of our learned hiſtorian appears in the text.

† The Scripture ſpeaks thus of the marriage of Eſau: "And Eſau was forty years old when he took to wife Judith, the daughter of Beeris, the Hittite, and Baſhemath, the daughter of Elon the Hittite." Gen. XXVI. 34.

‡ Or, Aholibama. ‖ Or, Sibeon.

§ Upon comparing the ſeveral parts of the hiſtory of Iſaac, it appears that he was at this time an hundred and thirty-ſeven years of age. He lived thirty years after giving Jacob the bleſſing intended for Eſau.

¶ "And Jacob ſaid unto Rebecca, his mother, Behold Eſau, my brother, is a hairy man, and I am a ſmooth man: my father peradventure will feel me, and I ſhall ſeem to him as a deceiver; and I ſhall bring a curſe upon me, and not a bleſſing. And his mother ſaid unto him, upon me be thy curſe, my ſon: only obey my voice." Gen. XXVII. 11, 12, 13. From Rebecca ſaying, "upon me be thy curſe," it ſeems that ſhe believed Jacob to have a juſt claim to the firſt bleſſing, from the circumſtance of Eſau having alienated his priority of claim with his birth-right; and therefore ſhe believed herſelf juſtifiable in deceiving her huſband into an act which ſhe was of opinion he ought to have performed voluntarily. Though theſe circumſtances may tend to palliate, they do not exculpate Rebecca and Iſaac. The guilt of the ſon was aggravated by uttering an abſolute falſehood in declaring himſelf to be Eſau. The offences recorded of thoſe who make the greateſt figure in the Sacred Writings, ſhould caution us againſt following ſuch examples.

Ver. 22.

of the kid, and the meal being concluded, he addreſſed himſelf to Heaven to the following effect: "Almighty and everlaſting God, the Creator and ſupreme Governor of the world, thou who haſt been ſo liberal in beſtowing thy bounties upon my father, myſelf, and our offspring, I humbly beſeech thee to fulfil thy gracious promiſes of future bleſſings, and not to deſpiſe thy humble and faithful ſervant, on account of the preſent infirmities of his age, whereby he is rendered more in need of thy benevolent aſſiſtance and ſupport. O, God! in thy infinite goodneſs and mercy, preſerve this my ſon from all evil; bleſs him with a long life of happineſs; confer upon him ſuch of the benefits and enjoyments of this world as may be for his good; make him victorious over and a terror to his enemies, and an honour and comfort to his family and friends."

Eſau's diſappointment, ver. 34, &c.

No ſooner had Iſaac concluded the prayer intended for Eſau, than he returned from the chace, and explained to his father the impoſture that had been practiced upon him; but he avoided all violence of complaint, leſt he ſhould make his father unhappy, contenting himſelf with requeſting he would beſtow upon him the ſame bleſſing he had pronounced in favour of his brother: but this Iſaac declined, ſaying he could not recal the benediction he had made in favour of one ſon in order to confer it upon the other. This diſappointment was ſo diſtreſſing to Eſau that he could not refrain from weeping; and his anxiety had ſuch an effect upon the tender diſpoſition of the father, that he gave him a bleſſing, but ſtill without cancelling that he had giving to Jacob. He told Eſau that he ſhould become famous as an hunter, and be ſucceſsful in war; and that he and his poſterity ſhould immortalize their names by their martial atchievements: but he added, that Jacob and his iſſue would be moſt conſpicuouſly diſtinguiſhed by their ſucceſs and reputation.

Jacob's fear of Eſau, ver. 43.

Eſau married to an Iſhmaelitiſh woman, Gen. XXVIII. 9.

Jacob being apprehenſive that his brother Eſau would avenge the injury he had received, and Rebecca being exceedingly anxious for his ſafety, ſhe prevailed upon her huſband to order Jacob to undertake a journey into Meſopotamia, for the purpoſe of forming a matrimonial alliance with the daughter of her brother Laban. Eſau, who was conſcious that he had incurred the diſpleaſure of his father by connecting himſelf in marriage with two women who were natives of Canaan, had now eſpouſed Baſſemath, the daughter of Iſhmael, and he had a more tender affection for her than for either of his other wives.

CHAP. XVIII.

Jacob goes into Meſopotamia in order to propoſe a marriage with Rachel, the daughter of Laban. His viſion of the ladder. God ſpeaks to him. He makes a vow. Jacob's interview with Rachel, for whom he contracts to ſerve her father ſeven years. Laban deceives Jacob. They conclude a treaty.

Gen. XXVII. 1.

Jacob's viſion of the ladder, ver. 12.

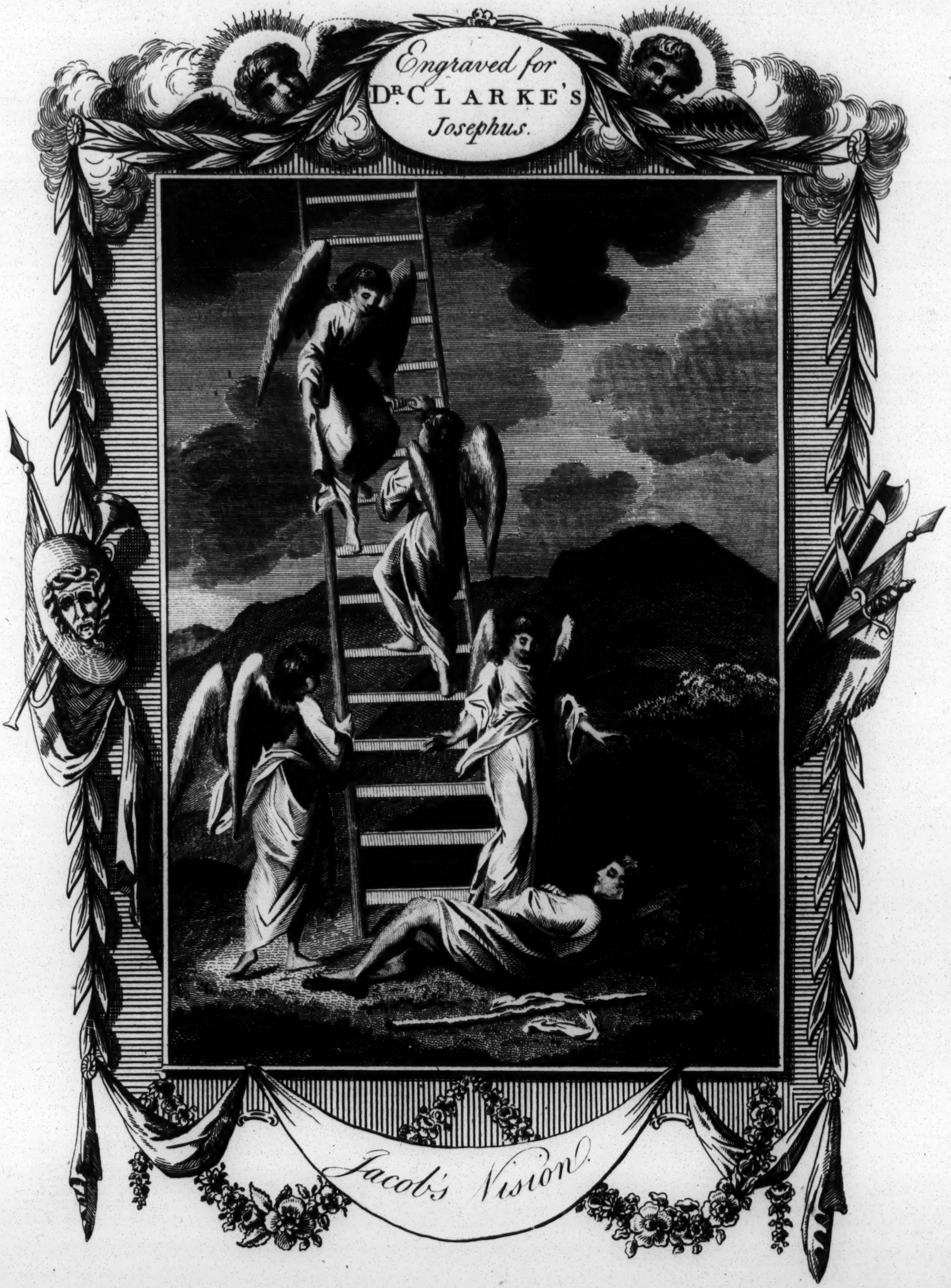
AT the interceſſion of Rebecca, Iſaac conſented to diſpatch Jacob into Meſopotamia, for the purpoſe of treating with Laban, Rebecca's brother, on the ſubject of eſpouſing his daughter Rachel. But on account of the inveterate enmity ſubſiſting between the Canaanites and Abraham's family, Jacob was apprehenſive his life would be endangered if he ſojourned in the habitations of thoſe people in the courſe of his journey. He therefore repoſed himſelf in the open * air, his head reclining on a heap of ſtones. Being repoſed in this manner one night, he had a viſion, during which he imagined he ſaw a ladder, by the rounds or ſteps whereof figures of an angelic form were aſcending and deſcending: at the top of the ladder he ſuppoſed the Almighty manifeſted himſelf in all his glory, and ſpeaking to him to the following effect: "It is not becoming your character, Jacob, who are of the blood of Iſaac and Abraham, to ſink under the preſſure of deſpondency, notwithſtanding the difficulties and inconveniences that ſurround you. Remain aſſured of my protection, and that greater happineſs is reſerved for you than you have hitherto experienced. By my command Abraham removed from Meſopotamia into this country, when the malice of his relations was inflamed againſt him; and my bleſſings were the reward of the faith and righteouſneſs of your father Iſaac; and ſuch benefactions as his virtues acquired I mean to beſtow upon you. In the confidence of my protection, purſue your journey; for the propoſal you are about to make ſhall prove ſucceſsful; you ſhall be the father of dutiful children, and your progeny ſhall be without number. Your children and their poſterity ſhall inherit this land, and ſhall people the earth, not alone upon the continent, but alſo the iſlands, in every part of the world where the light of the ſun deſcends: therefore permit no dangers or difficulties to abate your reſolution and

---

* His father had commanded him not to enter the habitation of a Canaanite, and this injunction he ſcrupulouſly obſerved, from the double motive of obedience to his parent, and his perſonal ſafety.

The ſpot where Jacob had the viſion in his dream was called Luz, a word importing almond; and it is probable that the place was ſhaded with the trees on which that fruit grows.

perſeverance,

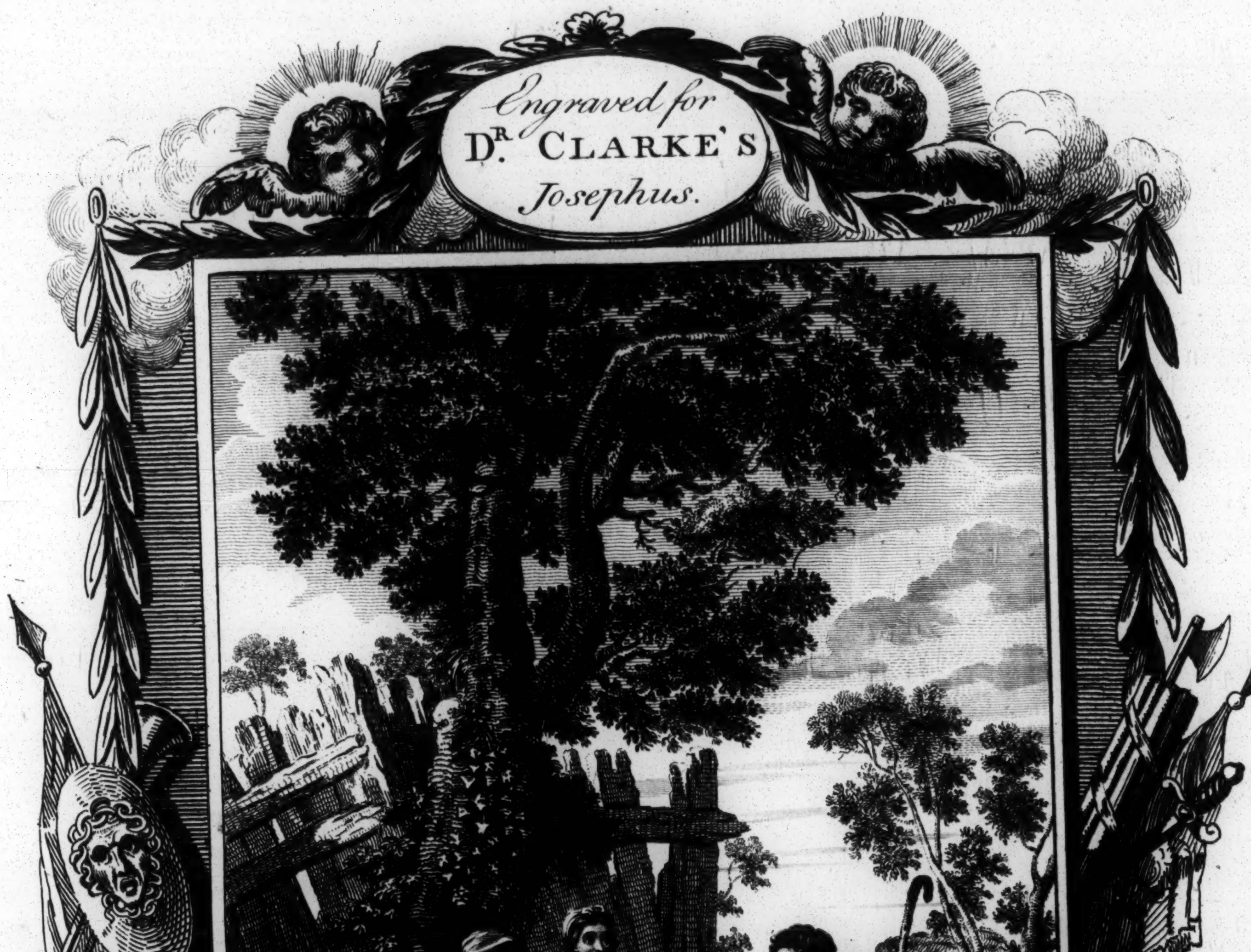

Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

Jacob's Vision.

Publish'd as the Act directs June 9. 1786, by John Walker, Paternoster Row.

15 AUG 59

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

JACOB meets RACHEL.

C. Vanloo delin. T. Cook sculp.

Publish'd as the Act directs Novr. 27th 1785, by John Walker Pater noster Row.

perſeverance, but confide in my ſupport and protection, not only in your preſent ſituation, but in all the undertakings of your life."

Jacob's vow, ver. 20, 21.

Bethel, or he houſe of God, ver. 22.

Upon awaking and conſidering the particulars of the viſion, Jacob was tranſported with joy. He * annointed the ſtone on which he had repoſed his head, at the ſame time making a vow, that if it ſhould pleaſe God to permit him to return, he would erect an altar upon the ſpot, and make an oblation to Heaven upon it. This vow he fulfilled on his return, and likewiſe gave the place the name of Bethel, or the † houſe of God.

Jacob arrives at Charran, XXIX. 4.

Jacob's firſt interview with Rachel, ver. 9.

After a fatiguing journey Jacob arrived at Charran, where he found ſeveral ſhepherds and ſhepherdeſſes ſurrounding a well and drawing water. He introduced himſelf into their company, by requeſting of them water to drink, and then enquired, whether a perſon named Laban did not reſide in that neighbourhood. They replied in the affirmative, ſaying, he was of conſiderable note, that his daughter ‡ attended ſheep with them, and it was uncommon that ſhe was not yet come to the well, adding, that ſhe would doubtleſs be there in a ſhort time, and would reſolve any queſtions he might propoſe reſpecting her father. They had ſcarcely ſpoken when Rachel and her ſhepherds arrived at the well. Upon obſerving a ſtranger, Rachel approached him, and with an innocent familiarity queſtioned him from whence he came, as to what was the object of his journey, and whether ſhe or her companions, who had intimated to her that he had made enquiry reſpecting her father, could render him any ſervices. The incomparable beauty, graceful deportment, and obliging manners of Rachel, had ſuch an effect upon Jacob, that he became paſſionately enamoured of her.

Addreſſing himſelf to the maiden, he ſpoke to the following effect: "If you are, as I underſtand you to be, the daughter of Laban, between your family and my own a friendly correſpondence has long ſubſiſted; for Abraham, Aran, and Nachor were the ſons of Thares and Bathuel, your grand-father was the ſon of my grand-father's brother Nachor, I being the ſon Iſaac, the offſpring of Abraham by his wife Sarah, the daughter of Aran. Our kindred is ſtill nearer, Rebecca, my mother, being the ſiſter of your father Laban; ſo that by the rules of affinity you and I are couſins. I am happy in this opportunity of addreſſing you as a friend and relation, and of ſoliciting a continuance of the amity that has ſubſiſted between our families for ſo long a ſeries of years."

Rachel's tenderneſs.

Recollecting the commendations ſhe had heard her father expreſs of Rebecca, and imagining that he would be extremely rejoiced to hear of her welfare, the idea of contributing to her parent's happineſs, had ſuch an effect upon her, that burſting into tears, ſhe embraced Jacob, ſaying, "you will prove the moſt welcome meſſenger that ever came under my father's roof; he dwells with delight in extolling the excellent qualities of his ſiſter; and he can have no greater felicity than the news you will afford the good man: therefore, not to withold the ſatisfaction your arrival will give him, follow me immediately to his habitation."

The cauſe of Jacobs departure from home.

Rachel then introduced Jacob to her father and the reſt of the family, by whom he was received with equal joy and ſurpriſe. After remaining a few days in this family, Laban avowed that he derived particular ſatiſfaction from the company and converſation of his nephew Jacob; after which he enquired the reaſon of his leaving his father and mother at their advanced time of life, when they had the moſt occaſion for his ſervices; aſſuring him at the ſame time, that to promote his happineſs he would chearfully contribute every thing in his power. Hereupon Jacob gave the following relation: "my mother being delivered of two ſons at a birth, Eſau and myſelf, my mother contrived that I, who am the younger, ſhould receive a bleſſing which my father intended for Eſau, who therefore conſiders me as having ſupplanted him in his right to the benefit of my father's prayers, and the inheritance of his poſſeſſions, and has formed the reſolution of avenging himſelf, by taking away my life. In obedience to my mother's commands, with my father's approbation, I am come hither to avoid the danger with which I am threatened; and next to God, my reliance for ſecurity is repoſed in you, who are my mother's neareſt relation."

---

* "And Jacob roſe up early in the morning, and took a ſtone that he had put for his pillow, and ſet it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it." Gen. XXVIII. 18. Pouring oil upon them was the ceremony made uſe of in conſecrating things to divine uſe. A ſtory is propagated, and believed by many, that the ſtone above mentioned, after being taken to Jeruſalem, and from thence to Scotland, was depoſited in Weſtminſter Abbey; and it is pretended that it it ſtill remains there. But the ſenſible part of mankind conſider this as a mere fiction.

† Every place conſecrated to divine worſhip is in Scripture called God's houſe. The word is derived from *beth*, a houſe, and *El*, God

‡ In the early ages the employment of attending ſheep was not conſidered as diſgraceful, it being frequently the occupation even of kings and their ſons and daughters.

Both on his own account and Rebecca's, for whom he pretended the moſt tender affection, Laban promiſed to yield Jacob every poſſible aſſiſtance and protection; further informing him that he would, for the preſent, appoint him to the care of his flocks, and to ſuperintend the conduct of all his ſhepherds; and that if, at any future period, he ſhould deem it prudent to return, he might be aſſured of receiving a gratification adequate to his merits.

Jacob appointed principal ſhepherd to Laban.

Since it was to procure him a continuance in Laban's family, Jacob diſregarded the labour attending this occupation. He informed Laban, that he had conceived an ardent affection for Rachel, on account of her perſonal attractions, exemplary virtues, and her being the providential inſtrument of introducing him to the family. Laban immediately complied with his propoſal, averring that he prefered Jacob to all other men for a ſon-in-law: adding, however, that he muſt conſent to defer the ſolemnization of the nuptials for ſome time; for he was loth that his daughter ſhould ſojourn in ſo diſtant a country as Canaan, and had experienced concern on account having conſented to Rebecca's going thither. Jacob acquieſced; and to prove that he acted upon principles of love and honour, contracted to ſerve Laban for ſeven years, on condition that he ſhould eſpouſe Rachel upon the expiration of that term.

Jacob binds himſelf to ſerve Laban for ſeven years, Gen. XXIX. 20.

On the day when the ſeven years expired, Laban prepared a nuptial entertainment: but late at night he, unknown to Jacob, conducted [*] Leah, the elder daughter, to his bed, inſtead of Rachel; and the darkneſs of night combining with the effect of wine, the deception was not diſcovered till the next morning, when Jacob expoſtulated with Laban, complaining that he had violated his contract. In excuſe of the impoſition Laban urged, that he had acted from a principle of neceſſity, it being the cuſtom of the country for the elder daughter of families to be married before the younger. He then informed Jacob, that on condition of his ſerving him another ſeven years, he would give Rachel to him in marriage, in open day, and without being [†] diſguiſed, ſo that he might be ſecure againſt a ſecond impoſition. Jacob agreed to this propoſal, and at the end of the [‡] ſecond ſeven years Rachel was given him in marriage.

Leah put to bed to Jacob.

Each of the daughters had a maiden [‖] attendant, Zelphah being in the ſervice of Leah, and Bala in that of Rachel: they were not in the capacity of common domeſtics, but were rather companions to their miſtreſſes. Leah was exceedingly unhappy in conſequence of obſerving that Rachel had a greater ſhare of Jacob's affection than herſelf. Her daily prayer was that ſhe might become pregnant; for ſhe imagined that if ſhe ſhould bring him children, his tenderneſs and love for her would be increaſed. In this conjecture ſhe was not deceived; for being delivered of a ſon, who was called [§] Rubel, a word importing, divine mercy, the father's fondneſs for the mother was evidently augmented. She had afterwards three ſons, who were named, Simeon, or God is favourable, Levi, meaning the ſupport of ſociety, and Judah, which means thankſgiving.

Rachel being under great diſtreſs of mind, leſt the fruitfulneſs of Leah ſhould prove the means of extinguiſhing the paſſion Jacob had conceived for her, determined to adopt a ſtratagem for evading the imputation of barrenneſs. She therefore contrived ſecretly to introduce Bala, her attendant, to Jacob's bed, in conſequence of which ſhe was delivered of a child named Dan, ſignifying the judgment of God. Bala was afterwards brought to bed of another ſon, who in alluſion to Rachel's crafty contention with Leah for children, was named Nepthalim. Leah having recourſe to the ſame ſtratagem that had been practiſed by her ſiſter, her ſervant Zelpah had two ſons by Jacob, namely Gad, importing by chance, and Aſſer, which means beautifying.

Rachel's deſire for mandrake-apples.

The two ſiſters being together, Rubel, the eldeſt ſon of Leah, preſented to his mother ſome mandrake-apples, whereupon Rachel requeſted to have part of them. However, Leah with ſome aſperity of language refuſed her requeſt, obſerving, that it was unreaſonable ſhe ſhould aſk for her fruit in addition to the almoſt entire poſſeſſion of Jacob. Upon this, Rachel, in conſideration of having part of the apples, ſaid ſhe would conſent to Jacob and Leah ſleeping together that night. Jacob accordingly

---

[*] "Leah was tender eyed." Gen. XXIX. 17. This phraſe is rendered by the Septuagint, week eyed. The Syriac and our tranſlation correſpond. But the Chaldee and Arabic reading is extremely oppoſite, being Leah had beautiful eyes.

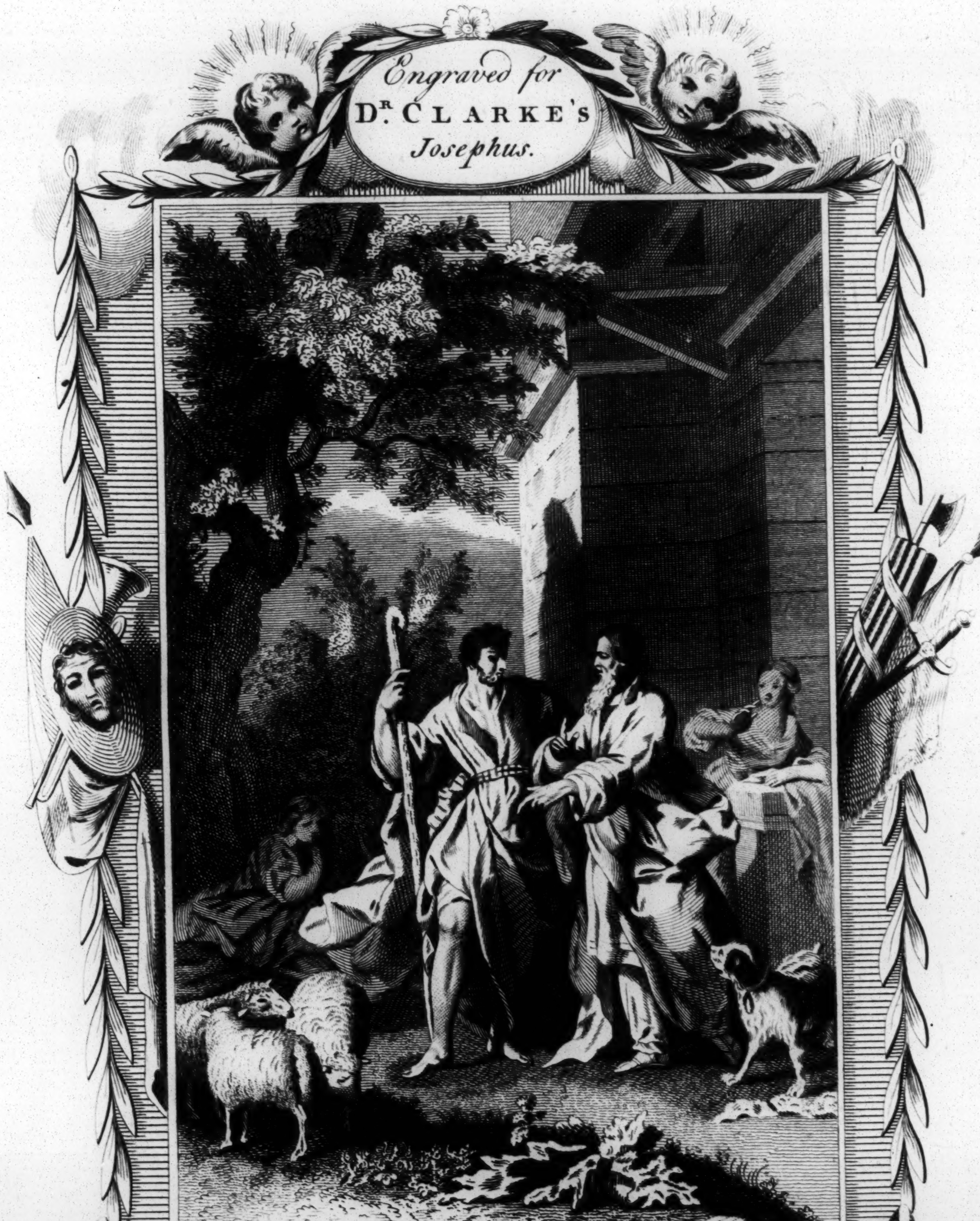
[†] At this time it was cuſtomary for the bride to wear a vail upon being introduced to the bridegroom.

[‡] According to the Scripture, Jacob eſpouſed Rachel at the end of ſeven years after his marriage with Leah, on condition of ſerving Laban for another ſeven years. "And Laban ſaid, it muſt not be ſo done in our country to give the younger before the firſt born. Fulfil her week; and we will give thee this alſo for the ſervice which thou ſhalt ſerve with me yet ſeven other years. And Jacob did ſo; and fulfilled her week: and he gave him Rachel his daughter to wife alſo." Gen. XXIX. 26, 27, 28. It evidently appears that the term of ſervitude was to commence from being in poſſeſſion of Leah, and not that it was to expire before he obtained her.

[‖] In Scripture they are called Zilpah and Bilham.

[§] In Scripture, Reuben.

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE's
Josephus.

Laban and Jacob.

Publish'd as the Act directs April 21; 1786. by J. Walker Paternoster Row.

went that night to Leah's bed; and ſhe afterwards bore him two other ſons, who were named Iſſachar, or born for hire, and Zabulon, meaning a pledge of love, and likewiſe a daughter named Dinah. After ſeveral years had elapſed, Rachel at length was brought to bed of a ſon, who received the name of Joſeph, a word importing addition.

Jacob leaves Laban, Gen. XXXI.

Having continued full twenty years in the ſervice of his father-in-law, in the capacity of the ſuperintendant of his ſhepherds and herdſmen, Jacob aſked Laban's permiſſion to return to the place of his nativity, but he abſolutely refuſed to comply with his requeſt, in conſequence of which he reſolved to depart privately, and having communicated his intention to his wives, they agreed to accompany him.

Jacob accordingly departed, accompanied by his two wives, and all the children, taking with him all his property, and alſo half of Laban's flocks of ſheep. Rachel took with her the images of worſhip in her father's family, though ſhe was not induced to this act by any veneration towards thoſe idols; but ſhe imagined if they were purſued, thoſe objects of idolatrous veneration might be a means of facilitating a compromiſe.

Laban purſues Jacob & his daughters, who had clandeſtinely departed, ver. 25.

On the following day Laban received intelligence of the clandeſtine departure of Jacob and his daughters; in conſequence of which, he collected a ſtrong body of followers, and went in purſuit of them. In the evening of the ſeventh day after they had ſet out, Laban overtook them, while they were repoſing themſelves upon a ſmall hill: but as the night was approaching, he reſolved not to attempt any hoſtilities againſt them till the following day, and therefore ordered his people to refreſh themſelves with reſt, after the fatigue of their journey.

In the night God appeared to Laban in his ſleep, and admoniſhed him againſt offering any kind of outrage or violence to Jacob and his wives: but on the contrary, to compromiſe the diſagreement that had ariſen, and lay the foundation of a riciprocal friendſhip in future; and it was intimated to him in the viſion, that if he expected to gain any advantage over his fugitive ſon, on account of the diſparity of numbers, he would be diſappointed, for, if occaſion ſhould render the divine interference neceſſary, God himſelf would fight the battles of Jacob.

Early the next morning, Laban diſpatched a meſſenger to requeſt an interview with Jacob, who, in a reliance upon his honour, complied with the demand. Upon their meeting, Laban, after relating the particulars of his dream, reproached Jacob in the following manner: "You are conſcious that when you were reduced to indigence and diſtreſs, I admitted you into my family, and liberally entertained you. By marrying my two daughters you bound yourſelf under an obligation that it was your peculiar duty to have preſerved inviolate: but regardleſs of all alliances of blood, you have treated me as a profeſſed enemy; you have forcibly deſpoiled me of my property, compelled my daughters to abandon my habitation, and ſacriligiouſly poſſeſſed yourſelf of the objects of my worſhip, which my anceſtors had ever held in the moſt ſacred veneration. Theſe are the returns I have received for my benevolence towards my ungrateful kinſman, nephew, and ſon-in-law."

Jacob's vindication, ver. 31, &c.

In reply Jacob ſaid, that after ſo long an abſence, he muſt admit it to be natural to indulge the wiſh of returning to his native country. With reſpect to the ſuppoſed robbery, or any act of injuſtice that might be alledged againſt him, he was willing to abide by the deciſion of any perſon but himſelf. He rather expected acknowledgments for the improvements he had made to his eſtate, than to be reproached for having applied to his own uſe a part of it that was not ſufficient to compenſate him for his long and faithful ſervices. With reſpect to his being accompanied by his wives, he ſaid that circumſtance could not reaſonably be interpreted to his diſadvantage; for they were but yielding to the irreſiſtable impulſe of conjugal and parental effection in following their huſband and children. He expreſſed ſurpriſe that a kinſman and father-in-law ſhould treat him as the moſt inveterate of his enemies, after ſubmitting to the labour of ſo many years with a view of indulging his love of Rachel.

Jacob undoubtedly had cauſe to complain of the ungenerous behaviour of Laban, who obſerving that the bleſſing of God attended all the undertakings of his ſon-in-law, was accuſtomed ſometimes to promiſe that he ſhould have for his own ſeparate uſe and advantage all the white, and at other times all the black cattle that were bred in a year; but finding the moſt numerous produce ought, in compliance with this deluſive propoſal, to have been the property of Jacob, he conſtantly retracted his promiſe, pretending that it ſhould be carried into effect the next year.

Rachel conceals the idols, ver. 34.

Jacob denied having any knowledge of the idols, and granted Laban permiſſion to ſearch for them; upon which Rachel concealed them among the ſtuffing of the ſaddle of the camel upon which ſhe rode, at the ſame time affecting an indiſpoſition. His ſearch for the idols proved fruitleſs, becauſe it did not extend to Rachel, who he did not ſuppoſe, in the ſtate of health he believed her to be in, would permit ſacred things to be near her.

After the tranſactions above related, Laban and Jacob concluded a treaty of friendſhip, and the former pledged himſelf to conſign what had paſſed to oblivion, and to reſtore his daughters to the place they had formerly held in his eſteem. The parties mutually ratified the league by an oath, that ſolemnity being performed upon a mountain, to which, as well as to the circumjacent country, they gave the appellation of * Galad, or the hill of witneſs. After the concluſion of the treaty, they had an entertainment or feſtival, and then ſeparated, Laban returning to his family, and Jacob and his wives and children purſuing their journey towards Canaan.

CHAP. XIX.

Jacob has ſeveral viſions. He ſends preſents to his brother Eſau. Jacob wreſtles with an angel, and receives the name of Iſrael. The meeting and reconciliation of Jacob and Eſau.

Jacob's viſions, Gen. XXX. 1, 2.

DURING his journey towards Canaan, Jacob had ſeveral viſions, which he rightly interpreted into auſpicious omens. To the place where theſe viſions occured he gave the name of the Field of God.

But the animoſity of Eſau ſtill being the cauſe of uneaſineſs, he employed meſſengers to enquire into the preſent diſpoſition of his elder brother, and diſpatched others to addreſs him to the following effect: "That conſcious of having excited his brother's diſpleaſure, he had voluntarily abandoned the place of his nativity: but after an abſence of ſo many years, he cheriſhed the hope that former unkindneſſes would be no longer remembered; that being now on his return to the place of his birth, accompanied by his wives and children, he was willing that all his property ſhould be diſpoſed of at the diſcretion of his brother, with whom he was only deſirous of common participation in thoſe poſſeſſions which the goodneſs of the Almighty had beſtowed upon him."

Upon receiving the above meſſage, Eſau advanced, at the head of four hundred men to meet his brother; upon which Jacob ſomewhat alarmed at the ſuperiority, but ſtill confiding in the aſſiſtance of God, put himſelf into a poſture of defence. He arranged his people in two diviſions, one to follow the other, at ſuch a diſtance, that if the firſt ſhould be in danger of a repulſe, they might be ſupported by the latter, either in contending with the adverſary, or in ſecuring a retreat.

He then diſpatched a meſſenger to Eſau with various preſents, conſiſting of beaſts of burthen, and other animals, which not being common in that county might be acceptable as curioſities. The meſſengers had orders to comport themſelves with civility and reſpect towards Eſau, and that the beaſts ſhould follow each other at a diſtance, ſo they might appear more numerous than they were in reality. It was the buſineſs of a whole day to regulate the proceſſion, and at night it ſet forward, Jacob hoping, that the meaſures he had taken would effect a perfect reconciliation.

Having paſſed the torrent of Jobac, Jacob who was behind the proceſſion, was aſſailed by a ſpectre, and wreſtling with it, proved victorious. Hereupon, a voice was heard to ſay, "Comfort thyſelf in thy victory, for it is not a mortal adverſary, but an angel of God that thou haſt foiled; and conſider this event as a preſage, that your poſterity ſhall remain till the end of time, and never be vanquiſhed."

Jacob wreſtles with an angel, Gen. XXXII. 24, &c.

Hereupon the angel called Jacob by the name of Iſreal, a word ſignifying to ſtruggle with an angel of God. He then requeſted that ſome other events that were to befal him might be revealed, and having complied, the apparition immediately diſappeared. To the place where this encounter happened Jacob gave the name of Phanuel, a word ſignifying the face of God. In the ſtruggle, a ſinew in Jacob's thigh was ſtrained, for which reaſon he would never after eat that part of any animal; and we adhere to the ſame exception to this day.

The meeting of the brothers, Gen. XXXIII. 3, 4, &c.

Upon receiving intelligence that Eſau had advanced, Jacob directed his wives and their attendants to proceed forward, and remain at ſuch a diſtance as to have a view of the battle, if Eſau ſhould attack him, without expoſing themſelves to danger. But upon obſerving Eſau approach with expreſſions of friendſhip and chearfulneſs in his countenance, he went forward, and threw himſelf at the feet of his brother, who having embraced him, he made ſeveral enquiries reſpecting the women and childen, and earneſtly invited him to repair to his father's houſe. But Jacob excuſed himſelf, on account of his cattle being too much fatigued to perform the journey until they ſhould have been refreſhed with provinder and repoſe. Eſau then proceeded to his habitation at Seir, which name was given to the place on account of Eſau being covered with hair.

CHAP. XX.

The rape of Dinah. The Maſſacre of the Sichemites. The death of Rachel.

---

* In Scripture it is called Galeed.

AFTER the interview with his brother, Jacob directed his courſe to the place called the Tabernacles, which name it ſtill bears. From the Tabernacles he proceeded to * Sichem, a city belonging to the Canaanites, where there happened at that time to be a ſplendid feſtival. On this occaſion Dinah, the only daughter of Jacob, attended, in order to obſerve the female habits and faſhions.

Being ſeen by Sichem, the ſon of king † Emmor, and that prince conceiving a ſtrong affection for her, he carried her off, and committed a rape upon her. After this, ſo far was his paſſion from abating, that he requeſted the king his father's conſent to marry her. The king not only complied with his ſon's deſire, but even ſolicited Jacob in his behalf. This application proved exceedingly diſtreſſing to Jacob; for his conſcience would not permit him to conſent to his daughter marrying a ſtranger, and he conſidered it as a point of great delicacy to reject the overtures of the royal advocate. He requeſted time to conſider the king's propoſal, and then conſulted his ſons on the ſubject: but though greatly concerned at the indignity their ſiſter had received, they were incapable of determining upon what meaſures it would be moſt eligible to purſue. However, Simeon and Levi, the brothers of Dinah by the ſame mother, concerted the means of avenging themſelves, and reſolved to carry their ſtratagem into execution unknown to their father. Upon the next feſtival, when the king's guards were unprepared for reſiſtance, ſome being overpowered with fatigue, and others with the intoxicating effects of wine, Simeon and Levi aſſaulted them by ſurpriſe, and with but little difficulty, overpowered them. They then took poſſeſſion of the city, and before the inhabitants had time to recover from their aſtoniſhment they maſſacred all the males that came in their way, the king and his ſon being among the number of the ſlain; but they offered no violence to the women. After this ſcene of horror, they returned, and reſtored their ſiſter Dinah to her father.

The maſſacre of the Sichemites, Gen. XXXIV. 2.

Upon learning the particulars of this bloody atchievement, Jacob was greatly diſpleaſed with his ſons Simeon and Levi: but the Almighty appeared to him in a dream and commanded him to conſole himſelf, and after purifying his tents, to make the oblation he had promiſed after he had appeared to him in a dream during his Meſopotamian journey. While he was employed in obedience to the command of God, Jacob found the idols belonging to Laban, which Rachel had taken away, and buried under an oak tree, unknown to him.

The death of Rachel, Gen. XXXV. 19.

After this Jacob repaired to Bethel, where he had the divine revelation already mentioned, and offered up a ſacrifice to God. From thence he went to Ephrata, where Rachel died in conſequence of childbearing, ſhe being delivered of a ſon. Jacob buried Rachel at Ephrata, ſhe being his only relation, whoſe remains were not depoſited in his family ſepulchre at Hebron. The death of Rachel was the cauſe of great affliction to Jacob, who, on account of the calamitous circumſtance attending his birth, called his newly born ſon by the name of ‡ Benjamin.

The iſſue of Jacob, ver. 22.

The deſcendants of Jacob conſiſted in twelve ſons and a daughter; but of this number only eight were legitimate, ſix of theſe being by Leah and two by Rachel; of thoſe not born in marriage two were by Zilphah, and he had the ſame number by Bala. The names of them have been already mentioned.

CHAP. XXI.

The death of Iſaac, who is buried in Hebron.

The death of Iſaac, ver. 28, 29.

AFTER the deceaſe of his wife Rachel, Jacob returned to Hebron in Canaan; but he was diſappointed of the conſolation he had anxiouſly expected of ſeeing his mother Rebecca, ſhe having departed this life before his arrival. Iſaac did not ſurvive her long. Eſau and Jacob took upon themſelves the management of their father's funeral; and they buried him by the ſide of his wife in the family ſepulchre in Hebron. Iſaac was a man the actions of whoſe life were highly acceptable to the Almighty, and next to Abraham, he was more particularly diſtinguiſhed than any man by the eſpecial providence of God. He died at the age of one ‖ hundred and eighty five years, having ſteadily purſued a courſe of righteouſneſs and virtue.

---

* In Scripture, Shechem.

† Hammor in Scripture.

‡ And it came to paſs as her ſoul was departing (for ſhe died) that ſhe called his name Benoni: but his father called him, Benjamin. And Rachel died, and was buried in the way to Ephrath, which is in Bethlehem. Gen. XXXV. 18. 19.

‖ Though it is ſaid in Scripture that the age of man ſhall be an hundred and twenty years, *vide* Gen. VI. 3. it is not there implied that none ſhould live beyond that period, but that the *generality* of men ſhould not ſurvive that term.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS,

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK II.

From the Year of the World 2230 to 2454.

CHAPTER I.

The diviſion of the property devolving to Eſau and Jacob, in conſequence of the death of Iſaac. Eſau takes poſſeſſion of Idumea, and Canaan becomes the property of Jacob. The progeny of Eſau.

SOON after the deceaſe of Iſaac, his ſons Eſau and Jacob quitted their paternal eſtates, and made a partition of their inheritances. Eſau ſurrendered to his brother the city of Hebron, and afterwards eſtabliſhed his reſidence at Seir. He was governor of Idumea, and gave to that country the name of * Adom, an appellation that had been given to him on the following occaſion: having been a hunting, while he was a youth, and returning much fatigued and hungry, he found his brother Jacob preparing a ſoup of lentils for his dinner; they were of a beautiful red, and their inviting appearance made him exceedingly deſirous of partaking of the meal. He importuned his brother for part of the pottage; but Jacob abſolutely refuſed to ſuffer him to taſte it, on any condition, but that of transferring over to him his birthright, which Eſau, urged by the ſharpneſs of his appetite, conſented to, and accordingly alienated all the privileges of his ſeniority by the ſolemnity of an oath. Upon this occaſion his companions ridiculed him, and in juvenile merriment gave him the appellation of Adom, which word imports red, alluding to the colour of the ſoup in exchange for which he had given his inheritance. From him the country under his juriſdiction was called Adom; but the Greeks have diſguiſed and ſoftened the pronunciation of the name of this diſtrict by calling it Idumea.

Eſau ſells his birthright, Gen. XXV. 33.

The progeny of Eſau, Gen. XXXVI. 9, 10, &c. And I Chron. I. 35, 36.

By his three wives Eſau had five children: † Alibama being the mother of ‡ Jaus, Jalom, and Core; and by Adah he had || Aliphaz, and § Raguel by ¶ Raſſemath.

The five legitimate ſons of Aliphaz were Theman, Omar, ** Saphar, Gotham and Canaz; and he had beſides, a ſon named Amalek, by his concubine †† Thamna. The ſons born in marriage inhabited that part of Idumea which was called Gobolites; and the country of the Amalekites received its name from Amalek. Idumea was the

---

* Script. Edom.

† Script. Aholibamah.

‡ Script Jeuſh, Jaalam, Korah.

|| Script, Eliphaz.

§ Script. Reuel.

¶ Script. Baſhemath.

** Script. Zepho, Gatam, Henaz.

†† Script. Timna.

the original name of a very extenſive tract of country, but being devided into various diſtricts, they were called after the names of their reſpective founders.

CHAP. II.

Jacob's happineſs. Joſeph being his favorite ſon, his brothers envy him. Joſeph's dream of the ſheaves of ripe and unripe corn, and likewiſe of the ſun, moon and eleven ſtars, paying reverence to him. A conſpiracy againſt the life of Joſeph formed by his brothers, who go privately to Sichem.

The happineſs of Jacob and his family.

OF all men of his time, Jacob was one of the moſt happy; and he greatly ſurpaſſed all the other inhabitants of the ſame country with regard to wealth, power, and the virtuous and amiable diſpoſition of his children. They were eminently diſtinguiſhed for their valour and generoſity, as well as for their induſtry and perſeverance, and penetrating genius and ſound judgment. In all their occurrences of life a providence ſo wonderfully attended them, that even their ſufferings and afflictions operated to their advantage, in as much as they were made the inſtruments of the Almighty, in redeeming our anceſtors from the Egyptian bondage, as will hereafter appear.

Joſeph the favourite ſon, Gen. XXXVII. 3.

Of the progeny of Jacob, the ſon who had the greateſt ſhare of his affection was Joſeph, whom he had by his wife Rachel; and this preference was in conſequence of his ſuperior qualifications both of perſon and mind; for excluſive of the ſingular gracefulneſs of his figure and deportment, he was remarkable for the ſtrength of his underſtanding, and the captivating ſweetneſs of his manners. Jacob's partiality towards the youth excited the malevolence and envy of his brethren, who were the more inflamed againſt him upon his relating certain viſions that had taken place in his ſleep, and which appeared as preſages of his future ſucceſs, greatneſs and felicity. The particulars of the dreams were as follow:

Joſeph's dream of the ſheaves of corn, ver. 4.

In the harveſt ſeaſon, being ſent by his father into the field to reap corn in company with his brothers, Joſeph had at night a viſion of a nature very oppoſite to thoſe phantaſtical creations of the brain, which come under the common denomination of dreams. He imagined he ſaw his own ſheaf of wheat ſtanding erect in the field, while the ſheaves of his brethren moved towards, and bowed down before it, expreſſive, as it were, of the obedience of ſervants to their maſter. Having related this dream to his brethren, he requeſted them to expound it. They immediately conceived it to be a preſage of the future power of their younger brother, inaſmuch as they ſhould become ſubject to his controul and authority: but to him they affected to be utterly incapable of giving any reaſonable interpretation of the dream. However, they ſecretly prayed that God would avert the omen, their enmity againſt Joſeph continuing to increaſe.

And of the ſun, moon, and eleven ſtars, ver.

A ſhort time after the above, God occaſioned Joſeph to have another dream, implying that the malice of his brethren would be diſappointed. In his ſleep he ſaw the ſun, the moon, and eleven ſtars, deſcending from the Heavens, and paying reverence to him. He communicated the particulars of this viſion to his father, in the preſence of his brethren, of whoſe evil intentions he entertained no ſuſpicion, obſerving, that he was at a loſs to aſſign a meaning to it.

The relation of his ſon's dream afforded Jacob great ſatiſfaction, inaſmuch as he deemed it a preſage of the power and happineſs to which his ſon would be advanced as a reward for his eminent virtues. Jacob ſaid, that by the providence of the Almighty, the time would arrive, when his father and brothers would pay homage and reverence to Joſeph. He explained the ſun and moon to mean the father and mother, the office of the one being to increaſe and nouriſh, and that of the other to give force and form; and he interpreted the eleven ſtars to have alluſion to Joſeph's eleven brothers, ſince the ſtars derive their light from the ſun and moon, as children do their being from their parents.

This natural interpretation of the dream gave great uneaſineſs to Joſeph's brothers, who acted on the occaſion in a manner directly oppoſite to what their reaſon and their duty ſhould have dictated; for it was moſt certainly wrong to envy ſo near a relation the poſſeſſion of benefits, which a ſtranger might have enjoyed without giving them any concern. However, their impious malice being arrived to an extremity, they engaged in a conſpiracy to deſtroy him. In order to carry their wicked project into execution, they drove their flocks to Sichem, a place affording remarkably fine paſturage, but without mentioning to their father the ſpot of their deſtination. After they had made ſome conſiderable progreſs in their journey, Jacob being alarmed at their abſence, and at not receiving any intelligence reſpecting them, ordered Joſeph to ſet out for the purpoſe of making very particular enquiry as to whether any miſfortune had occurred ſo unuſually to prevent their return.

CHAP. III.

Joſeph finds his brethren. The propoſal for putting him to death, oppoſed by Rubel. Joſeph caſt into a pit. He is taken up, and ſold to Arabian merchants. Joſeph's bloody garment ſhewn to Jacob. Jacob's lamentation for the ſuppoſed death of his ſon.

Joſeph finds his brethren, ver. 17.

Rubel intercedes with the others to ſpare the life of Joſeph, ver. 21.

IN obedience to the command of his father, Joſeph went in ſearch of his brethren; and having found them, they were exceedingly rejoiced, though not becauſe he was a brother, and a meſſenger from their father, but becauſe they conſidered him as an enemy delivered into their power. Immediately upon his arrival, they propoſed availing themſelves of the preſent opportunity of depriving him of life. * Rubel, the eldeſt of the brothers, enforced every argument in his power to divert the conſpirators from their barbarous determination. He repreſented to them, that to deprive even a ſtranger of life would be an act highly criminal in the ſight of God; but to be the murderer of a brother and a kinſman, and thereby become acceſſary to the death of a father and mother, who could not ſurvive the knowledge of the crime they were meditating, would be a tranſaction the very idea of which ought to ſtrike them with horror and deteſtation. He admoniſhed them to conſider, that however ſecure they might be from detection by their fellow creatures, there was a God whoſe knowledge pervaded every part of the univerſe, from whom it was impoſſible to conceal any act or even intention, and who, moſt aſſuredly, would not only be an incenſed witneſs to, but alſo an ample avenger of ſo flagitious a villany. He adviſed them ſeriouſly to repent of the cruel deſign they had formed, obſerving, that after the perpetration of ſo barbarous an act it would be impoſſible to eſcape the torments of a guilty conſcience, which, notwithſtanding every artifice and ſtratagem to which it would be poſſible for them to have recourſe, would inceſſantly purſue them, and completely ruin the happineſs of every future moment of their lives. No excuſe could be admitted in their behalf, he ſaid, if they were to deſtroy him in revenge for any injury received; but as no offence was pretended againſt him, the horror of the deed would be aggravated. If he had diſpleaſed them, he ſaid, his youth and ſimplicity ought to plead in his excuſe; for if it was the duty of all men to pardon the indiſcretions of their friends and relations; and, of all claſſes of men, brothers ought to be the guardians and protectors, and not the murderers of each other. He told them the motive to their barbarity would be an aggravation of their guilt. He was to be deprived of life, leſt he ſhould, in future, attain to authority and happineſs, and that by perſons who were to partake of his proſperity. He further ſaid, that if they perſevered in their iniquitous deſign, they muſt conſequently become objects of the wrath of Heaven; and they would be diſappointed of participating in the enjoyment of the proſperity, happineſs, and peculiar bleſſings, which, in reward for his piety and goodneſs, the Almighty had been pleaſed to ſignify an intention of conferring upon Joſeph. Finding that, in deſpite of all his expoſtulations, they were inexorably reſolved to perſevere in their iniquitous deſign, he determined to recommend them to purſue another courſe for executing their purpoſe, ſo that their criminality might in ſome degree appear leſs atrocious. Rubel then ſaid, that ſince the death of Joſeph was irrevocably determined upon, it would be a point of prudence for them to execute their project in ſuch a manner as ſhould give the leaſt degree of aggravation to their crime; and therefore he adviſed that Joſeph might be caſt into the next pit, and there left to periſh; obſerving, that by this expedient, they would evade the guilt of polluting their hands with the blood of their brother. This propoſal being approved, by means of a rope, Rubel lowered Joſeph into a dry well near the ſpot, after which he went in ſearch of paſture for his cattle.

Joſeph caſt into a dry well, ver. 24.

They had proceeded but a ſmall diſtance from the well when they perceived a company of Arabian merchants, being the deſcendants of Iſhmael, approach: and they were afterwards informed that theſe people were travelling from Galaad into Egypt with † ſpices, perfumes, and other commodities. Hereupon ‡ Judas adviſed, that Joſeph might be taken out of the pit, and ſold to the merchants, whereby he would be ſo diſpoſed of that they might ſafely rely on his incapacity of returning to his father's habitation, obſerving, that they ſhould gain advantage by the bargain, and at the ſame time avoid polluting their hands with his blood.

Joſeph ſold to Arabian merchants, ver. 28.

The others agreeing with the advice of Judas, Joſeph was drawn out of the pit, and ſold to the merchants for twenty || pie-

---

[*] Script. Reuben.

[†] In Scripture we are told the merchants were conveying ſpicery, balm and myrrh into Egypt. Theſe were ſome of the ingredients uſed in embalming the dead; a practice at that time very general among the Egyptians and other eaſtern nations.

[‡] Script. Judah.

[||] It is generally underſtood, that the ſilver for which Joſeph was ſold, was about the value of forty-ſeven ſhillings ſterling.

ces of ſilver, he being at that time ſeventeen years of age.

Joſeph ſold to Arabian merchants, ver. 28.

In the mean time, Rubel, who was not preſent when the merchants arrived, and was a ſtranger to his brother having been ſold to them, employed his thoughts in diviſing means for his preſervation. Late at night he repaired to the well, unknown to his brethren, and ſeveral times called upon Joſeph by name; but receiving no anſwer, he concluded that the others had put him to death, whereupon he went in purſuit of them, and upbraided them with the ſuppoſed crime: but upon their explaining in what manner they had diſpoſed of him, he expreſſed himſelf to be ſatisfied.

After this, they employed themſelves in ſuggeſting ſuch plauſible excuſes as might ſecure them from being ſuſpected by their father as the murderers of their brother. After deliberating upon this ſubject for ſome time, they concluded upon ſtaining Joſeph's * travelling coat, which they took from him at the time of caſting him into the well, with the blood of a goat, and carried it to Jacob, in order to induce him to believe, that his ſon had been devoured by wild beaſts.

They accordingly returned to Jacob's habitation, and producing the coat, torn and bloody, denied having ſeen Joſeph ſince their departure from home, adding, that if the garment they had caſually found was the ſame worn by their brother at the time of his departure, it was probable he had been deſtroyed by wild beaſts.

Jacob, who had received an intimation that ſome kind of misfortune had happened to his younger ſon, flattered himſelf that he might have been taken priſoner, and that he might ſoon be reſtored to liberty: but upon the coat, which evidently appeared to belong to Joſeph, being produced, he immediately cloathed himſelf in ſack-cloth, and all the conſolations adminiſtered to him by his ſons proved ineffectual.

CHAP. IV.

Joſeph ſold to Potiphar, whoſe wife attempts to ſeduce him to lewdneſs. Inſtances of his continence. The woman accuſes Joſeph to her huſband, in conſequence of which he is impriſoned.

Joſeph ſold to Potiphar, Gen. XXXIX. 1.

UPON their arrival in Egypt, the merchants who had purchaſed Joſeph ſold him to Potiphar, the principal officer of king Pharoah's kitchen, who obſerving many of the excellent qualities he poſſeſſed, did not behave to him as a ſlave or a common domeſtic, but generouſly afforded him opportunities of improving his education, and in other reſpects treated him as a freeman. Joſeph diſcharged the duties of his ſtation with ſuch punctuality and addreſs, that Potiphar, in a ſhort time, promoted him to the office of maſter of his houſhold,

The advancement of Joſeph did not impair his integrity; and the propriety and prudence of his conduct exhibited an admirable example, that a wiſe and good man will ever have reſolution and fortitude to reſiſt temptations to evil, whatever his circumſtances and ſituation in life. He was a youth whoſe perſon and addreſs were ſo agreeable that Potiphar's wife became paſſionately fond of him, and entertained not the leaſt doubt that he would repulſe her overtures for engaging in an illicit correſpondence: but this idea proceeded from a knowledge of the contracted ſtate of his finances, not being the conſequence of any obſervation ſhe had made of the probability of his departing from the rigid principles of honour and integrity whereby he had regulated the whole conduct of his life. However, in direct and explicit terms ſhe invited him to come to her bed; upon which he expoſtulated to her, requeſting ſhe would decline further ſolicitation, ſince it would be an act of the higheſt infamy to betray and diſhonour a maſter whoſe unexpected kindneſſes had bound him under the ſtrongeſt obligations of gratitude. He recommended her to conquer her unruly paſſion, ſaying no arguments ſhe could poſſibly enforce would prevail upon him ſo far to abuſe the truſt and confidence repoſed in him, as to comply with her licentious invitation. To obey her in any lawful command, he ſaid, would afford him the higheſt ſatisfaction: but he could never ſubmit to an act that he could not afterwards reflect upon without horror and deteſtation.

Joſeph tempted by Potiphar's wife, ver. 7.

The repulſe ſhe had received, ſerved but to inflame this ſalacious woman to a greater degree of paſſion, for the gratification of which ſhe now determined to ſeek another opportunity.

A great feſtival, on occaſion of which it was uſual for all the women of diſtinction to aſſemble, was now approaching; and Potiphar's wife determined to affect an indiſpoſition at the time of the entertainment, in order that ſhe might have an opportunity of being in private with Joſeph. The time being arrived, ſhe confined herſelf to her apartment, and on ſome pretext, procured Joſeph to attend her there, when ſhe addreſſed him to the following effect:

---

* "Now Iſrael loved Joſeph more than all his children, becauſe he was the ſon of his old age: and he made him a coat of many colours." Gen. XXXVII. 3. In the Hebrew it is called a coat of many pieces, and in the Arabic a ſilken coat. Of whatever materials it was compoſed, it evidently was of different colours. Some ſuppoſe it to have been of woolen, the threads being of various colours, and others, that it was embroidered with flowers and figures; it being certain that among the eaſtern nations ſuch garments were worn by perſons of diſtinction.

"It would have been more fortunate for you, had you complied with my former ſolicitations either from a reſpect to the dignity of my ſtation, or the ſtrong affection I have avowed for you; you would then have rendered that condeſcention unneceſſary which I bluſh to make, yet cannot avoid, ſo exceſſive is the tenderneſs with which you have inſpired me: but I hope you will now have diſcretion enough to atone for your former error. By counterfeiting myſelf indiſpoſed, I deny myſelf a ſhare in the entertainments of the day, and thereby afford you a proof that the converſation and ſociety of perſons in an exalted rank of life cannot ſtand in competition with the love I bear towards you. Perhaps you might imagine that my former propoſal was merely intended to put your chaſtity to the proof; if ſo, you were deceived. The arms of a woman inexpreſſibly enamoured of you are now open to embrace you, and if you are prudent enough to avail yourſelf of the happy opportunity, rely on my utmoſt endeavours to promote your happineſs and welfare in life: but if you ſhould preſume to repulſe the offer of my love, I will avenge the inſult, by involving you in irretrieveable deſtruction; therefore hope not to find ſecurity in a ridiculous oſtentation of continency; for if my paſſion is a ſecond time diſappointed, be aſſured I will accuſe you to my huſband of an attempt upon my chaſtity; and when the charge is exhibited, whatever you may advance in your juſtification cannot poſſibly be of the leaſt avail."

The above addreſs was accompanied with prayers, tears, and denunciations of vengeance: but the integrity of Joſeph was too firm to be ſhaken either by compaſſion or terror; and he remained inflexibly determined to expoſe himſelf to the rage and malice of a diſappointed and vindictive woman, rather than become the inſtrument of gratifying her lewd and lacivious deſires. He reminded her of the reſpect ſhe owed to herſelf, as well as her huſband; obſerving that the indulgence of an improper appetite would inevitably be productive of the continual dread of diſcovery, which, together with the conſciouſneſs of having tranſgreſſed a poſitive command of the Almighty, could not fail to deſtroy all the ſubſtantial comforts of life. He further obſerved, that by participating in a common crime with her domeſtic, her authority and conſequence would be diminiſhed; and admoniſhed her, that ſhe would find the benefit of refraining from ſuch actions as could not be committed without producing the keeneſt remorſe; adding that ſecret wickedneſs would ever ſubject the perpetrator thereof to the terror of detection; and though it might not be diſcovered by man, it muſt inevitably excite the indignation of Heaven.

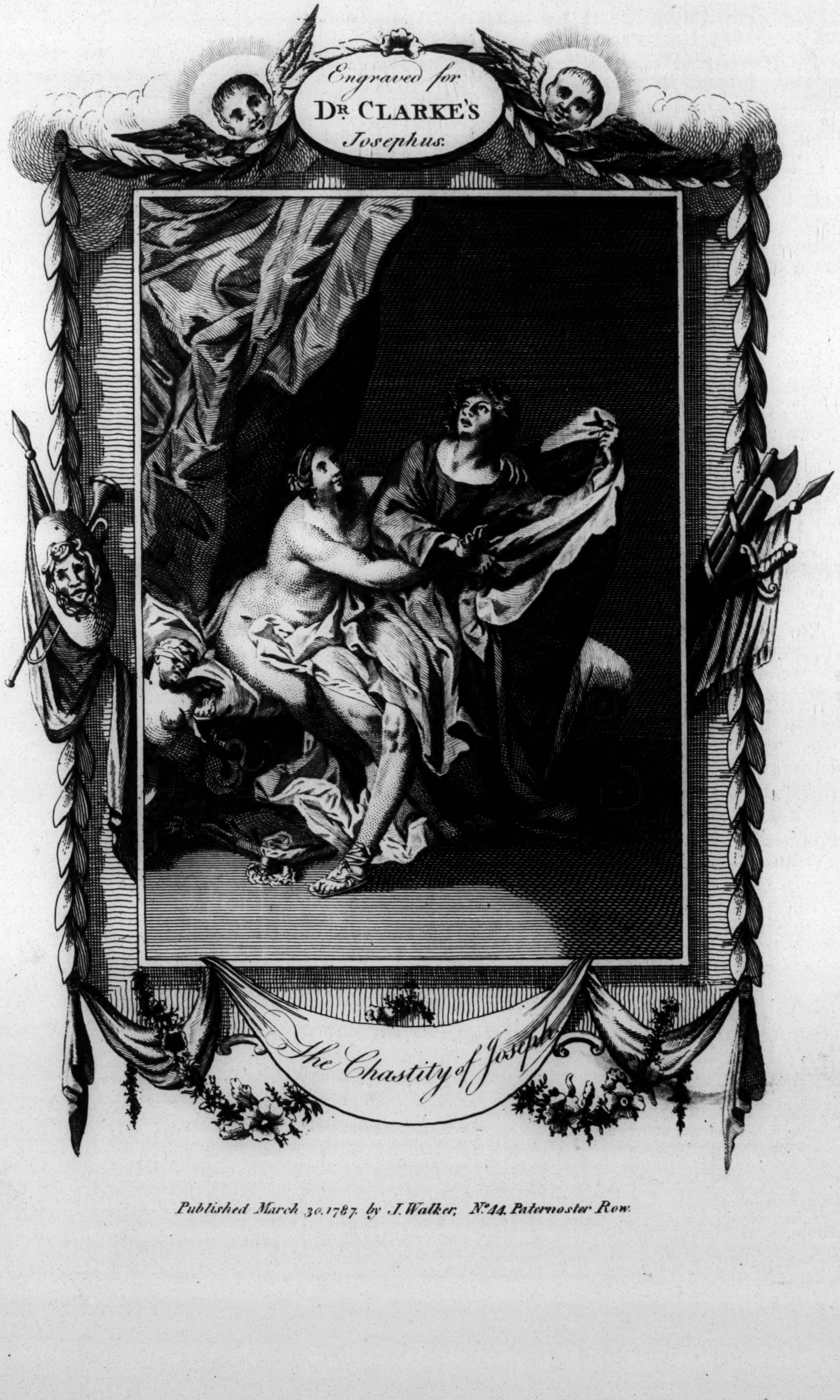
Excluſive of what is ſaid above, Joſeph urged a variety of other arguments in order to ſubdue the inordinate deſires of his miſtreſs: but ſo far from proving effectual, his perſuaſions ſerved but the more violently to inflame her paſſions; and therefore, what had been denied to her intreaties ſhe endeavoured to obtain by force. Seizing Joſeph by his * garment, his miſtreſs attempted to compel him to commit an act of lewdneſs: but diſguſted at her libidinous behaviour, he quitted the apartment; but in the ſtruggle to releaſe himſelf from his licentious and ſhameleſs miſtreſs, he left his coat, or outward garment, in her hands. Upon the departure of Joſeph, his miſtreſs immediately formed the reſolution of accuſing Joſeph of having made an attempt upon her honour, whereby ſhe intended at once to ſecure her own character from reproach, and wreak vengeance upon the youth whoſe high ſenſe of honour, piety and virtue, had diſappointed her incontinent deſires.

Soon after the departure of Joſeph, Potiphar came into his wife's chamber, and finding her in diſorder, he queſtioned her very particularly as to what could have occaſioned her to labour under ſo great an agitation of ſpirits. Thereupon ſhe ſaid to her huſband, that if he delayed to inflict the moſt exemplary puniſhment upon his favourite ſervant, Joſeph, he would confirm himſelf to be the dupe of the moſt compleat hypocrite, and the moſt atrocious villain upon earth. She then told him, that Joſeph, to whom he had entruſted the whole management of his family, and the ſuperintendency of all his other domeſtics, had obtruded himſelf into her retirement, and made a forcible attempt to violate his marriage bed; and to confirm this injurious accuſation, ſhe ſhewed him Joſeph's garment, ſaying that in the ſtruggle to releaſe herſelf from his power, ſhe had torn it from him; and finding his vi-

---

* "And ſhe caught him by his garment, ſaying, Lie with me: and he left his garment in her hand, and fled, and got out." Gen. XXXIX. 12. According to the ancient tranſlations, the garment left by Joſeph, in poſſeſſion of Potiphar's wife, was a cloak, or mantle, which he might, without difficulty, free himſelf from, in order to diſengage himſelf from her embraces.

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

The Chastity of Joseph

Published March 30. 1787. by J. Walker, No. 44. Paternoster Row.

cious inclinations ſo reſolutely oppoſed, in his confuſion and dread of being detected by his maſter, he had eſcaped without it.

This artful and abandoned woman ſupported her falſe accuſation in ſo plauſible a manner, that her huſband, who had the moſt tender affection for her perſon, and unbounded confidence in her virtue, was as firmly perſuaded of Joſeph's guilt as if he had been an actual witneſs to the pretended fact; for ſhe had the reputation of being a woman of exemplary virtue, and of the moſt unſullied purity of manners. And therefore, without examining into the nature of the circumſtances attending the charge alledged againſt him, Potiphar occaſioned Joſeph to be confined in the * common jail, among the moſt abandoned and infamous diſturbers of the public peace.

CHAP. V.

Joſeph's patience and reſignation during his impriſonment. He is treated with kindneſs and humanity by the gaoler. His interpretation of ſeveral dreams. In conſequence of the recommendation of Pharaoh's butler, Joſeph is ſent for out of priſon. He interprets Pharaoh's dream, and adviſes proviſion to be made againſt an approaching famine. Joſeph's advancement.

IN his confinement Joſeph attempted not to vindicate his innocence by a refutation of the injurious charge exhibited againſt him: but repoſing a firm reliance on the power of the Almighty, which he knew to be infinitely ſuperior to that of his enemies, he patiently ſubmitted to his impriſonment and chains, comforting himſelf in the reflection, that God would continue to be his unfailing protector. With fidelity, care and diligence, Joſeph executed every command impoſed upon him, and otherwiſe demeaned himſelf in ſo proper a manner that the † keeper of the priſon relieved him from the diſagreeable incumbrance of his irons, and afforded him better accommodation, and greater privileges than the generality of the priſoners enjoyed.

In thoſe converſations which took place among the priſoners during their intervals from labour, an acquaintance was contracted between Joſeph and Pharaoh's ‡ butler, who in conſequence of ſome unlucky occurrence happened to be under confinement. This butler, who, notwithſtanding his preſent misfortune had gained a high place in the favour and eſteem of the king, told Joſeph that he was much concerned to have incurred the diſpleaſure of his maſter, ſince which he had been perplexed with dreams and viſions which appeared to him of an extraordinary nature; and profeſſing to entertain a very great opinion of the talents and underſtanding of Joſeph, he requeſted his attention while he related the particulars of one of his dreams, at the ſame time deſiring him to give the moſt rational interpretation that could be aſſigned to it. He then related the dream to the following effect: "I imagined I beheld three branches of a vine, a bunch of ripe grapes depending from each branch, and that having preſſed the fruit into a cup, which Pharaoh held in his hand, I preſented the wine to the king, who found it of an execellent flavour." Hereupon Joſeph adviſed him not to be afflicted at his confinement; for the dream imported, that the king having occaſion for his ſervices, in three days he would be releaſed, and reſtored to his office in Pharaoh's palace. In explanation of the dream, Joſeph ſaid, "The fruit of the vine is the gift of God for the uſe and comfort of mankind; it is acceptable to God in ſacrifices; it creates friendſhips, tends to the reconciliation of diſagreements, diſpels

Pharaoh's butler relates a dream to Joſeph, Gen. XLI. ver. 9, 10, 11.

---

* In this place of confinement, the good patriarch was treated with peculiar ſeverity, being encumbered with fetters, which wore away his fleſh, and put into the moſt noiſome dungeon of the priſon. According to the threats uttered againſt him, he naturally expected, that by rejecting the ſolicitations of his miſtreſs, he ſhould not only be deprived of the ſtation he held in the family, but alſo endanger, not only his liberty, but his life alſo: and he was ready to reſign both life and freedom, rather than trangreſs the commands of God.—The hiſtory of Joſeph is one of the fineſt pieces in Scripture: it is extremely affecting, and affords a ſtrong proof of the providence of Heaven. It was the pleaſure of the Almighty to exalt Joſeph to grandeur and authority, and to humiliate his brethren before him. The meaſures his brothers purſued to obſtruct his ſucceſs, contributed to his glorious advancement; and the reader will find, that the calumnies of his lewd miſtreſs, which threatened to complete his deſtruction, combined with other circumſtances to inveſt him with the powers of royalty. This example ſhould teach us to conſole ourſelves under the worſt of misfortunes; ſince it exemplifies that thoſe who repoſe their truſt in the goodneſs of the Almighty, may reaſonably hope, that he will graciouſly convert their preſent ſufferings into the means of future happineſs.

† "And the keeper of the priſon committed to Joſeph's hand all the priſoners that were in the priſon; and whatſoever they did there, he was the doer of it." Gen. XXXIX. 22. Hence it appears, that his fidelity and induſtry were inſtruments in the hands of Providence for cauſing him to be appointed deputy to the keeper of the priſon, whereby the rigour of his fortune was in a conſiderable degree alleviated.

‡ It is beyond diſpute that the butler and the baker held very conſiderable offices in Pharaoh's palace, and particularly the former, he having free acceſs to, and the privilege of converſing with, and even of offering advice to the king. "And Pharaoh was wrath againſt two of his officers, againſt the chief of the butlers, and againſt the chief of the bakers." Gen. XL. 2.

care and oppreſſion of ſpirits, and converts ſadneſs into joy. The king having received the cup is an auſpicious omen to you; for it implies, that, in as many days as you ſaw branches, you will be reſtored to liberty. When this prediction is verified, I muſt requeſt that you will reflect on the unfortunate ſituation of myſelf; and remember that it is characteriſtic of a good man in proſperity to yield aſſiſtance to thoſe who are labouring under the oppreſſion of adverſity. Believe me when I declare that the loſs of my liberty is not on account of having committed a criminal act, but merely in conſequence of having preferred the honour of my maſter to the indulgence of a carnal appetite."

This interpretation of courſe was highly agreeable to the butler, who communicated the circumſtance to the king's chief baker, he being confined in the ſame priſon. Upon this, the baker reſolved to apply to Joſeph requeſting an interpretation of his dream, flattering himſelf that the expoſition of it would prove as favourable as that given to the butler's. The dream was to this purpoſe: He had the preceding night ſuppoſed himſelf carrying three baſkets, two containing bread and the other fleſh, and various delicacies for the king's table; and notwithſtanding all his endeavours to fright them away, the birds of the air flew into the baſkets, and voraciouſly devoured the proviſions. Having heard the dream, Joſeph ſaid it gave him concern that he could not put ſo favourable a conſtruction upon it as he had done upon that of the butler; and having admoniſhed him to conduct himſelf with fortitude, he gave the following explication: "By the two firſt baſkets of bread, it is implied, that you have no more than two days to live, and the baſket containing the fleſh imports, that on the third day you will be crucified on a tree, and your body expoſed to be devoured by the fowls of the air."

Joſeph explains the dream of Pharaoh's chief baker, ver. 18, 19.

The events predicted by Joſeph were preciſely verified; for on the day he had ſpecified, being the anniverſary feſtival of Pharaoh's nativity, he commanded the butler to be reſtored to his employment, and the baker to be crucified.

Joſeph ſuffered impriſonment for the ſpace of two years, during which time the butler neglected to purſue any meaſures for his deliverance, which, however he obtained in conſequence of the following occurrence. In one night the king had two dreams, which he ſuppoſed to have been expounded to him. The viſions he remembered, but forget the particulars of the expoſitions of them, though he in general recollected that they were unfavourable to him. Being uneaſy on this account, he next morning ſummoned a convocation of the moſt learned of the Egyptian doctors to attend, in order that he might conſult them with regard to the ſignification of his dreams. They aſſembled, and after a long conſultation declared themſelves incapable of expounding the viſions, which greatly increaſed the king's unhappineſs. Hereupon the butler related the expoſitions Joſeph had given to the dreams of himſelf and the chief baker during their impriſonment, mentioning that he was reſtored to his majeſty's favour, and the baker executed, in ſtrict conformity with the predictions of their fellow priſoner. He informed the king that the interpretations were given by a domeſtic of Potiphar, on whoſe accuſation he was ſtill detained in confinement; and that, notwithſtanding his preſent depreſſed ſituation, he avowed himſelf to be a Hebrew of a reſpectable family. He then ſtrongly recommended the king to ſend for Joſeph, aſſuring him that he was poſſeſſed of ſuch extraordinary talents as to be able to give an accurate and juſt interpretation of his viſion. In compliance with the advice of his butler, the king commanded Joſeph to be immediately ſent for from priſon, and conducted into his preſence.

Upon the arrival of Joſeph, the king received him in a courteous manner, and taking him by the right hand, addreſſed him in the following manner: "One of the officers of my houſhold has repreſented you as a man of whoſe wiſdom he has had experience, particularly informing me, that you excel in the faculty of expounding dreams; and that you might exerciſe your ſkill in this ſcience was the motive for my ſending for you. Having given ſo juſt an expoſition of the dream of my ſervant, I requeſt that you will act in the ſame manner by me. It is my expreſs command, that neither with a view to ingratiate my favour, nor from the dread of incurring my diſpleaſure, you depart from the truth, but ſpeak equally without diſguiſe or prejudice, whether what you may have to ſay ſhall be moſt likely to give me concern or ſatiſfaction. The ſubſtance of the dream which I wiſh you to expound is as follow: I imagined that while walking by the ſide of a river, I perceived ſeven large and fleſhy oxen come out of the water and proceed towards the paſture, and that afterwards ſeven lean and ill-formed cattle of the ſame ſpecies went from the paſture towards the river: I ſuppoſed the beaſts to meet, and that the lean devoured the fat oxen, and yet their bulk appeared not to be increaſed. After this I awoke, and having employed my thoughts a ſhort time upon the meaning of the viſion, fell into another ſleep, when I imagined that I ſaw ſeven ears of corn ſpring from a ſingle root, being ripe for cutting, and ſo heavily laden with grain that the ſtalks bent under their burden. At a ſmall diſtance I ſuppoſed there to be ſeven ears of thin and blaſted corn, which, to my great aſtoniſhment, devoured the ſeven full and ripe ears. This latter viſion increaſed my depreſſion of ſpirits and uneaſineſs of mind occaſioned by the former.

oſeph ex-
lains the
ing's dreams,
er. 25 32.

The king having concluded, Joſeph ſeriouſly deliberated on what he had ſaid; and then, in a reſpectful but manly tone of voice, delivered the following reply: “ The two dreams of your majeſty, however differing in their circumſtances, manifeſtly appear to me to have relation and reference to a common event. He obſerved, that the ox was an animal intended by providence to labour in tilling the earth. By the ſeven fat and the ſeven lean oxen, and the ſeven full and the ſeven blaſted ears of corn, was implied an abundance in Egypt for ſeven years, and afterwards a ſcarcity for an equal ſpace of time. From the circumſtances of the lean oxen devouring the fleſhy and plump ones, and the blighted ears of corn conſuming the full and ripe ones, it was to be underſtood that the produce of the firſt ſeven years would not be equal to ſupply the deficiences of the next ſeven. By the lean oxen not appearing to be ſatisfied after devouring the others, he underſtood as a demonſtration that the famine would be extremely ſevere. God, ſaid he, does not reveal his wiſe purpoſes merely to terrify and afflict mankind; but he is graciouſly pleaſed to communicate his intentions, that his creatures may prevent, or provide againſt calamities, which, without ſuch precaution, would be intolerable. I therefore take the privilege of recommending that your majeſty will be pleaſed to iſſue orders that a reſervation may be made of a part of the grain produced in the ſeven years of plenty, as a reſource to render leſs grievous and diſtreſſing to your ſubjects the ſcarcity of the ſubſequent ſeven years.”

In admiration of the ſagacity, penetration, and foreſight of Joſeph, the king queſtioned him as to what proceeding he judged moſt adviſeable for averting the misfortunes he had predicted. Hereupon Joſeph ſaid that he would propoſe a rigid œconomy in the public expenditure, ſince a retrenchment of every ſuperfluous expence in the ſeveral departments of the ſtate could not fail to contribute in a conſiderable degree towards obviating the threatened evil. He further informed the king, that in his opinion, it would be prudent to depoſit ſtores of grain in magazines and other convenient places, in order to be diſtributed only in ſuch quantities as would be neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of the people, and for ſupplying them with ſeed for vegetation.

Joſeph's exaltation, ver. 40, &c.

Pharaoh expreſſed himſelf no leſs ſatisfied with the ſentiments of Joſeph in reſpect to public œconomy than he had before done on the ſubject of his ſkill in the interpretation of dreams. Highly to the honour of his judgment, the king inveſted Joſeph with full power and authority to act as the ſuperintendant of all his ſtores of grain, and to carry the project he had ſuggeſted into execution, in whatever manner ſhould appear to him the beſt calculated for the ſervice of himſelf and the general welfare of his people. Upon giving him this commiſſion, the king delivered to him his ſignet, and granted him certain privileges and immunities, among which were thoſe of wearing [*] garments of purple, and of riding in a chariot through any parts of the dominions.

Joſeph immediately proceeded to adopt his plan of regulation, in conformity to which he collected great quantities of grain in the royal ſtores, and delivered to the people only ſuch portions as were neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, and for the cultivation of their lands, at the ſame time keeping in profound ſecrecy the motive for ſo unuſual a regulation.

CHAP. VI.

The king's eſteem for Joſeph encreaſes. He marries, and has two ſons. The famine prevails in Egypt. Jacob ſends his ſons, except Benjamin, to deal in corn in Egypt. Joſeph affects to conſider his brothers as ſpies. Rubel vindicates himſelf and his brethren. Joſeph orders them to be taken into cuſtody. Simeon detained as an hoſtage, while the others are permitted to depart. Joſeph's ſecret generoſity. Benjamin and his brothers appear before Joſeph. Simeon reſtored to liberty. Joſeph entertains his brothers, who afterwards depart. Benjamin accuſed. Judas intercedes in his behalf. Joſeph avows himſelf to his brethren, with whom he is reconciled, and they depart for Canaan with rich preſents.

AT this time Joſeph was [†] thirty years of age, and by his extraordinary wiſcare and oppreſſion of ſpirits, and converts ſadneſs into joy. The king having received the cup is an auſpicious omen to you; for it implies, that, in as many days as you ſaw branches, you will be reſtored to liberty. When this prediction is verified, I muſt requeſt that you will reflect on the unfortunate ſituation of myſelf; and remember that it is characteriſtic of a good man in proſperity to yield aſſiſtance to thoſe who are labouring under the oppreſſion of adverſity. Believe me when I declare that the loſs of my liberty is not on account of having committed a criminal act, but merely in conſequence of having preferred the honour of my maſter to the indulgence of a carnal appetite."

---

[*] “ And Pharaoh took off the ring from his hand, and put it upon Joſeph's hand, and arrayed him in veſtures of fine linen—And he made him ride in the ſecond chariot.” Gen. XLI. 42, 43. This country was famous for producing fine linen; the uſual dreſs of the prieſts, who were the principal perſons in the adminiſtration, was made of this linen dyed purple. Some tranſlators of the Scriptures, for want of attending to this circumſtance, have rendered the word, veſtures of ſilk. The ſecond chariot ſignifies that immediately following the king's equipage in public proceſſions.

[†] He was therefore about thirteen years in the ſervice of Potiphar and in the priſon, he being ſeventeen years of age when he was ſold to the Arabian merchants, who took him into Egypt.

This interpretation of courſe was highly agreeable to the butler, who communicated the circumſtance to the king's chief baker, he being confined in the ſame priſon. Upon this, the baker reſolved to apply to Joſeph requeſting an interpretation of his dream, flattering himſelf that the expoſition of it would prove as favourable as that given to the butler's. The dream was to this purpoſe: He had the preceding night ſuppoſed himſelf carrying three baſkets, two containing bread and the other fleſh, and various delicacies for the king's table; and notwithſtanding all his endeavours to fright them away, the birds of the air flew into the baſkets, and voraciouſly devoured the proviſions. Having heard the dream, Joſeph ſaid it gave him concern that he could not put ſo favourable a conſtruction upon it as he had done upon that of the butler; and having admoniſhed him to conduct himſelf with fortitude, he gave the following explication: "By the two firſt baſkets of bread, it is implied, that you have no more than two days to live, and the baſket containing the fleſh imports, that on the third day you will be crucified on a tree, and your body expoſed to be devoured by the fowls of the air."

Joſeph explains the dream of Pharaoh's chief baker, ver. 18, 19.

The events predicted by Joſeph were preciſely verified; for on the day he had ſpecified, being the anniverſary feſtival of Pharaoh's nativity, he commanded the butler to be reſtored to his employment, and the baker to be crucified.

Joſeph ſuffered impriſonment for the ſpace of two years, during which time the butler neglected to purſue any meaſures for his deliverance, which, however he obtained in conſequence of the following occurrence. In one night the king had two dreams, which he ſuppoſed to have been expounded to him. The viſions he remembered, but forget the particulars of the expoſitions of them, though he in general recollected that they were unfavourable to him. Being uneaſy on this account, he next morning ſummoned a convocation of the moſt learned of the Egyptian doctors to attend, in order that he might conſult them with regard to the ſignification of his dreams. They aſſembled, and after a long conſultation declared themſelves incapable of expounding the viſions, which greatly increaſed the king's unhappineſs. Hereupon the butler related the expoſitions Joſeph had given to the dreams of himſelf and the chief baker during their impriſonment, mentioning that he was reſtored to his majeſty's favour, and the baker executed, in ſtrict conformity with the predictions of their fellow priſoner. He informed the king that the interpretations were given by a domeſtic of Potiphar, on whoſe accuſation he was ſtill detained in confinement; and that, notwithſtanding his preſent depreſſed ſituation, he avowed himſelf to be a Hebrew of a reſpectable family. He then ſtrongly recommended the king to ſend for Joſeph, aſſuring him that he was poſſeſſed of ſuch extraordinary talents as to be able to give an accurate and juſt interpretation of his viſion. In compliance with the advice of his butler, the king commanded Joſeph to be immediately ſent for from priſon, and conducted into his preſence.

Upon the arrival of Joſeph, the king received him in a courteous manner, and taking him by the right hand, addreſſed him in the following manner: "One of the officers of my houſhold has repreſented you as a man of whoſe wiſdom he has had experience, particularly informing me, that you excel in the faculty of expounding dreams; and that you might exerciſe your ſkill in this ſcience was the motive for my ſending for you. Having given ſo juſt an expoſition of the dream of my ſervant, I requeſt that you will act in the ſame manner by me. It is my expreſs command, that neither with a view to ingratiate my favour, nor from the dread of incurring my diſpleaſure, you depart from the truth, but ſpeak equally without diſguiſe or prejudice, whether what you may have to ſay ſhall be moſt likely to give me concern or ſatisfaction. The ſubſtance of the dream which I wiſh you to expound is as follow: I imagined that while walking by the ſide of a river, I perceived ſeven large and fleſhy oxen come out of the water and proceed towards the paſture, and that afterwards ſeven lean and ill-formed cattle of the ſame ſpecies went from the paſture towards the river: I ſuppoſed the beaſts to meet, and that the lean devoured the fat oxen, and yet their bulk appeared not to be increaſed. After this I awoke, and having employed my thoughts a ſhort time upon the meaning of the viſion, fell into another ſleep, when I imagined that I ſaw ſeven ears of corn ſpring from a ſingle root, being ripe for cutting, and ſo heavily laden with grain that the ſtalks bent under their burden. At a ſmall diſtance I ſuppoſed there to be ſeven ears of thin and blaſted corn, which, to my great aſtoniſhment, devoured the ſeven full and ripe ears. This latter viſion increaſed my depreſſion of ſpirits and uneaſineſs of mind occaſioned by the former.

oſeph ex- lains the ing's dreams, er. 25 32.

The king having concluded, Joſeph ſeriouſly deliberated on what he had ſaid; and then, in a reſpectful but manly tone of voice, delivered the following reply: “The two dreams of your majeſty, however differing in their circumſtances, manifeſtly appear to me to have relation and reference to a common event. He obſerved, that the ox was an animal intended by providence to labour in tilling the earth. By the ſeven fat and the ſeven lean oxen, and the ſeven full and the ſeven blaſted ears of corn, was implied an abundance in Egypt for ſeven years, and afterwards a ſcarcity for an equal ſpace of time. From the circumſtances of the lean oxen devouring the fleſhy and plump ones, and the blighted ears of corn conſuming the full and ripe ones, it was to be underſtood that the produce of the firſt ſeven years would not be equal to ſupply the deficiences of the next ſeven. By the lean oxen not appearing to be ſatisfied after devouring the others, he underſtood as a demonſtration that the famine would be extremely ſevere. God, ſaid he, does not reveal his wiſe purpoſes merely to terrify and afflict mankind; but he is graciouſly pleaſed to communicate his intentions, that his creatures may prevent, or provide againſt calamities, which, without ſuch precaution, would be intolerable. I therefore take the privilege of recommending that your majeſty will be pleaſed to iſſue orders that a reſervation may be made of a part of the grain produced in the ſeven years of plenty, as a reſource to render leſs grievous and diſtreſſing to your ſubjects the ſcarcity of the ſubſequent ſeven years.”

In admiration of the ſagacity, penetration, and foreſight of Joſeph, the king queſtioned him as to what proceeding he judged moſt adviſeable for averting the misfortunes he had predicted. Hereupon Joſeph ſaid that he would propoſe a rigid œconomy in the public expenditure, ſince a retrenchment of every ſuperfluous expence in the ſeveral departments of the ſtate could not fail to contribute in a conſiderable degree towards obviating the threatened evil. He further informed the king, that in his opinion, it would be prudent to depoſit ſtores of grain in magazines and other convenient places, in order to be diſtributed only in ſuch quantities as would be neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of the people, and for ſupplying them with ſeed for vegetation.

Joſeph's exaltation, ver. 40, &c.

Pharaoh expreſſed himſelf no leſs ſatisfied with the ſentiments of Joſeph in reſpect to public œconomy than he had before done on the ſubject of his ſkill in the interpretation of dreams. Highly to the honour of his judgment, the king inveſted Joſeph with full power and authority to act as the ſuperintendant of all his ſtores of grain, and to carry the project he had ſuggeſted into execution, in whatever manner ſhould appear to him the beſt calculated for the ſervice of himſelf and the general welfare of his people. Upon giving him this commiſſion, the king delivered to him his ſignet, and granted him certain privileges and immunities, among which were thoſe of wearing [*] garments of purple, and of riding in a chariot through any parts of the dominions.

Joſeph immediately proceeded to adopt his plan of regulation, in conformity to which he collected great quantities of grain in the royal ſtores, and delivered to the people only ſuch portions as were neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, and for the cultivation of their lands, at the ſame time keeping in profound ſecrecy the motive for ſo unuſual a regulation.

CHAP. VI.

The king's eſteem for Joſeph encreaſes. He marries, and has two ſons. The famine prevails in Egypt. Jacob ſends his ſons, except Benjamin, to deal in corn in Egypt. Joſeph affects to conſider his brothers as ſpies. Rubel vindicates himſelf and his brethren. Joſeph orders them to be taken into cuſtody. Simeon detained as an hoſtage, while the others are permitted to depart. Joſeph's ſecret generoſity. Benjamin and his brothers appear before Joſeph. Simeon reſtored to liberty. Joſeph entertains his brothers, who afterwards depart. Benjamin accuſed. Judas intercedes in his behalf. Joſeph avows himſelf to his brethren, with whom he is reconciled, and they depart for Canaan with rich preſents.

AT this time Joſeph was [†] thirty years of age, and by his extraordinary wiſdom and prudence he gained ſo diſtinguiſhed a place in the favour and eſteem of Pharaoh, that he gave him the appellation of * Pſonthomphanec, a word in the Egyptian language, importing the diſcoverer of hidden things.

---

[*] “And Pharaoh took off the ring from his hand, and put it upon Joſeph's hand, and arrayed him in veſtures of fine linen—And he made him ride in the ſecond chariot.” Gen. XLI. 42, 43. This country was famous for producing fine linen; the uſual dreſs of the prieſts, who were the principal perſons in the adminiſtration, was made of this linen dyed purple. Some tranſlators of the Scriptures, for want of attending to this circumſtance, have rendered the word, veſtures of ſilk. The ſecond chariot ſignifies that immediately following the king's equipage in public proceſſions.

[†] He was therefore about thirteen years in the ſervice of Potiphar and in the priſon, he being ſeventeen years of age when he was ſold to the Arabian merchants, who took him into Egypt.

Joſeph marries, and has two ſons, ver. 50.

Through the negociation of Pharaoh, Joſeph eſpouſed †Ananeth, the daughter of ‡Petephera, high-prieſt of Heliopolis. This alliance was highly honourable to Joſeph, and was the means of augmenting his influence and reputation among the people. Before the famine in Egypt, Joſeph had two ſons by Ananeth, the elder of whom received the name of Manaſſes, or oblivion, becauſe, in the improved ſtate of his fortune, he no longer remembered the ſufferings he had endured during his adverſity; and the younger was called Ephraim, on account of his being born to the freedom of his forefathers.

Upon the expiration of the ſeven years of abundance, Egypt was viſited by a dreadful famine, as Joſeph had predicted; and ſuch were the diſtreſſes of the people, that they came in great numbers from the moſt diſtant parts of the kingdom, and aſſembling before the king's palace, clamourouſly demanded relief. Hereupon Joſeph ſupplied the neceſſities of the public, who, in admiration of his foreſight and prudence, unanimouſly hailed him as the ſaviour of the nation. This ſeaſonable relief was not confined to the natives of Egypt, foreigners alſo being permitted to purchaſe grain at the king's magazines; for the opinion of Joſeph was, that all mankind being allied by blood, it was the indiſpenſable duty of every individual, enjoying the bleſſings of life, to alleviate the ſufferings of thoſe labouring under the preſſure of adverſity.

Jacob ſends his ſons into Egypt to purchaſe corn, Gen. XL. II. ver. 3, 4.

The above mentioned calamity was not confined to Egypt, but extended to ſeveral other countries; and Canaan was particularly afflicted by the ſcarcity. Having received intelligence, that foreigners were permitted to purchaſe corn in Egypt, Jacob ſent ten of his ſons thither for that purpoſe, || Benjamin, the ſon of Rachel, and own brother to Joſeph, remaining at home. Upon the arrival of the brethren in Egypt, they made application to Joſeph for permiſſion to buy and convey grain out of Pharaoh's dominions. Upon their appearance before him, he inſtantly recognized their perſons: but finding himſelf entirely ¶ unknown to them, he determined to put their preſent diſpoſition to the proof; and to effect this purpoſe he not only rejected their requiſition, but informed them that he had reaſon to believe the purchaſe of corn was a mere pretext, and that the real object of their journey into Egypt was ** to penetrate into the ſecrets of the ſtate. Being extremely deſirous of gaining information relating both to his father and his brother Benjamin, who he was apprehenſive might have fallen a victim to the cruelty they intended to exerciſe upon him, Joſeph accuſed his brothers of conſpiracy, and threatened them with the vengeance of the law for that offence, imagining that to vindicate themſelves from this charge, they would be induced to relate the particulars of the ſituation of his family, which he had been very anxious to learn from the time of departing from his father's habitation.

Joſeph accuſes his brothers of being ſpies, ver. 6.

The diſappointment they had experienced having thrown them into great terror and conſternation, Rubel, the elder brother, in behalf of himſelf and companions, thus addreſſed himſelf to Joſeph: "Be aſſured that we have never entertained the moſt diſtant idea of intermeddling in political affairs, or attempting injury to the perſon of the king, or diſturbance to his government. We are come into this country with no other view than to procure a ſupply of the common neceſſaries of life, being attracted by the great humanity of Pharaoh, whereby we underſtand that foreigners and his own ſubjects are upon an equal footing with reſpect to the purchaſe of corn from the royal ſtores and magazines. It is true, as we have already averred, that we are the ſons of one man, of which the ſtriking reſemblance of our features may be underſtood as a teſtimony of ſome force. Our father is a Hebrew by deſcent, his name being Jacob; by four women he had twelve ſons; and till he was deprived of one of the number, whoſe name was Joſeph, the affairs of our family were in a proſperous and happy train: but ſince the untimely and deeply regret-

---

* In Scripture, Phoſomphanec.

† Scripture, Zaphnaah-paaneah.

‡ Scripture, Potiphera.

|| Leſt any misfortune ſhould happen to him, Jacob would not ſend Benjamin with them, he having an extraordinary affection for him, both on account of his being the ſon of Rachel, for whom he had the moſt tender affection, and ſuppoſing him to be the only child by her ſtill living, for he had abandoned all hope of ſeeing Joſeph again.

¶ They had not ſeen him for many years, during which his features muſt have been altered; and if we recollect that the grandeur of apparel greatly alters the appearance of a man; and that he converſed with them through the agency of an interpreter, it will not appear extraordinary that they ſhould not remember their brother.

** He accuſed them of being ſpies: the Scripture ſays he addreſſed them thus: "Ye are ſpies; to ſee the nakedneſs of the land ye are come." Gen. XLII. 9. This ſignifies that they came to examine the ſtate of the fortifications. They entered Egypt by thoſe paſſes where alone it was aſſailable.

ted death of our deareſt brother, misfortunes have befallen us. The ſorrows of our father for the loſs of his ſon are ſtill inconſolable, and to this day we feel not leſs affliction on his account, than we did for the death of our tenderly-beloved brother, Joſeph. Under the auſpices of your humanity we come hither to purchaſe corn, our younger brother, Benjamin, remaining at home to attend upon and yield aſſiſtance to our aged father. If the truth of what I have averred ſhall ſtill be diſputed, a confirmation of it may be obtained by diſpatching a meſſenger to our father."

oſeph orders is brothers nto cuſtody, er. 10, 13.

Joſeph, who had received great ſatisfaction in being informed of the welfare of his father and his brother Benjamin, ordered his brothers to be taken into cuſtody, ſaying, he would make further enquiries into their caſe on a future opportunity. Three days having elapſed, they were again brought before him; when he informed them, that he ſtill ſuſpected them to entertain deſigns hoſtile to the government. In order to be ſatisfied that they had no evil intentions, and that they were in reality, as they pretended to be, the ſons of one man, he propoſed, that on condition of one remaining with him as a hoſtage, the others ſhould return, and after delivering to their father the corn they came to purchaſe, again appear before him, accompanied by their younger brother, Benjamin. During the abſence of the others, their hoſtage, he aſſured them, ſhould be treated with kindneſs; and nothing but their acquieſcence in the meaſure he had propoſed would convince him of their integrity.

They now imagined their deſtruction to be inevitable, and conſequently were extremely alarmed and unhappy. They bitterly deplored their ſituation, and while their conſciences keenly upbraided them with their former guilt, obſerved to each other, that the danger in which they were now involved was in conſequence of the vengeance of Heaven purſuing them to avenge their barbarity to Joſeph. Rubel reprimanded them for the folly of a late repentance, not proceeding from a conſciouſneſs and abhorrence of guilt, but from the terror of immediate puniſhment, obſerving that ſuch extorted contrition muſt ever prove ineffectual. They now fell into deſpondency, expecting the wrath of an offended God to overtake them; and while tormented by the ſtings of conſcience, upbraided themſelves that the juſtice of Rubel's remarks had not occurred to them before. So dreadful were the apprehenſions, and ſo ſharp was the compunction of conſcience which the brothers expreſſed in their countenances and deportment, that it was not without the utmoſt difficulty Joſeph was able to refain from tears; and the ſcene at length became ſo diſtreſſing that he was under the neceſſity of retiring, leſt by giving way to his feelings he ſhould diſcover himſelf. After a ſhort abſence, during which he compoſed the tumult of his ſpirits, Joſeph returned to his brothers, and accepting Simeon as a hoſtage to ſecure their appearance again, accompanied by Benjamin, he gave them a licence for the purchaſe of the corn they had demanded, after which they departed. Having purchaſed their corn, they ſet out on their return home, previous to which one of Joſeph's attendants had, by his maſter's command, ſecretly conveyed the money they had paid for their corn into their baggage.

The ſons return to their father, ver. 29.

Upon their return into Canaan, the ſons related to their father all the occurrences they had met with in Egypt, which gave Jacob much uneaſineſs; he particularly diſapproved of their having left Simeon as a hoſtage; and was inexpreſſibly concerned at the idea of parting with Benjamin, though Rubel offered to ſtake the lives of his own two children on the ſafety of his return. Upon opening the ſacks, and finding in them the amount of the ſum they had paid for the corn, their perplexity and uneaſineſs was greatly increaſed.

The ſtock of corn they had procured was gradually diminiſhing; and the proſpect of an approaching ſcarcity was highly alarming; for without fulfilling their contract, they could neither hope for a further ſupply from Egypt, nor to venture into that country without expoſing themſelves to the danger of being put to death, or, at leaſt, being for ever deprived of their liberty. The danger of ſcarcity ſometimes co-operated with the perſuaſions of his other ſons to incline Jacob to conſent that Benjamin ſhould go with them to Pharaoh's court: but he as often retracted. At length, Judas, who was a man of bold and free manners, addreſſed himſelf to his father to the following effect: "According to my ſentiments, you are too ſolicitous for the ſafety of your ſon Benjamin; for in order to ſecure his preſervation, you will, if you perſevere in your preſent diſpoſition of mind, conſign your other ſons to inevitable ruin, which muſt be the conſequence of provoking the enmity of Pharaoh by the violation of our contract. Whether at home, or abroad, it is juſt that our younger brother ſhould ſubmit to the will of God. But while you are heſitating on the queſtion of permitting Benjamin to accompany us into Egypt in order to diſcharge the engagement in which we have bound ourſelves, how great would be your affliction if the

Egyptians ſhould put Simeon to death, which may naturally be expected as the reſult of the forfeiture of our agreement, ſince they hold him as a pledge for our returning to manifeſt our innocence; for the breach of our promiſe will be deemed a tacit acknowledgment of the guilt imputed to us, and to avenge the ſuppoſed conſpiracy, Pharaoh will doubtleſs put our brother to death. Repoſe a reliance in the providence of God, and remain aſſured, that I will either loſe my own life in his defence, or reſtore your ſon Benjamin to you in ſafety."

Jacob ſends Benjamin into Egypt, Gen. XLIII. 51.

The importunities of his other ſons, and the dread of a ſcarcity of proviſions, at length prevailed upon Jacob to ſend Benjamin to the court of king Pharaoh. Upon the departure of his ſons, Jacob ſupplied them with money to double the amount of the corn they were to bring back with them, beſides preſents of the moſt valuable articles produced in the land of Canaan, conſiſting of balm, myrrh, honey, turpentine, and other commodities; and after abundance of tears had been ſhed, and many pious ejaculations uttered on both ſides, they ſeparated; the father being left in dreadful anexiety, leſt his ſons ſhould not return, and they labouring under the afflicting apprehenſion, that any accident befalling them ſhould haſten the death of their aged parent.

Upon their arrival in Egypt, they repaired to Joſeph's habitation, being greatly alarmed, leſt in conſequence of finding the money in their ſacks, they ſhould be accuſed of fraud. They informed his ſteward, that upon their arrival in Canaan, they had found the money paid for their corn in their ſacks, but were entirely ignorant by what means it had been conveyed there; adding, that they had brought it back with them, in order to reſtore it. But upon the ſteward anſwering, that he was a ſtranger to the circumſtance they had mentioned, and their perceiving their brother Simeon at liberty, they began to entertain hopes that their embarraſſments would have a more favourable iſſue than their fears had ſuggeſted to them. At this time Joſeph was returning from attending the king upon ſome public buſineſs, and reſpectfully * addreſſing themſelves to him, they produced the preſents, Joſeph in the mean time † impatiently queſtioning them concerning the ſtate of their father's health. Pointing to ‡ Benjamin, he aſked if he was their younger brother, and being anſwered in the affirmative, he beſought Heaven to bleſs the youth. His fraternal tenderneſs was now raiſed to the higheſt pitch, and the tears were buſting from his eyes, when, to conceal the effuſion of his paſſion, he retired into his apartment, and there wept in abundance. The ſame evening he invited all his brethren to ſup with him, when he ranged them according to their ſeniority, as they uſed to ſit at their father's table, and behaved to them in the moſt kind and courteous manner poſſible; but the portion of proviſion ſet before Benjamin was || double the quantity that was aſſigned to each of the others.

After the entertaiment, Joſeph ordered the corn to be meaſured for his brothers, and the money paid for it to be put into the ſacks as before, and likewiſe that a ſilver cup, which he was himſelf accuſtomed to drink out of, ſhould be conveyed into Benjamin's ſack. His motive for ordering the cup to be put into Benjamin's ſack was to diſcover whether, if he ſhould be accuſed of theft, the others would intereſt themſelves in vindicating his innocence, or abandon him in his calamity, and return to their father without him. Theſe orders Joſeph gave to his ſteward, who punctually obeyed them.

Upon the dawn of the next morning they ſet forward upon their return to Canaan, highly ſatisfied with their ſucceſs, and congratulating each other on being able to make their father happy in his old age, by preſenting Simeon and Benjamin to him.

While they were purſuing their journey, they were ſurpriſed and ſurrounded by a a troop of cavalry, and among them was the ſteward who had put the cup into Benjamin's ſack. Upon this, they vehe-

---

* "And when Joſeph came home, they brought him the preſent which was in their hand into the houſe, and bowed themſelves to him to the earth." Gen. XLIII. 26. This was a ſtill more complete accompliſhment of Joſeph's dream reſpecting his brother's ſheaves of corn approaching to and bowing down before his own.

† In the Scripture the queſtions are aſked in a ſtile inimitably pathetic. "And he aſked them of their welfare, and ſaid, Is your father well, the old man of whom ye ſpake? Is he yet alive?" Gen. XLIII. 27. Impetuous curioſity and filial piety could not be expreſſed in more affecting language.

‡ "And he lifted up his eyes, and ſaw his brother Benjamin, his mother's ſon, and ſaid, Is this your younger brother, of whom ye ſpake unto me? And he ſaid, God be gracious unto thee, my ſon." Gen. XLIII. 29. This is a fine picture of fraternal tenderneſs; time had altered the appearance of Benjamin; and therefore he aſks whether the youth before him is really his brother; but before the perſons to whom he addreſſes himſelf have time to reply, he exclaims, "God be gracious unto thee, my ſon." By calling him his ſon, he made uſe of the tendereſt appellation, which came with great propriety from a perſon in high authority, who is commonly ſtiled the father of the people.

|| In Scripture Benjamin's portion is ſaid to have been five times greater than that of either of the others. "And he took and ſent meſſes unto them from before him: but Benjamin's meſs was five times ſo much as any of theirs." Gen. XLIII. 34.

mently exclaimed againſt the cruel and inhuman behaviour of the very people, who ſo ſhort a time before had behaved to them with an appearance of kindneſs and hoſpitality. The Egyptians ſharply upbraided them with the moſt unpardonable villany and ingratitude in returning injuries for civilities and benefits; and they threatened to inflict upon them the moſt exemplary puniſhment for the theft they had committed. They ſaid, though they had deceived the butler, and got the property clandeſtinely into their poſſeſſion, there was a power on high from whom their iniquity and ingratitude could not be concealed: but their injuſtice and treachery would ſpeedily meet their merited reward. In reply the brothers reproached the Egyptians for accuſing them of robbery, who had ſo recently given a proof of their honeſty, in returning the money that they had found in their ſacks, though they might, in perfect ſecurity from detection, have applied it to their own uſe, ſince the circumſtance of its being there was unknown to any but themſelves. But they ſaid, accuſations and reproaches were uſeleſs; and that the moſt effectual and ſatisfactory method of ſubſtantiating or diſproving the charge alledged againſt them would be to examine their ſacks, and ſearch their perſons; and, ſo confidently were they in the integrity of each other, if the property pretended to be ſtolen ſhould be found in the poſſeſſion of either, they would all be content to ſubmit without complaint to the puniſhment which juſtice required to be inflicted upon the perpetrator of ſo atrocious an offence. Upon this, the Egyptians began a general ſearch, taking the brothers in rotation, and Benjamin being ſo ſtationed that his ſack was to be opened laſt; not that they were ignorant in whoſe ſack the cup was concealed, but that their ſcrutiny might have a more rigid and methodical appearance.

Nothing of a ſuſpicious nature being found in poſſeſſion of the other brothers, the Egyptians prepared to examine Benjamin's ſack, when depending on his being found as undeſerving of ſuſpicion as themſelves, they retorted upon their accuſers the reproachful language they had uſed, and ſpoke in terms of reſentment of their illiberal and groundleſs ſuſpicions, whereby the progreſs of their journey had been conſiderably impeded. However, upon Benjamin's ſack being opened, the cup appeared, to the utter confuſion and aſtoniſhment of the innocent youth and his brethren. They tore their garments, and ſuch was their poignancy of affliction, that their actions ſeemed to be the effect of ſudden diſtraction. They bitterly reproached themſelves for having perſuaded their father to conſent to the departure of their brother, whoſe misfortune they feared would burthen their aged parent with afflictions too great for him to bear.

Benjamin ſeized and taken before Joſeph.

The ſoldiers having taken Benjamin into cuſtody, they conducted him into the preſence of Joſeph, whither he was followed by his brothers. After ſteadfaſtly regarding them, Joſeph ſpoke to the following effect: "Ye ungrateful and wicked men, who regardleſs of the kindneſs and hoſpitality with which you were treated, and in open violation of the command of God, have ſo abuſed the generoſity of your patron and benefactor; do you not ſhudder with horror at the recollection of your flagitious villany?"

Hereupon the brothers interpoſed in behalf of the party accuſed, ſeverally requeſting, that they might exchange ſituations with the unfortunate youth, and ſubmit to the puniſhment due to the crime alledged againſt him. They frequently mentioned the name of Joſeph, ſaying, if he was dead, he was happy in having, at an early period, eſcaped the miſeries to which human nature was conſtantly expoſed; but if he was ſtill in exiſtence, he was gloriouſly diſtinguiſhed by the Almighty, by the judgment that had overtaken them for the barbarity he had experienced at their hands.

They continued to accuſe and condemn themſelves, and to lament the misfortune of reviving and augmenting the former afflictions of their father by an event that, of all others, could not fail to prove the moſt dreadful he could experience; and Rubel repeatedly upbraided them with their execrable cruelty to their brother, in whoſe behalf he had, though ineffectually, exerted every effort in his power.

Joſeph now addreſſed them, ſaying, that having maturely conſidered the cauſe before him, he was not diſpoſed to inflict upon the innocent the puniſhment that was due to the guilty: but he deemed it not reaſonable that thoſe who were free from offence ſhould expect him to yield to their ſolicitations for acquitting the priſoner, who had been convicted, by the force of unqueſtionable evidence, of a heineous offence. Therefore, he ſaid, the others were at liberty to depart; and he would provide them the means of a ſafe paſſage: but he was determined to detain Benjamin, in order to render him amenable to offended juſtice.

The others were ſo diſconcerted by what Joſeph had ſaid, that they were unable to reply; but Judas, who was a man of fortitude and underſtanding, and the man who had been moſt urgent with his father to conſent to Benjamin's going to the court of

Pharaoh, generouſly reſolved to hazard incurring the diſpleaſure of the governor, rather than omit any endeavours for reſtoring the youth to his father. Therefore, directing his diſcourſe to Joſeph, he ſpoke in the following terms:

Judas expoſtulates on behalf of Benjamin, Gen. XLIV. 16, &c.

“ The fact alledged againſt our brother is a tranſgreſſion that we cannot deny to be deſerving ſevere puniſhment. The crime affects but one of us, and he is the youngeſt of our family: but, moſt excellent governor, though but one is guilty, we are all ready to ſuffer for his offence. We ſhould ſuppoſe the ruin of the unfortunate youth to be unavoidable, but for the confidence we place in your benevolence and clemency.

“ Permit us, gracious Sir, to appeal from the exactions of ſtern and rigid juſtice to the benignity and tenderneſs of your diſpoſition. To be inexorable in anger indicates a contracted mind: but your exemplary virtue induces us to cheriſh the hope, that you will moderate and ſet bounds to your diſpleaſure. Permit me, Sir, to obſerve, that to bring ruin upon the people who voluntarily reſign themſelves to your pleaſure, and have no requeſt but to be indebted to your mercy for their lives, would not contribute to the advancement of your honour. When we were in diſtreſs, through a ſcarcity of corn, your generous aſſiſtance preſerved us, and all the perſons of our family, from periſhing by famine. To relieve men while on the point of periſhing through want, and decline inflicting puniſhment upon a contrite offender, are but different modes of exemplifying the ſame compaſſionate and benevolent temper. You are now only ſolicited to ſpare the life which you have already preſerved; and if you do not condeſcend to grant this boon, the end and object of your former benevolence will be diſappointed. It ſeems as if God in his great wiſdom had afforded you this opportunity of augmenting your reputation, by convincing mankind that you are merciful as well as liberal, and that you more delight in conferring benefits than in avenging injuries you have received.

“ Thoſe who hold offices of power and authority cannot more gloriouſly diſtinguiſh themſelves than by ſhewing tenderneſs where they might exerciſe ſeverity, and eſpecially when their forgiveneſs is extended to the authors of affronts or injuries offered to themſelves. If it is meritorious to excuſe a ſmall offence, to moderate the reſentment that is raiſed againſt the perpetrator of a crime againſt which the law demands the puniſhment of death, muſt be an act in ſome degree reſembling the goodneſs and charity of Heaven.

“ Be aſſured, moſt excellent governor, that I am not thus importunate with a view to ſecure the ſafety of myſelf, or thoſe of my brethren who have voluntarily offered to reſign themſelves patiently to your pleaſure: but I am impelled thus to addreſs myſelf to you by a conſciouſneſs of the anxious tenderneſs of a father for his child, ariſing from the experience I have had of the extreme affliction of our aged parent upon the loſs of his dear ſon Joſeph.

“ We ſhould not think our own lives worth pleading for, but for the conſideration, that on our ſafety the life of our father depends. It is in the name and alone for the ſake of our father that we ſupplicate compaſſion upon his ſons; for our ruin would infallibly occaſion his premature death. At the moment I am ſpeaking of him, the good man is tormented with anxieties and terrors for the ſafety of our return. If we ſhall ſuffer death an account of the charge exhibited againſt our brother, it would be impoſſible for our father to ſurvive the knowledge of our fate; nay, the very rumour of ſo ignominious an event would inevitably conſign our venerable ſire to an untimely grave.

“ We muſt acknowledge, that your indignation is juſtified by the magnitude of the provocation you have received: but let not the vengeance due to the indiſcretion of our brother fall upon our innocent father; and permit me, Sir, to implore, that in conſideration of him, you will be graciouſly pleaſed to extend your mercy to us. Conſider, Sir, that there is ſomething ſacred in the very name of father, it being the appellation which the Almighty himſelf vouchſafes to aſſume; and that in reward of your benevolent actions in honour of that ſacred name, the Almighty will ſhower down bleſſings upon you and your poſterity.

“ Our fate is at your diſpoſal, and you will be equally juſtifiable by your own conſcience, and to the world, whether you ſpare or take away our lives. In one inſtance you will enforce the rigid execution of juſtice, and in the other you will perform an act of grace, thereby employing your prerogative, in imitation of the Almighty, in the preſervation of mankind. Our fortune is inſeparably connected with that of our brother; by extending your clemency to him, you will ſecure a whole family from the deſtruction that now threatens them. If our importunities cannot prevail in behalf of the unfortunate youth, all that we requeſt is, to be conſigned to the ſame puniſhment denounced againſt him, as a means of ſaving us from the dreadful crime of becoming the deſtroyers of our own lives, an act to which we ſhould be precipitated by the affliction and deſpondency conſequent on the death of our brother. He is young, and has had but little experience in the world: and, moſt illuſtrious governor, permit me to obſerve, that in ſuch caſes it is uſual in ſome degree to relax the rigour of the law. But, Sir, if you ſhall deem yourſelf abſolutely compelled by the duties of your high office, to make ſome ſacrifice to offended juſtice, I moſt earneſtly entreat, that you will let the effects of your diſpleaſure fall upon me, inſtead of upon my brother Benjamin, in order that he may return to comfort his aged parent. If ſlavery ſhall be the puniſhment for the crime, the ſtrength of my body better qualifies me to labour in your ſervice: and I will now conclude with an aſſurance that, towards expiating the offence of this unhappy youth, I am equally willing to ſubmit to death or perpetual ſlavery."

Having concluded this pathetic and generous addreſs, Judas threw himſelf at the feet of Joſeph, and in this example of humiliation he was followed by the reſt of the brethren. At length, the ſcene became too diſtreſſing to be any longer ſupported. Such were the fraternal tenderneſs and affection of Joſeph, that he could no longer maintain the character of an auſtere judge; and that he might diſcloſe himſelf to his brothers, he ordered all other perſons preſent to withdraw, and then ſpoke to the following effect:

Joſeph diſcloſes himſelf to his brothers, Gen. XLV. 1.

"I feel great ſatiſfaction from being a witneſs to your compaſſion and friendſhip for your brother Benjamin, and muſt acknowledge that your generoſity has greatly exceeded my expectations, which could not be very ſanguine in your favour after the unkindneſs I have experienced at your hands:—for I am your brother Joſeph. I have received ſuch convincing and ſatiſfactory proofs of your brotherly love, that I can no longer impute your former conduct towards me to malice or ill-will; for I conſider that you were only inſtruments in the hands of God, by whoſe providence you were directed to ſell me to the Arabian merchants, as a means whereby I was to be enabled to yield you preſent relief, and to give you the hope of ſtill greater comforts under the bleſſing and protection of the Almighty. I am exceedingly rejoiced to learn that our father is in a better ſtate of health than might be expected at his time of life; and finding my brothers poſſeſs that humanity and tenderneſs of which I once thought them deſtitute, I muſt acknowledge my obligations to them for having been inſtrumental, under the * direction of Providence, in promoting me to a ſtation from which we ſhall derive a common advantage. I do not upbraid you with that conduct towards me which had the appearance of unkindneſs: but requeſt, that the recollection thereof may be conſigned to oblivion. Do not ſuffer uneaſineſs to obtrude itſelf upon your minds for erroneous proceedings that cannot be recalled, or for ill deſigns that were not carried into effect, ſince it manifeſtly appears to have been the pleaſure of the Almighty to produce good from evil.

Joſeph ſends his brothers to their father, ver. 13.

"Return to your father, and explain to him the wonderful events to which God has been pleaſed to make you witneſſes. It is my particular deſire, that you will perform the journey with all poſſible expedition, leſt your protracted ſtay ſhould occaſion our father to be unhappy, or any diſaſter ſhould befal him, in which caſe I ſhould be diſappointed in the expectation of enjoying all thoſe comforts of life that my preſent ſituation enables me to command. I further enjoin you to return hither, with as much ſpeed as circumſtances will admit, accompanied by our father, your wives and children, and all your kindred; for ſince the famine is ſtill to continue five years, it will afford me peculiar ſatiſfaction to have my deareſt friends near me during the remainder of the calamitous period."

Having concluded his ſpeech, Joſeph embraced his brothers, who burſting into tears, ſeverely lamented that they had acted ſo cruelly by a relation who had conducted himſelf towards them with ſuch unbounded kindneſs and liberality. After this, Joſeph ordered a ſumptuous banquet to be prepared, and during the entertainment, he omitted no opportunity of manifeſting the tenderneſs of his affection for his brothers, and his filial piety towards their common parent.

Upon receiving intelligence that Jacob's brothers were come into his dominions, Pharaoh was extremely happy in ſo favourable an opportunity being offered him of ſhewing his relations every honour and reſpect. He ordered them, excluſive of what they had received from their brother, magnificent † preſents of gold and ſilver, beſides a large ſupply of grain, a part being

---

* "So now it was not you that ſent me hither, but God: and he hath made me a father to Pharaoh; and lord of all his houſe, and ruler throughout all the land of Egypt." Gen. XLV. 8. Though the act of ſelling Joſeph was highly reprehenſible, yet the good effects reſulting from that circumſtance were to be aſcribed to the providence of God. His apology for their perfidy is a proof of the magnanimity and forgiving temper of Joſeph.

† The following is the account given in the ſacred writings of the liberality of Pharaoh towards the brothers; and it ſtrongly proves the high eſteem in which Joſeph was held by the king, for on his account alone it was that they were deemed worthy of the royal benefactions: "And the fame thereof was heard in Pharaoh's houſe, ſaying, Joſeph's brethren are come; and it pleaſed Pharaoh well, and his ſervants. And Pharaoh ſaid unto Joſeph, ſay unto thy brethren, this do ye; lade your beaſts, and go, get you unto the land of Canaan; and take your

ing aſſigned for their father, and the reſt to be their own independent property. However, he diſtinguiſhed Benjamin by appointing his preſents to be of higher value than thoſe of his brothers. After this, the brothers, rejoiced in the good fortune they had experienced, but more ſo in the circumſtance of being able to communicate ſuch intelligence as they were aſſured would eſſentially contribute to the happineſs of their father, ſet out on their return into the land of Canaan.

CHAP. VII.

His ſons inform Jacob of Joſeph's ſituation in Egypt. On his way to Egypt, Jacob offers up a ſacrifice at Beerſheba. God appears to him in a viſion. The progeny of Jacob. The greeting of Jacob and Joſeph. The famine in Egypt becomes more violent. It abates.

UPON the arrival of the ſons in Canaan, they informed Jacob that Joſeph, whoſe ſuppoſed death he had ſo long deplored, was not only ſtill living, but was advanced to a ſtation of great power and ſplendour in Egypt, being, next to king Pharaoh, the moſt diſtinguiſhed man in his dominions. Upon receiving this intelligence, * Jacob's joy was ſo great as to overpower his ſpirits; but he determined immediately to undertake a journey into Egypt, and to take with him all the people of his family.

Jacob performs ſacrifice at Beerſheba, Gen. XLVI. 1.

Upon his arrival at Beerſheba, or the Well of the Oath, Jacob offered up a ſacrifice to God. However, he was uneaſy leſt the plenty prevailing in Egypt ſhould ſeduce his ſons to eſtabliſh their reſidence in that land, and divert his poſterity from returning to Canaan, which country he was exceedingly deſirous they ſhould inhabit, ſince God had promiſed it ſhould be their inheritance. He was alſo apprehenſive that God might afflict him with ſome judicial calamity for preſuming to undertake the journey into Egypt without imploring the counſel and direction of Heaven; and he entertained an idea, that he ſhould not live to have an interview with his beloved ſon, Joſeph. While he was meditating on theſe ſubjects, he fell into a ſleep, when the Almighty appeared to him in a viſion, and called to him twice by name. Upon Jacob aſking, who was there? the viſion ſaid, "Haſt thou forgotten thy God, Jacob, who never deſerted thee, or thy poſterity, in the hour of neceſſity. God, who, contrary to the intention of your father, made you the head of your family; and when you went into Meſopotamia, provided for you an advantageous alliance by marriage, and bleſſed you with riches and a numerous family of children, be aſſured is ſtill, and ever will continue to be, your beneficent protector and guardian. That God has advanced your ſon Joſeph to ſuch power and authority in Egypt, that he is inferior to no man in that kingdom but Pharaoh, who is inveſted with the prerogative of ſovereignty. I will conduct you into the land of Egypt, where you ſhall yield up your life in the arms of your ſon Joſeph; and be aſſured, that your poſterity ſhall be great and powerful for many years, and ſhall have poſſeſſion of and authority over the country which I have before promiſed them."

Jacob has a viſion, ver. 2.

Repoſing a firm confidence in the viſion, Jacob purſued his journey towards Egypt with great chearfulneſs, being accompanied by his children and grand children, the number of the company amounting to ſeventy perſons. The names of many of theſe are difficult of pronunciation; and I ſhould omit them but for the conſideration that inſerting them here may tend to convince thoſe who are ſtill doubtful, that we are natives of Meſopotamia, and not of Egypt, as many have confidently aſſerted.

Jacob, as we have before related, had twelve ſons. Joſeph having ſettled in Egypt, we ſhall only mention the others and their deſcendants in this place.

The ſons of Rubel were, Anoch, Phalles, Eſſaron, and Charmi. The ſix ſons

---

your father and your houſholds, and come unto me: and I will give you the good of the land of Egypt, and ye ſhall eat the fat of the land. Now thou art commanded, this do you: take your waggons out of the land of Egypt for your little ones, and for your wives, and bring your father and come. Alſo regard not your ſtuff; for the good of all the land of Egypt is yours. And the children of Iſrael, did ſo; and Joſeph gave them waggons, according to the commandment of Pharaoh, and gave them proviſion for the way. To all of them he gave each man changes of raiment; but to Benjamin he gave three hundred pieces of ſilver, and five changes of raiment. And to his father he ſent after this manner: ten aſſes laden with the good things of Egypt, and ten ſhe aſſes laden with corn and bread and meat for his father by the way. So he ſent his brethren away, and they departed." Gen. XLV. 16, &c.

* "And they told him all the words of Joſeph, which he had ſaid unto them: and when he ſaw the waggons which Joſeph had ſent to carry him, the ſpirit of Jacob, their father, revived. And Iſrael ſaid, It is enough; Joſeph, my ſon, is yet alive; I will go and ſee him before I die." Gen. XLV. 27, 28. Upon being informed that Joſeph was not only living, but was in poſſeſſion of great power and authority, as governor of Egypt, the good patriarch was but little affected at the advancement of his fortune, but ſpoke in terms purporting that the circumſtance of his ſon being yet living was ſufficient to make the happineſs of the remainder of his days complete.

of Simeon were, Jumil, Jamin, Ohad, Jachin, Zoar, and Shaul. Levi had three ſons, Gerſhon, Chaath, and Merari. Judas had three ſons, who were named Salah, Phares, and Zarah. The two ſons of Phares were, Eſron and Amyr. Iſſachar had four ſons, namely, Thulas, Phuas, Jaſob, and Samaron. The ſons of Zabulon were three; they were named, Salad, Elon and Jabel. Theſe were the deſcendants of Jacob by his wife Leah, who took with her into Egypt her daughter Dinah, ſo that the number of perſons were thirty-three.

By Rachel, Jacob had Joſeph and Benjamin. Joſeph had two ſons, who were named Manaſſes and Ephraim. The ten * ſons of Benjamin were Bolau, Baccharis, Aſſabel, Gera, Naaman, Jes, Ros, Momphis, Opphis, and Arad. Theſe being added to the fourteen above mentioned, the number will be forty-ſeven. Excluſive of this legitimate progeny born to Jacob by Leah and Rachel, he had by Bala, or Bilhah, Dan and Nephthali.

Dan had only one ſon, whom he named Uſis. Nephthali had four ſons, namely, Jeſel, Guni, Iſſares, and Sellim; which being added to the above, make the number fifty-four.

By Zilpah, Jacob had two ſons named Gad and Aſſer. Gad had the following ſeven ſons, Saphonias, Augis, Sunis, Azabon, Aerin, Eroed, and Ariel. Aſſer had a daughter named Sarah, and ſix ſons; they were called Jomnes, Iſus, Iſuis, Baris, Abar, and Melchiel. Adding this fifteen to the perſons before enumerated, and including Jacob, the exact amount will be ſeventy perſons.

As Jacob and his family were proceeding towards the court of Pharaoh, Judas went forward to appriſe Joſeph of the approach of his father. Upon receiving this intelligence, Joſeph immediately ſet out to give his father the meeting, which took place at Heropolis, or, as it is otherwiſe called, Goſhen. The interview was extremely affecting: they embraced, and wept abundantly, the father declaring, that after the happineſs of again ſeeing his beloved ſon, he had no wiſh to enjoy a greater bleſſing, and was at that moment willing to reſign his laſt breath. After they had congratulated each other in expreſſions of the greateſt tenderneſs and affection, Joſeph, accompanied by five of his brothers, haſted to inform the king of the arrival of his father and his family, deſiring the reſt of the company to follow by eaſy journeys.

he greeting
Jacob and
ſeph, Gen.
LVI. 29.

Pharaoh received the news with the utmoſt ſatisfaction, and enquired of Joſeph, to what occupations of life his relations had been accuſtomed. He replied, that they had conſtantly been engaged in the buſineſs of agriculture, and attending to the nouriſhment and breeding of cattle; and were unacquainted with the method of conducting any but paſtoral employments. He had two motives for giving this anſwer: the firſt was, that he wiſhed not his brothers, and other relations, to be ſeparated from his father, ſince they might yield him the aſſiſtance of which he was in need at his advanced time of life, and their preſence might contribute to his eaſe and comfort; and the ſecond was, that they might not be expoſed to the danger of engaging in contentions with the Egyptians, who were not permitted to undertake the management of cattle and paſtures.

Upon his arrival, Jacob was conducted into the preſence of the king, who aſked him his age; and upon being informed that he was an hundred and thirty years old, he expreſſed great ſurpriſe that human life ſhould be protracted to ſo late a period; whereupon Jacob informed Pharaoh, that his anceſtors in general lived to a much greater age. The king now directed that Jacob and his ſons ſhould reſide at Heliopolis, a place where his ſhepherds and flocks were ſtationed.

The famine in Egypt was now increaſed to the moſt dreadful extremity. It had been uſual for the Nile to overflow its banks, and render the country fruitful; but the inundations were now ſuſpended, and for a conſiderable time no rain had fallen to refreſh the earth. The generality of the people having made no proviſion againſt a time of ſcarcity, their diſtreſſes were very great. Joſeph refuſed to ſupply them with corn from the king's ſtores, unleſs they paid for it with ready money; and great numbers, after their coin was exhauſted, procured grain in exchange for their cattle, lands and ſlaves, which they aſſigned over to the uſe of the king. Hence almoſt the whole of the property of his ſubjects became veſted in the ſovereign, and, in the extremity of their diſtreſs, they abandoned their habitations, and diſperſed themſelves in different parts of the land. So preſſing were their neceſſities as to urge them to the moſt contemptible and ſcandalous practices as the means of obtaining ſubſiſtence.

At length, upon the return of the Nile to its uſual ſtate, the lands gradually recovered their fertility; and in the ſame pro-

---

* Benjamin is ſuppoſed to have been at this time twenty-ſeven years of age, and probably had two wives, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times: if ſo, he certainly might have had the number of ſons mentioned.

portion, the violence of the famine abated. Joſeph now viſited all the cities and principal towns of Egypt, and having ſummoned the inhabitants to aſſemble, he reſtored to them the lands they had alienated to the king, informing them at the ſame time, that his ſovereign had authoriſed him to ſignify, that he would be contented in future to receive one fifth of the emoluments ariſing from their grounds, as a proviſion for the exigencies of government, enjoining them to be as careful and attentive to the improvement of their reſpective poſſeſſions, as if they had them by entire and independent tenure.

This unexpected reſtitution of their property overwhelmed the people with joy and ſurpriſe, and ſo exhilirated their ſpirits, and encouraged them to hope for future advantage, that they applied themſelves with unremitting aſſiduity to the buſineſs of agriculture, and other paſtoral employments. This act of generoſity rendered the king exceedingly popular in every part of his dominions, and at the ſame time greatly increaſed the influence, reputation and authority of Joſeph. The fifth part of the profits of all lands was afterwards, by a ſolemn act of the ſtate, ſettled in perpetuity as the unalienable right of the crown.

CHAP. VIII.

Jacob dies. The Death and character of Joſeph.

Jacob dies in the arms of his children, Gen. XLVIII and XLIX.

AFTER ſojourning ſeventeen years in Egypt, Jacob departed this life, being, at the time of his deceaſe, ſurrounded by his children. A ſhort time before reſigning up his breath, he devoutly prayed, that the Almighty would bleſs his ſons with plenty and proſperity, and predicted that they ſhould ſucceed to poſſeſſion of part of the land of Canaan. In the moſt forcible language, he applauded the piety, virtue and generoſity of Joſeph, and ſtrongly recommended his other ſons to adopt the admirable example he had exhibited, in returning acts of kindneſs and benevolence for the moſt cruel injuries, and being more ſolicitous to promote the happineſs and welfare of his moſt inveterate enemies, than the generality of mankind were to render ſervices to their deareſt friends. In conſideration of the exalted virtues of Joſeph, he admoniſhed his other ſons reſpectively to admit his children, Ephraim and Manaſſes, upon terms of equality with themſelves when they ſhould ſucceed to, and make a partition of the land of Canaan. With his dying breath he requeſted, that his remains might be interred in * Hebron. Jacob died at the age of an hundred and forty-ſeven years. In righteouſneſs and virtue, he was not inferior to the moſt eminent of his predeceſſors, and he was highly diſtinguiſhed by the favours and goodneſs of the Almighty.

Having obtained Pharaoh's permiſſion for that purpoſe, Joſeph cauſed the remains of his father to be removed to Hebron, where the body was depoſited with great funeral pomp and magnificence. After the ſolemnity of the interment of Jacob, the brothers were fearful of returning into Egypt, leſt, now that their father was dead, and no one of great influence left to interpoſe in their behalf, Joſeph ſhould avenge himſelf for the cruelty he had received at their hands. But Joſeph was no ſooner informed of the diſpoſition of their minds, than he diſpelled their ungrounded apprehenſions, and prevailed upon them to accompany him into Egypt, where, upon their arrival, he beſtowed upon them very extenſive poſſeſſions, continuing to conduct himſelf towards them with great kindneſs, reſpect, and generoſity.

The death and characte of Joſeph.

Joſeph † died at the age of one hundred and ten years. He was a man eminent for righteouſneſs and virtue. So moderate was he in the exerciſe of almoſt unlimitted power, that no calumny could injure his character, not even the falſe accuſation of Potiphar's wife, though ſhe was a woman of ſuch conſideration, that her teſtimony would ſcarcely have failed to accompliſh the deſtruction of almoſt any other man; nor did he ſuſtain any diſadvantage in his official capacity, in conſideration of being a foreigner, who from an obſcure and ſervile rank in life, had been exalted to dignity, authority and opulence inferior only to the king's. In ſhort, by the force of his exemplary virtues and ſplendid abilities, he ſurmounted every obſtruction, and attained to the higheſt offices of government: and thoſe among the Egyptians who might have envied the moſt celebrated of their own countrymen for ſuch diſtinction, were too conſcious of the ſuperior qualifications of Joſeph to attempt a competition with him. He was at once deemed worthy of the higheſt honours the king had power to beſtow, and held in the greateſt veneration by the people.

---

* The body of Jacob was removed near three hundred miles for interment in a place peculiarly aſſigned for its reception; for it was the cuſtom of thoſe times, for perſons of note, early in life, to prepare their ſepulchres. "My father made me ſwear, ſaying, Lo, I die: in my grave which I have digged for me in the land of Canaan, there ſhalt thou bury me." Gen. L. 5.—It appears from Scripture, that Jacob's body was embalmed. "And Joſeph commanded his ſervants, the phyſicians, to embalm his father; and the phyſicians embalmed Iſrael." Gen. L. 2. The proceſs of embalming was as follows: the body was laid in nitre thirty days, for the purpoſe of drying up the moiſture and hindering putrefaction; during the following forty days, the brain was drawn out through the noſtrils, by means of a hooked iron, and the vacancy filled with ſpices; an inciſion being made on the left ſide of the belly, the inteſtines, except the heart and kidnies, were taken out, and after being cleanſed, were anointed with palm-oil, and perfumed with different kinds of aromatics. To preſerve the body, it was anointed with various gums, and after the cavity of the belly had been filled with pulveriſed caſſia, and other aromatics, the aperture made by the inciſion was ſewed up, and the proceſs was compleated.

† We underſtand from Scripture that the body of Joſeph was embalmed. "So Joſeph died, being an hundred and ten years old: and they embalmed him, and put him in a coffin in Egypt." Gen. L. 26. In the preceding verſe Joſeph ſays to his brethren, "God will ſurely viſit you, and you ſhall carry up my bones from hence." Thus, in his dying moments, he expreſſes a confidence that God will give them poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan, and deſires his remains may be unburied till the viſitation of God ſhall take place, when they were to be removed to Hebron.

After the deceaſe of Joſeph, his brethren lived happily in Egypt for ſeveral years: but at length dying in that country, their deſcendants removed their bodies to Hebron, for interment. The various adventures of theſe people, together with the account of their going from Egypt into the land of Canaan, will be given hereafter.

CHAP. IX.

The Egyptian bondage. The king of Egypt commands all the Hebrew male children to be drowned. Amaram's viſion. The birth of Moſes, who being ſet adrift in the river, is preſerved by the king's daughter. Moſes preſerved by the eſpecial providence of God.

THE Egyptians are a people naturally indolent, peeviſh, moroſe and malicious in their temper, abandoned to ſenſual gratifications, and avaricious and envious in the extreme. It was not therefore ſurpriſing that they ſhould look with an eye of jealouſy upon the Hebrews, who were of a character directly oppoſite. The numbers of the Hebrews had greatly increaſed, and by their labour and induſtry they had acquired conſiderable wealth.

The former ſervices of Joſeph being no longer remembered, and the powers of the ſovereignty being transferred form the family of the king, who had been ſo generous a patron to him, the natives of Egypt entirely changed their behaviour towards the Iſraelites, treating them with the utmoſt harſhneſs and ſeverity, and rather as ſlaves and enemies, than as free people and friends; for they compelled them to ſubmit to the moſt laborious and ſervile offices, and were continually exerciſing their invention to diſcover new methods of harraſſing and oppreſſing them. They obliged them to labour in cutting canals and drains, for the conveyance of waters from the rivers, in raiſing dikes and banks, as defences againſt inundations, in erecting * walls round cities and towns, in raiſing pyramids to a prodigious height, and in working at various mechanical arts and trades. Their oppreſſors were ſo watchful over them, that for the ſpace of about four hundred years, their intervals from labour were ſo ſmall as ſcarcely to be ſufficient to recruit their ſtrength and ſpirits after immoderate fatigue. The ſtudy of the Egyptians, who feared the Hebrews would in time become too powerful to be kept in ſubjection, was to deſtroy as many of them as poſſible, by obliging them to purſue exceſſive and unremitting labour, while the Iſraelites patiently ſubmitted to all their misfortunes.

While the Iſraelites were thus miſerably circumſtanced, a rumour was circulated, which rendered the malice and cruelty of their oppreſſors ſtill more implacable, and even determined them to exert their utmoſt endeavours to exterminate them from the face of the earth.

The birth of Moſes predicted.

At this time there was in Egypt a doctor of the law, or a ſcribe, who was eſteemed by the people to be a great prophet. This man addreſſing himſelf to the king, predicted, that an Hebrew child would ſoon be born, who would prove a ſcourge to the Egyptians, and in proceſs of time exalt the people of his nation from their ſervile and degrading ſituation to wealth, magnificence and power, adding that he would be equally eminent for his wiſdom, righteouſneſs, and military proweſs. This prediction ſo alarmed and terrified the king, that to guard againſt the threatened danger, he iſſued an expreſs command, by the advice of the ſcribe, for the Egyptian midwives only to attend the labours of the Hebrew women, and to caſt all the males, immediately after their birth, into the river, but not to offer injury to the female children; the puniſhment of death being denounced againſt the midwives and their families, if they ſhould preſume to conceal a male infant, or in any way be acceſſary to the breach of this barbarious proclamation.

This cruel decree was pregnant with ſeveral fatal conſequences to the Hebrews: firſt, it was to deprive a great number of parents of their children; ſecondly, the parents were to be made acceſſary to the murder of their own offſpring; and in the third place, the want of males muſt in proceſs of time have produced an entire extinction of the race of Hebrews. However, as neither artifice nor violence can counteract the divine will and providence of God, the ſcribe's prediction was fully verified; for the child was born, and privately brought up, in deſpite of every effort for rigidly enforcing the king's barbarous decree.

---

* The Scripture ſays, "They did ſet taſkmaſters over them to afflict them with burdens. And they built for Pharaoh treaſure cities, Pithom and Raamſes." Exod. I. 11. The proper ſignification of the word rendered treaſure cities, is, Magazines for coin, as well as a place of ſecurity for money. It is rendered by the Septuagint, fortified cities, and by the Syriac and Arabic, ſtorehouſes for corn.

At this time there lived a Hebrew named [*] Amaram, who was a man of high rank and great reputation; and the king's proclamation for deſtroying the male infants greatly diſtreſſed him, both in his public and domeſtic capacity; for he lamented that the ſociety of which he was a part was threatened with annihilation, and was alſo affected by conſidering the calamity that might befal his own family, his wife being then pregnant.

Amaram's prayer in behalf of the Hebrews.

After ſeriouſly reflecting upon the deplorable ſituation of the Hebrews, Amaram humiliated himſelf before the Almighty, earneſtly ſupplicating, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to look down with compaſſion upon a race of his people who had never incurred the guilt of departing from his worſhip; that, in his own good time, he would terminate the ſufferings whereby they were ſo cruelly oppreſſed; and reſcue the nation of Hebrews from the danger wherewith they were threatened of being no longer numbered among the inhabitants of the earth.

God appears to him in a viſion.

The Almighty was pleaſed to attend to Amaram's prayer; and appearing to him in a viſion, to ſpeak to him to the following purpoſe: "I from a ſmall beginning made the Hebrews a great and powerful nation; I conducted Abraham out of Meſopotamia into the land of Canaan, and, in addition to other bleſſings, gave him a wife, by whom he had children, notwithſtanding ſhe had, according to the common courſe of nature, exceeded the age of child-bearing; I enabled him to leave very extenſive poſſeſſions to his poſterity; I gave the country of Arabia to Iſhmael; Troglodytis to the children of Cheturah; and the land of Canaan to Iſaac. Without being guilty of great wickedneſs and ingratitude, you cannot but remember the great atchievements you performed when I fought your battles, and that I beſtowed great bleſſings upon Jacob and his poſterity; for the ſeventy perſons of his family, who originally came into Egypt, are now multiplied to the immenſe number of ſix hundred thouſand. He was aſſured by the viſion, that the Almighty would provide for the common good of the Hebrew nation, and particularly for the perſons of his own family; and further, that the child of whom the Egyptians were in ſuch dread, and for whoſe ſake all the male infants were to be put to death, ſhould be born to him, and eluding every ſtratagem that ſhould be reſorted to for his deſtruction, ſhould, in good time, deliver the Iraelites from the Egyptian bondage, and immortalize his name, through all the nations of the world. This, ſaid the viſion, and more, ſhall be done in your behalf; and the ſon I have mentioned ſhall have a brother, on whom I will beſtow the honour of the high prieſthood, which ſhall deſcend from him to his heirs for ever."

The birth of Moſes, Exod. II. 2.

Immediately after he awoke, Amaram communicated the particulars of his dream to his wife Jochabel. They were not only in great perplexity with regard to the preſervation of the child that was to be born, but were incredulous as to enjoying the bleſſings that had been promiſed them. At length, Jochabel was taken in labour, and in a ſhort time, and with little pain, was delivered of a ſon, ſo that the Egyptian midwives were entirely ignorant of the circumſtance, it not being neceſſary to apply for aſſiſtance on the occaſion. The viſion of Amaram being thus, in part, fulfilled, both he and his wife now entertained a firm confidence that it would be verified in every other reſpect.

After the child had been kept in the greateſt ſecrecy for three months, the father became apprehenſive leſt a [†] diſcovery ſhould occaſion the deſtruction of himſelf, his wife, and child, whereby the prediction communicated to him in the viſion would be diſappointed. Hereupon he obſerved to his wife, that to preſerve the child any longer in their own habitation would be attended with imminent danger in the attempt, and difficulty in the execution. They had not the ſmalleſt doubt of the veracity of the viſion, and were perfectly confident of the power of the Almighty to provide for their preſervation amidſt the worſt of dangers; and that whatever he had been pleaſed to promiſe would moſt aſſuredly come to paſs.

In conſequence of the above conſiderations, they determined to truſt the child to the direction of providence. By twiſting [‡] bulruſhes together, they formed a cradle,

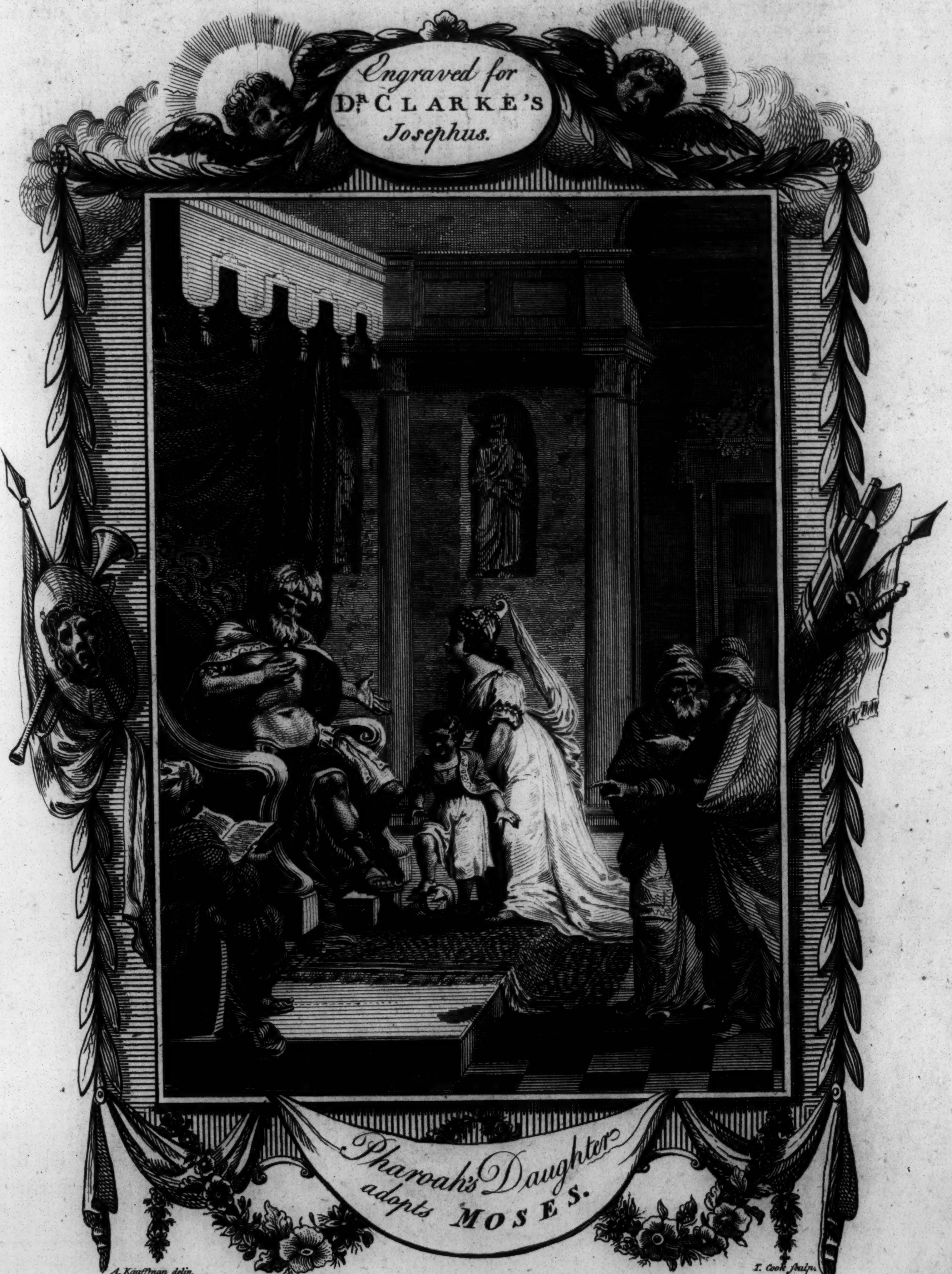
---

[*] Scripture, Amram.

[†] The difficulty of concealing him would neceſſarily be increaſed in proportion to the increaſe of his age.

[‡] By ſome they are called ruſhes, and by others reeds; they are a flaggy ſhrub, growing to the height of ten feet, chiefly in the marſhy grounds of Egypt, and the ſtagnated parts of the river Nile. Pliny ſays, (B. XIII. c. 11.) that the ancients manufactured them into cloths, ropes, mats, ſails, ſailing-veſſels, and other articles of uſe. Of theſe the ancients alſo made their paper.

the


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

Pharoah's Daughter adopts MOSES.

A. Kauffman delin. I. Cook sculp.

Publish'd as the Act directs Janry. 28. 1786 by John Walker Pater noster Row.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Moſes ſet a drift upon the river, Exod. II. 3.

the apertures of which they ſtopped with pitch, ſo that the water could not enter it. In the kind of ark formed in the manner above deſcribed, they placed the child, and recommending him to the protection and providence of God, ſet the veſſel adrift upon the river Nile. While the ark was carried along by the ſtream, the child's ſiſter, whoſe name was Mariam, ſtood on the other ſide of the river, by her mother's command, to obſerve what courſe it ſhould take.

At this time, Thurmuthis, the king's daughter, was walking, for the benefit of the air, upon the bank of the river Nile, and ſeeing the ark floating with the current, ſhe ſent out ſwimmers to bring it to land; and finding it to contain a beautiful and healthy child, the princeſs was exceedingly delighted. Such was the grace and favour of the Almighty towards Moſes, that he was preſerved, maintained, and educated, under the immediate direction of the very perſons who, for the purpoſe of effecting his deſtruction, were concerned in the deſign of cutting off the whole race of the Hebrews.

The princeſs ordered ſome women to attend to ſuckle the child; ſeveral accordingly came; but the infant turned from them with averſion, nor could all their endearments induce him to take the breaſt. Mariam was preſent, pretending to be attracted thither by curioſity, rather than from being intereſted in the fate of the child; and ſhe obſerved, that if the infant was by birth a Hebrew, it was probable it might have a natural diſlike to the milk of a ſtranger; and, therefore, ſhe adviſed the princeſs to ſend for a Hebrew woman, for the purpoſe of trying whether her milk would not be agreeable to him. The obſervation of Mariam appearing to be very reaſonable, the princeſs authoriſed her to procure a Hebrew nurſe, in order for making the experiment.

Jochabel appointed the nurſe of her ſon, ver. 8.

Mariam brought the real mother of the infant to Thurmuthis, her perſon being entirely unknown to the princeſs and her attendants. No ſooner had Jochabel offered the breaſt to the child, than he received it with great eagerneſs; which being obſerved by the princeſs, ſhe ordered Jochabel to take charge of the child; and this office ſhe conſequently accepted with great joy.

The name given to the child had alluſion to the providential event whereby he had been preſerved; for he was called [*] MoYſes; Mo, in the Egyptian language ſignifying water, and the import of Yſes being, preſerved.

According to the prediction of the Almighty, Moſes excelled all the Hebrews in the ſtrength of his mental powers. He was the ſixth generation from Abraham; Amaram, his father, being the ſon of Caaſh, who was the ſon of Levi, he being the ſon of Jacob, who was the ſon of Iſaac, Iſaac being the ſon of Abraham.

As his years increaſed, Moſes diſplayed a very unuſual pregnancy of underſtanding, even in his childiſh ſports there being ſomething ſerious and inſtructive. After he was three years of age, ſuch were the comelineſs and beauty of his perſon, that whenever they met with him, people of all ranks and deſcriptions gazed upon him with delight and admiration; for even thoſe of the moſt unſociable and moroſe temper were incapable of reſiſting the captivating powers of this miracle of a child.

Thermuthis entertained the tendereſt affection for Moſes, and having no iſſue, ſhe reſolved to adopt him as her ſon. Taking him, therefore, to the king, her father, ſhe ſaid, "This, Sir, is incomparably the moſt beautiful infant that ever was born. I received him, as a bounty, from the river Nile; and he has been brought up under my immediate care and inſpection. I intend to adopt him as my ſon, and beg to preſent him to you, as your ſucceſſor." The king received the child in the moſt gracious manner, and with a view of gratifying his daughter, he took the crown from his own head and placed it on that of the child. Upon this, the princeſs, in playfulneſs with the boy, ſeveral times took the crown off, and again put it on his head, till, at length, it fell to the ground, and he trampled upon it. Hereupon the ſcribe, mentioned in the former part of this chapter, vehemently called upon the king to order the child to be put to immediate death; ſaying, it was the ſame by whom he had predicted the deſtruction of Egypt would be brought about; and that the affront he had already put upon the dignity of the ſovereignty, by trampling the crown under his feet, was a confirmation of the prophecy. He told the king, that by the death of the child alone, his own ſafety could be inſured; that his preſervation was an event that, of all others, would prove the moſt fortunate to the Hebrews, and

---

[*] Moſes obſerving that his name had a reſemblance, both in ſound and ſignification, to the Hebrew word Maſha, meaning, to draw out, writes it Moſheh, and introduces the king's daughter giving this reaſon for aſſigning him the appellation, becauſe, Meſhitihu, ſignifies, I drew him out of the waters. "And the child grew, and ſhe brought him unto Pharaoh's daughter, and he became her ſon. And ſhe called his name Moſes: and ſhe ſaid, becauſe I drew him out of the water." Exod. II. 10. Thus we ſee that Moſes was adopted as the ſon of the princeſs.

Moſes is preſerved by the providence of Heaven.

the moſt dreadfully calamitous to himſelf and his ſubjects. Upon hearing the ſcribe's exclamation, Thurmuthis immediately took the child out of the preſence of the king, without receiving any oppoſition, it being the pleaſure of the Almighty, that Pharaoh ſhould not regard the ſcribe's admonition.

The princeſs cauſed Moſes to be inſtructed in all the learning and polite accompliſhments of the times, in which his progreſs was ſo ſurpriſingly rapid, that he attained proficiency at a time of life when, according to the common courſe of education, his improvement was expected to be but very inconſiderable. The ſplendid talents of this youth, and the patronage he received from the king's daughter, were circumſtances on which the Hebrews grounded the hope of deriving ſignal benefits. In the mean time, the Egyptians were apprehenſive of miſchief from the ſame cauſe: but conſidering, that there was no ſucceſſor to the crown, who was likely to endeavour at the promotion of their welfare, they, at length, relinquiſhed their deſign of putting Moſes to death.

CHAP. X.

The Ethiopians make an irruption into Egypt, and put the inhabitants to flight. Moſes leads an army againſt the enemy. His paſſage interrupted by venomous animals, which he deſtroys. He aſſaults the Ethiopians by ſurpriſe, and ravages their country. He beſieges the city of Saba, which is ſurrendered to him. He eſpouſes Tharbis, daughter of the king of Ethiopia.

AS Moſes advanced in years, he every day afforded freſh proofs of his wonderful abilities; and the general opinion was, that the time would arrive, when his valour and ſkill would eſſentially contribute to the advancement of the fortunes of his friends, and the depreſſion of thoſe of his enemies.

The Ethiopians having made an inroad upon the boarders of Egypt, and committed great devaſtation in that part of the country, the natives were highly exaſperated againſt the ſpoilers; and to revenge the affront they had given, led a powerful army into the field. An engagement enſued, in which many of the Egyptians were ſlain, and the reſt were put to a ſhameful flight. Inflated with their ſucceſs, the conquerors flattered themſelves in the vain hope, that they ſhould be able to overrun the whole country. They burnt and ravaged without controul, and poſſeſſed themſelves of booty to a large amount. The enemy marched to the city of Memphis, and from thence proceeded to the ſea, without oppoſition.

Being driven to this extremity, the king of Egypt had recourſe to divines and oracles, in order to learn what would be the moſt ſucceſsful meaſures he could purſue. The reply was, that a certain Hebrew was to take the command of his army. Hereupon, the king informed his daughter, that he was deſirous of giving the command of the forces he was preparing to employ againſt the invaders, to her adopted ſon, Moſes. The princeſs readily agreed to uſe her influence to engage Moſes in an undertaking ſo eſſential to the ſervice of her father; but ſhe previouſly bound him under the obligation of an oath, that he would exert every poſſible means for preventing any miſchief being attempted againſt the perſon of Moſes; at the ſame time obſerving, that there was a remarkable inconſiſtency in the conduct of the prieſts, who, after declaring the death of Moſes to be the only means of preſerving the ſtate from ruin, now condeſcended to ſolicit his aſſiſtance for averting the calamities with which the whole kingdom was threatened by the enterpriſes of a powerful and barbarous enemy.

Thurmuthis had little difficulty in prevailing upon Moſes to undertake the command of her father's forces; and his acquieſcence was highly acceptable both to the Egyptian and Hebrew prieſts; for the firſt had no doubt of the army proving victorious under his command; and, after his ſucceſs againſt the enemy, they imagined an opportunity would be eaſily found for effecting his deſtruction: the Hebrews, on the contrary, cheriſhed the hope, that when under the conduct of ſo great a leader, they ſhould be able to relieve themſelves from the intolerable oppreſſion and ſlavery to which they had been ſo long ſubjugated by the Egyptians.

Moſes leads the Egyptian army againſt the Ethiopians.

Moſes having aſſumed the command of the king's army, he determined to attack the enemy by ſurpriſe. The paſſage over land was infeſted with immenſe numbers of ſerpents, many of them being fierce and venemous, and terrible to behold, ſome having wings, and being as capable of ſeizing and devouring men while flying in the air, as when upon the earth. Many of theſe frightful, voracious, and poiſonous animals were unknown in any part of the world, except the ſpot through which it was the intention of Moſes to direct his paſſage.

In contradiction to the advice of all others who were conſulted upon the ſubject, Moſes determined to go in purſuit of the enemy by land, rather than by the way of the river Nile; and, to eſcape danger from the ſerpents, he had recourſe to an admirable ſtratagem. He knew the bird

Ibis to be a mortal enemy to ſerpents of every ſpecies, though it was gentle and inoffenſive to animals of every other kind. Taking with him a number of the birds above mentioned, in cages made of bullruſhes, when he came to the place where danger was to be apprehended from the fierce and venomous animals, he let the birds fly in purſuit of the ſerpents, by which means they were devoured or diſperſed, and his army was enabled to proceed without danger of annoyance. On this ſubject, however, it is not neceſſary for me to ſpeak more at large, it being a matter with which the Greeks, for whoſe information I am writing, are perfectly acquainted.

At length, Moſes came up with the Ethiopian army, and aſſaulting them by ſurprize, great numbers of them were ſlain; and he purſued the ſurvivors into their own country, where he laid many of their cities and towns in ruins.

Moſes attacks, and commits terrible ſlaughter among the Egyptians.

This victory animated the Egyptians with new vigour and reſolution, while the Ethiopians had only the proſpect of death and ſlavery before them. Moſes purſued the enemy to Saba, the capital of Ethiopia, which Cambyſes afterwards called Meroe, on account of his having a ſiſter of that name. This city appeared to be impregnable, being ſurrounded by the Nile, where the waters of that river were augmented by receiving thoſe of the Aſtapus and Aſtabora; ſo that the paſſage was rendered both dangerous and difficult; beſides the ſecurity it received from its inſular ſituation, it was the leſs aſſailable from being ſurrounded with a ſtrong wall, and fortified with ramparts and other works to defend the place both from the attacks of an enemy, and inundations from the river: but ſo far from being diſcourged by theſe obſtacles, Moſes vigorouſly beſieged the place.

Every ſtratagem he was able to make uſe of for forcing the enemy to battle proving ineffectual. Moſes was diſſatisfied that his army ſhould remain in a ſtate of inactivity: but, in the mean time, a very extraordinary incident occurred. Tharbis, the daughter of the Ethiopian king, happening once to ſee Moſes, with his ſword in his hand, drawing up his forces under the walls of the town to make an aſſault, and ſignalizing himſelf by extraordinary feats of bravery, ſhe conceived a tenderneſs for him. She conſidered that his proweſs had redeemed the Egyptians from the laſt extremity of diſtreſs, and in the pride of their conqueſts had effectually ſubdued and humiliated the Ethiopians. In ſhort, the more ſhe reflected on the great and eminent qualities of Moſes, the more her paſſion for him become irreſiſtible. At length, ſhe explained to ſome perſons in her confidence the partiality ſhe entertained in favour of the general of the beſiegers, and diſpatched them to him with an offer of marriage. This propoſal he accepted on condition, that, after the ſurrender of the city, the nuptials ſhould be ſolemniſed. The preliminaries being ratified upon oath, the city was accordingly ſurrendered; and a ſhort time after Moſes eſpouſed the princeſs Tharbis. After returning thanks to the Almighty for the victory he had obtained, Moſes led the Egyptian army back to their own country.

CHAP. XI.

The ingratitude of the Egyptians, who enter into a conſpiracy to deprive Moſes of life. He eſcapes to Madian for refuge. Upon an affront being offered to the daughters of Raguel, Moſes protects them. Their gratitude to him. Gaguel adopts Moſes as his ſon, and gives him one of his daughters in marriage.

SUCH was the ingratitude of the Egyptians, that, inſtead of the acknowledgements to the man whoſe valour had reſcued them from impending deſtruction, upon his return from Ethiopia, they manifeſted towards him an inveterate enmity, and entered into an abominable confederacy to bring about his deſtruction. They were jealous leſt the influence and reputation he had acquired by his ſplendid atchievements might put him in a condition for aiming at independency, and even occaſion him to aſpire to the ſovereignty of Egypt.

The Egyptians conſpire againſt Moſes.

To obſtruct his ſucceſs they exhibited againſt him an accuſation of * murder; and in this the king was induced to countenance them, partly on account of his envy of the extraordinary wiſdom and military fame of Moſes, and partly in conſequence of the dread he entertained of the deſtruction that the prieſts and ſcribes were perpetually aſſerting he was deſtined to bring upon the Egyptian nation.

---

* "And it came to paſs in thoſe days, when Moſes was grown, that he went out unto his brethren, and looked on their burdens; and he ſpied an Egyptian ſmiting an Hebrew, one of his brethren. And he looked this way and that way, and when he ſaw that there was no man, he ſlew the Eygptian, and hid him in the ſand." Exod. II. 11, 12. The Egyptian was a taſk maſter, who beat the Hebrew ſo cruelly as nearly to occaſion his death, becauſe he did not work faſter than his ſtrength would admit. Exaſperated by this outrage and oppreſſion, he puniſhed the perpetrator thereof on the ſpot. But admitting the Iſraelites to have ſuſtained injury, ſome contend that Moſes was not juſtifiable, ſince an appeal might have been made for redreſs to the civil magiſtracy, having juriſdiction over the diſtrict where the offence was committed. But it is to be recollected, that the kings of Egypt authoriſed and encouraged their ſubjects to oppreſs the Hebrews, and treat them with barbarity: and therefore, ſince common juſtice was denied them, to repel force by force was warrantable. It may be added, that this action of Moſes was probably the effect of divine impulſe.

He retires privately to Madian, Ver. 15.

Being informed of the conſpiracy for effecting his deſtruction, Moſes ſought his ſafety in flight, travelling through a deſart, where he ſuppoſed his enemies would not think of purſuing him. On his way he was greatly diſtreſſed for the means of ſubſiſtence, but reſiſting the pain of hunger, he reſolutely purſued his journey till he came in ſight of [*] Madian, a city ſituated on the coaſt of the Red Sea, which received its name from one of the ſons of Abraham by Cheturah. Seating himſelf by the ſide of a fountain to refreſh himſelf with reſt, an incident took place, whereby an opportunity was afforded him of ſignalizing his courage and his regard to juſtice. Such is the ſcarcity of water in that country, that the ſhepherds and ſhepherdeſſes repair to the fountain early in the morning, leſt ſo much water ſhould be taken out of it, that the remaining part would not be ſufficient to ſupply their cattle.

When Moſes came to the fountain, ſeven maidens were ſtanding by the ſide of it; they were ſiſters, being the daughters of [†] Raguel, a prieſt, and a perſon of great reputation in that part of the country. The virgins were attending their father's flocks, which was the common employment of the women in the country of the Troglodytes. The water they had taken out of the fountain they poured into troughs, for the convenience of dividing it among the ſheep. At this time ſome ſhepherds coming to the fountain, they rudely forced the virgins from their ſtation, in order that their own ſheep might drink the water they had taken out of the fountain, and poured into the troughs. Incenſed at their brutal behaviour to the virgins, Moſes drove the ſhepherds from the fountain, and aſſiſted the maidens in watering their ſheep. Upon their return to their father, they mentioned to him the rude treatment they had received from the ſhepherds, and the generous protection afforded them by the ſtranger; requeſting he would be pleaſed to make him ſome handſome acknowledgment for the favour and ſervices they had received. The good-nature and gratitude of his daughters were highly applauded by Raguel, who ordered them to conduct the ſtranger into his houſe, that he might compenſate him for his generous protection of his daughters. Moſes being accordingly introducted to Raguel, he acknowledged himſelf under great obligations to him for the ſervice he had rendered his daughters, which act of manly generoſity, he aſſured him, ſhould not remain unrewarded. He then adopted Moſes as his ſon, and gave him his [‡] daughter Zipporah in marriage, and appointed him the ſuperintendant of all his ſheep.

CHAP. XII.

Moſes drives his ſheep to Mount Sinai. God ſpeaks to him from a fiery buſh. The voice directs Moſes to go into Egypt, and promiſes to aſſiſt him with miracles in delivering the Hebrews from Bondage. The rod of Moſes turned into a ſerpent. Water appears to be turned into blood. God confers upon Moſes the gift of working miracles.

AFTER Moſes had lived ſome time in the family of his father-in-law, he drove his flocks up to [‖] Mount Sinai, where the paſturage was exceedingly fine. This was the higheſt mountain in the whole country; and an ancient tradition was then extant, purporting, that upon the ſummit of it, the reſidence of God was ſituated; and therefore, it was held in ſuch veneration, that the people would neither feed their cattle, nor walk upon the mountain.

Soon after Moſes had aſcended the mount, there appeared to him a moſt remarkable prodigy: in a buſh he perceived a fierce and violent [§] flame, but yet neither the branches

---

[*] Scripture, Midian.
This place is ſuppoſed to be part of Arabia Petrœa, bordering upon Geſhon.

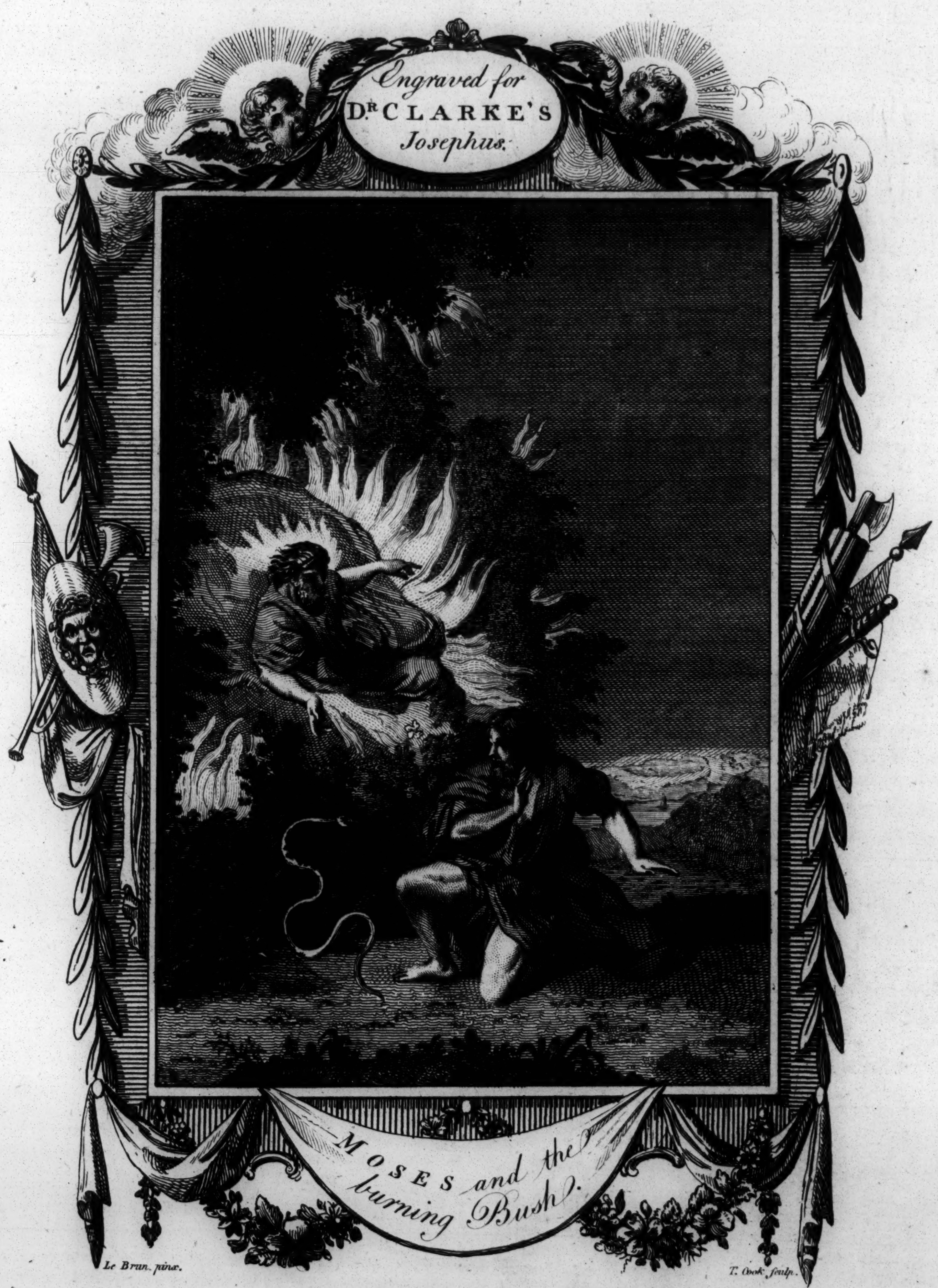
[†] He is called Reuel in Exodus, II. 18. in Numbers, X. 29. he is ſuppoſed to be deſcribed under the name of Hobab, the ſon of Raguel. In Judges I. 16. he is called Ceni, and Jethro in Exodus, III. 1. So that he is ſuppoſed to be the ſame perſon, mentioned in different parts of Scripture under the names of Raguel, Reuel, Hobab, Ceni, and Jethro.

[‡] It is probable that Raguel did not give his daughter Zipporah in marriage to Moſes till he had reſided ſome time in that country, and given proofs of his righteouſneſs and virtue.

[‖] In Scripture, this place is called Horeb. "Now Moſes kept the flock of his father-in-law, the prieſt of Midian: and he led the flock to the backſide of the deſart, and came to the mountain of God, even Horeb, Exod. III. 1.

[§] The element of fire was frequently uſed as the means of indicating the preſence of the Divinity. When God determined to ratify his covenant with Abraham, "A ſmoaking furnace, and a lamp of fire paſſed between the pieces of the victims." When the people were to be aſſured of the divine miſſion of Moſes, God deſcended in fire from Mount Sinai. When our bleſſed Redeemer was innitiated into his holy miniſtry, the divine glory, or fire, ſettled on his head; and when his diſciples were inſpired with the Holy Ghoſt, cloven tongues of fire manifeſted the preſence of the Divinity, and convinced the ſpectators of the reality of the inſpiration.—With reſpect to the burning buſh, Philo, the Jew, gives the following ſollution of the meaning of that extraordinary phenomenon: the burning buſh was a ſymbol of the oppreſſed Hebrews, and the flame was a type

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

MOSES and the burning Bush.

Le Brun. pinx.
T. Cook sculp.

Published as the Act directs Marh. 25.1786. by John Walker Paternoster Row.

God ſpeaks to Moſes from a fiery buſh, Exod. III. 1.

branches, flowers, nor leaves were conſumed, nor was there any alteration diſcernible in their colour or form. The aſtoniſhment that wonderful ſpectacle occaſioned was greatly increaſed, when Moſes diſtinctly heard a voice proceeding from the fire, ſaying, “How came you, Moſes, to preſume to treſpaſs upon this ground, where no man has ever before dared to tread, being conſidered as a ſpot too holy and ſacred to be intruded upon, without incurring the irreligious guilt of prophanation?” The voice then commanded Moſes to withdraw to a diſtance from the fire, and repreſſing his curioſity, to remain contented with the benefactions of which he had been deemed worthy, as being the righteous offspring of anceſtors who had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves, by a pious acquieſcence in the pleaſure of the Almighty. The voice predicted to him, that his name ſhould be great and honourable in all the nations of the earth; and commanded him not to deſpair of ſucceſs in any of the undertakings of his life, and immediately to repair into Egypt; for he ſhould attain to abſolute authority over the whole nation of Hebrews, and reſcue his countrymen from the tyranny of their Egyptian oppreſſors. The voice further informed him, that, through his wiſdom and prudence, the Hebrews ſhould ſucceed to the lands, and partake of the bleſſings of life, that Heaven had granted to their father Abraham, as a reward for his righteouſneſs and virtue; and admoniſhed him not to neglect offering up a ſacrifice of thankſgiving upon that ſpot, immediately after he ſhould have delivered his countrymen from the Egyptian bondage.”

The voice having ceaſed, Moſes ſaid, “Almighty God! I know thy power, and adore thy infinite goodneſs, and in no circumſtances of life can I heſitate to obey thy divine commands. Being a man of ſmall conſideration, by what means can I hope to attain a ſhare of influence over ſo numerous a body of people, ſufficient to prevail upon them to abandon the country which they at preſent inhabit, and follow me to whatever part of the world I may propoſe to conduct them? Should they conſent to hazard an expedition, the ſucceſs of which may appear to them extremely precarious, to obtain the conſent of Pharaoh for their departure, will be an obſtacle that can ſcarcely be ſurmounted, ſince the revenues of his government, and the eaſe and happineſs of his ſubjects ſo eſſentially depend upon the labour of the Egyptians.”

Moſes inveſted with the power of working miracles, Exod. IV. 3.

Hereupon, the voice commanded Moſes to rely on the protection of God upon all occaſions; informing him, that he ſhould be bleſſed with the faculty of perſuaſion, and that when arguments failed of ſucceſs, he ſhould have the power of performing ſuch actions as ſhould convince the multitude that he acted under the authority of a divine commiſſion. To confirm him in the belief of the extraordinary powers he was to poſſeſs, the voice commanded him to let a rod that he held in his hand fall upon the ground. This he accordingly did, and the rod was immediately transformed into a ſerpent, wreathing itſelf into folds, and rearing its head in a menacing attitude: and, in a ſhort time, the ſerpent re-aſſumed its original form of a rod. After this, the voice commanded him to put his hand between his garments and his boſom: having done ſo, upon taking his hand away, it appeared as white as chalk; but preſently afterwards returned to its natural colour. The voice then directed him to throw ſome water upon the ground, which having done, it appeared to be changed into blood. While Moſes ſtood in aſtoniſhment at theſe wonderful operations, the voice commanded him to place a firm confidence in the ſupport and aſſiſtance of the Almighty, whereby he ſhould be enabled to perform ſuch miracles as ſhould convince mankind, that he acted under the immediate authority and by the impulſe of a divine commiſſion.

He is commanded to go into Egypt.

The Almighty now commanded Moſes to repair into Egypt, and that he ſhould purſue his journey towards that country, night and day, without intermiſſion; for any delay he ſhould make would protract the affliction and ſlavery of the Hebrews. Having promiſed obedience to this command, Moſes prayed, that the power he had ſo lately exerciſed of working miracles might be continued to him after his arrival in the land of Egypt; and further, that he might be informed of the name of the Almighty Being, to the end, that in his future ſacrifices and invocations, he might know more preciſely under what appellation to offer up his addreſſes. The Almighty was pleaſed to comply with his requeſt: but the name was, till then, entirely unknown to mankind; and to it ſuch ſacred veneration is due, that I muſt not here preſume to mention it. The gift of working miracles, whenever he ſhould have occaſion to make uſe of them, being

---

a type of their cruel oppreſſors. The circumſtance of the buſh not being conſumed, imported, that though they were ſubjugated to tyrannical and arbitrary power, they ſhould not be deſtroyed; that the intentions of their enemies ſhould be diſappointed; and that they ſhould be reſcued from the afflictions in which they were involved, and advanced to authority and happineſs.

conferred upon Moſes, he repoſed a firm reliance in being able to effect the emancipation of the Jews from their miſerable bondage in Egypt, agreeable to the divine revelations and predictions delivered to him from the burning buſh.

CHAP. XIII.

The death of Pharaoh. Moſes departs for Egypt, and, on his way, meets his brother Aaron. Moſes intercedes with the new king in behalf of the Hebrews. In preſence of the king, the Egyptian inchanters turn their rods into ſerpents, all of which are devoured by the ſerpent of Moſes.

AT this time, Moſes received intelligence of the death of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, who had meditated his deſtruction, and occaſioned him to fly from that country for refuge, Upon this he requeſted, that Raguel, his father-in-law, would permit him to go into Egypt, where his preſence was neceſſary for the common advantage of the Hebrew nation. Having obtained the conſent of Raguel, Moſes, accompanied by his wife Zipporah, and their children, Gerſhom and Eleazar, ſet out for Egypt, and they purſued their journey with all poſſible expedition. In the Hebrew language Gerſhom ſignifies, a foreigner; and Eleazar, in the ſame tongue, imports, the help of God.

The meeting of Moſes and Aaron, IV. 27.

Upon approaching the borders of Egypt, Moſes met with his brother Aaron, to whom he gave a circumſtantial account of the wonderful events that had occurred upon mount Sinai, as well as of the revelations, inſtructions and commands he had received from the Almighty. Proceeding a little further, he was met by a great number of the principal people of the Hebrew nation, who, upon receiving information of his approach, had come from the city to congratulate him upon his return to that country. Having informed theſe people of the commiſſion he had received from God, in order to convince them, by ocular demonſtration, of the truth of what he had ſaid, he made them witneſſes of his power of working miracles. This evidence at once aſtoniſhed and perfectly convinced them, that God had ſelected Moſes for the purpoſe of carrying his divine will into execution: and hence they derived an aſſurance, that by ſome extraordinary means the Almighty would provide for the relief and ſecurity of his people. Thus inſpired with the hope of regaining their liberty, the people declared their readineſs to purſue whatever meaſures Moſes ſhould recommend, and promiſed obedience and reſpect to him on every occaſion.

Hereupon Moſes went to the new king, and reminded him of the ſervices he had rendered the government when the Ethiopians made an irruption into and ravaged the country; he enumerated the toils and dangers he had encountered in proſecuting the war, mentioning that, in repelling the invaders he had acted with as much zeal as if the Egyptians had been his own countrymen; and after mentioning the glorious ſucceſſes that had attended his arms, he gave the king an account of the various inſtances of baſe ingratitude he had experienced from the people whom he had reſcued from impending deſtruction. He informed the king of his viſion upon mount Sinai, and after very particularly mentioning the revelations communicated by the Almighty, and the power that had been conferred upon him of working miracles, he admoniſhed him againſt oppoſing the will of Heaven, by an impious and fruitleſs infidelity.

Pharaoh treated all that Moſes had ſaid with contempt and ridicule; when to prove the truth of what he had aſſerted, he repeated the miracles he had wrought upon mount Sinai. Upon this, the king upbraided him with abſconding from Egypt to evade the juſt reſentment of the people, and after having gained a knowledge of the arts of magick and inchantments, with returning into the ſame country with the rebellious deſign of ſeducing his ſubjects from their duty and allegiance. Pharaoh ſaid, that, notwithſtanding the oſtentatious manner in which he had boaſted of the gifts conferred upon him, he ſhould ſpeedily be convinced that the Egyptian prieſts were not leſs expert than himſelf in the arts of magic: the king then ordered the prieſts to be called into his preſence; and upon their appearance, commanded them to throw down their rods, which they accordingly did, and the rods immediately were turned into ſerpents. Hereupon Moſes ſaid, he was neither a ſtranger to, nor a deſpiſer of the learning of the Egyptian prieſts: but he would aver, that the operations he was enabled to perform by the favour of Heaven, were, in every reſpect, ſuperior to the magical practices of the prieſts. He told the king, that he would immediately afford inconteſtible proofs, that he did not mean to impoſe illuſory practices upon the credulous multitude; but that he acted under the authority, and by the impulſe of Heaven, whoſe judgment would fall very heavy upon ſuch as ſhould diſcredit the manifeſtations he ſhould afford of his divine miſſion. He then let his rod fall upon the ground, and it immediately became a ſerpent, and devoured the ſerpents that had been produced by the magical practices of the prieſts, after which it

Moſes's ſerpent devours the ſerpents of the Egyptian prieſts, VII. 12.

it returned to its original form of a rod, when Moſes took it into his hand again. So far from operating towards the conviction of the king, this miracle ſerved but the more violently to inflame his rage and indignation: he inſiſted, that the wiſdom, power, and ſkill of the Egyptian prieſts were equal to thoſe of Moſes, ſaying, that, ſo far from being diſpoſed to yield to his ſupplications in behalf of the Hebrews, he was determined to act by them with greater rigour than they had yet experienced. He then gave orders for the taſkmaſters to increaſe the labour of the Hebrews, which they did, by witholding from them the ſtraw that it had been uſual to allow them towards making bricks. Thus their labour was greatly augmented; for after working the whole day, they were compelled to employ the night in fetching ſtraw, by way of proviſion for the buſineſs of the following day.

Neither the harſh and menacing language of Pharaoh, nor the murmurings of the Hebrews, had any tendency towards abating the fortitude and reſolution of Moſes. The Hebrews expoſtulated with him, with a view of diſſuading him from perſevering in his enterprize, obſerving, that his interference in their behalf ſerved but to render their oppreſſion and miſery more intolerable. Adhering to his reſolution of reſcuing his countrymen from their bondage in Egypt, Moſes again applied to Pharaoh, ſoliciting his permiſſion for the Hebrews to accompany him to mount Sinai, in order to offer up a ſacrifice, agreeable to the command he had received from the Almighty. He ſpoke thus to the king: "Be aſſured that your oppoſition to the will of God will be ineffectual: therefore be adviſed not to deſpiſe his commands, leſt you ſhould draw upon yourſelf thoſe judgments which it is impoſſible the diſobedient and incredulous ſhould eſcape."

CHAP. XIV.

The ten plagues of Egypt. Pharaoh permits the Iſraelites to depart from his kingdom.

PHARAOH obſtinately reſiſted the expoſtulations of Moſes, and treated his prophetic admonition with contempt and ridicule, in conſequence of which the Egyptians were involved in the moſt dreadful calamities. I ſhall be the more particular in enumerating the ſufferings of thoſe people, that the example may deter others from the commiſſion of ſuch ſins as may provoke the diſpleaſure and bring upon themſelves the wrath and indignation of Heaven.

They had no water except what they were ſupplied with from the river Nile, and this underwent ſo remarkable a change, as to have the appearance of blood; the Egyptians who drank of it, were immediately afflicted with the moſt tormenting pains, while all its original qualities were preſerved without alteration to the Hebrews. This miracle threw the king into ſuch conſternation, that, fearing, if he continued to oppreſs them, the deſtruction of himſelf and his ſubjects would be inevitable, he commanded them to depart from his kingdom.

The river Nile turned into blood, VII. 20.

The evil was no ſooner removed, than Pharaoh retracted his promiſe, and determined again to exerciſe his tyranny and oppreſſion upon the Hebrews. This act of infidelity and ingratitude was ſo offenſive to the Almighty, that he viſited the country with another judgment, by occaſioning the face of the whole kingdom to be covered with, and the river Nile to be choaked up with frogs. Immenſe numbers of theſe animals dying, the putrefaction of their carcaſſes ſo corrupted the water of the river, that it became unfit for uſe. The carcaſſes of the dead frogs turned into mud, from which vaſt multitudes of the ſame kind of animals were produced; and they infeſted their bed-chambers, got into their diſhes among their meat and drink, and, in ſhort, became ſo troubleſome and annoying, as to deſtroy all the comfort and happineſs of their lives; for wherever the creatures appeared, they carried with them a ſtench intolerably offenſive. Sending a ſecond time for Moſes, Pharaoh told him, that he would no longer oppoſe the requeſt he had made; and he had full permiſſion to conduct the Iſraelites wherever he thought proper. This had no ſooner paſſed, than the frogs diſappeared, and all matters were reſtored to their former ſtate. But no ſooner was the evil removed, than Pharaoh again falſified his word, and detained the Iſraelites, under the pretext, that he was not bound to adhere to his promiſe, ſince it was given while he was under the influence of fear.

The plague of frogs, ver. 6.

The conſequence of this treachery and breach of faith was another judgment from Heaven, whereby the bodies of the Egyptians bred infinite number of lice, and no remedy was to be obtained from bathing, the uſe of ointments, and other means to which they had recourſe for relieving themſelves from the perpetual torment inflicted upon them by thoſe noxious vermine. The filthineſs and ſcandal of this viſitation had ſuch an effect upon Pharaoh, that he once more conſented to the departure of the Hebrews from his kingdom; but the evil was no ſooner removed, than he demanded their wives and children as hoſtages to ſecure their return.

The plague of lice, ver. 17.

It appeared from the conduct of Pharaoh, that he imagined he ſhould be able to elude the judgments of Heaven for his wickedneſs and obſtinacy, and that he ſuppoſed them to be inflicted by Moſes, and not by God, who therefore was highly offended againſt him. The whole country was now infeſted with immenſe numbers of flies, and a great variety of inſects, many of which were not known till that time. Theſe creatures were ſo numerous as to prevent the cultivation of the ground, and occaſion the death of great numbers of the people. The ſurvivors ſuffered very ſeverely; for they were attacked by dangerous and painful diſorders, in conſequence of the air being infected by the corruption of the bodies of the above mentioned animals. But all theſe troubles were not ſufficient to bring Pharaoh to a ſenſe of his duty; for he would only conſent, that a part of the women ſhould accompany their huſbands, refuſing to diſmiſs any of the children.

The plague of flies, ver. 21.

The plague of murrain and ulcers, IX. 6.

To puniſh the diſobedience of Pharaoh the Almighty next ſent into his kingdom the plagues of murrain among the cattle, and of inward ulcers and inflammatory diſeaſes among the people. Great numbers of the Egyptians died; and the infection among the cattle of every ſpecies ſpread ſo rapidly, that a famine was apprehended. However, the Iſraelites remained in perfect health, and none of their cattle was infected by the peſtilential diſtemper, whereby ſuch vaſt devaſtation was made among the beaſts belonging to their cruel oppreſſors.

The plague of hail, ver. 23, 24, 25.

Pharaoh ſtill perſiſting in a contumacious defiance of the divine will, his kingdom was viſited by a judgment of hail, which falling in vaſt abundance at that ſeaſon of the year, when the fruits and plants were putting forth their buds, no hope remained of their yielding any produce for the ſuſtenance either of man or beaſt. Hail was a prodigy in Egypt, it being till that time entirely unknown there; and the violence with which it deſcended was ſuppoſed to ſurpaſs what had been known in the moſt northern climates.

The plague of locuſts, Exod. X. 13, 14, 15.

Such of the fruits of the earth as were not deſtroyed by the hail, were conſumed by the multitudes of locuſts, which covered the whole face of the country; ſo that by theſe two plagues, the latter immediately ſucceeding the former, the people were diſappointed of all the produce of the earth for a whole year.

At length, Pharaoh conſented, that the Hebrews ſhould have the privilege of departing from his kingdom, on condition of their leaving behind them all their cattle, and goods and effects of what kind ſoever, by way of compenſating the Egyptians for the loſſes ſuſtained through their means. This propoſal Moſes rejected, as being at once unreaſonable, and calculated to diſpoſſeſs them of thoſe articles, without which it would be impoſſible for them to offer up their intented ſacrifice to the Almighty. Pharaoh continuing to perſevere in his demand, in the interim, the Egyptians were enveloped, in a thick darkneſs, and were in momentary expectation of being involved in deſtruction. After three days and three nights, finding that Pharaoh ſtill continued obſtinately diſobedient, Moſes went to him, and ſpoke to the following purport. "How is it, that you intend contumaciouſly to oppoſe the pleaſure of the divine Being, whoſe command expreſsly is, that you ſhall relinquiſh that authority to tyrannically uſurped, and cruelly exerciſed over the Hebrews? Be aſſured, that the threatened deſtruction can only be averted, by your immediate ſubmiſſion to the will of God." The freedom of this addreſs ſo exaſperated Pharaoh, that he declared, if he preſumed again to mention the ſubject, he would inſtantly cauſe the head of Moſes to be ſtruck off. Hereupon Moſes ſaid, he had nothing further to obſerve, than that the time would ſoon arrive when the king, and the moſt eminent among his nobility would become urgent for the departure of the Iſraelites from Egypt.

The plague of darkneſs, ver. 22, 23.

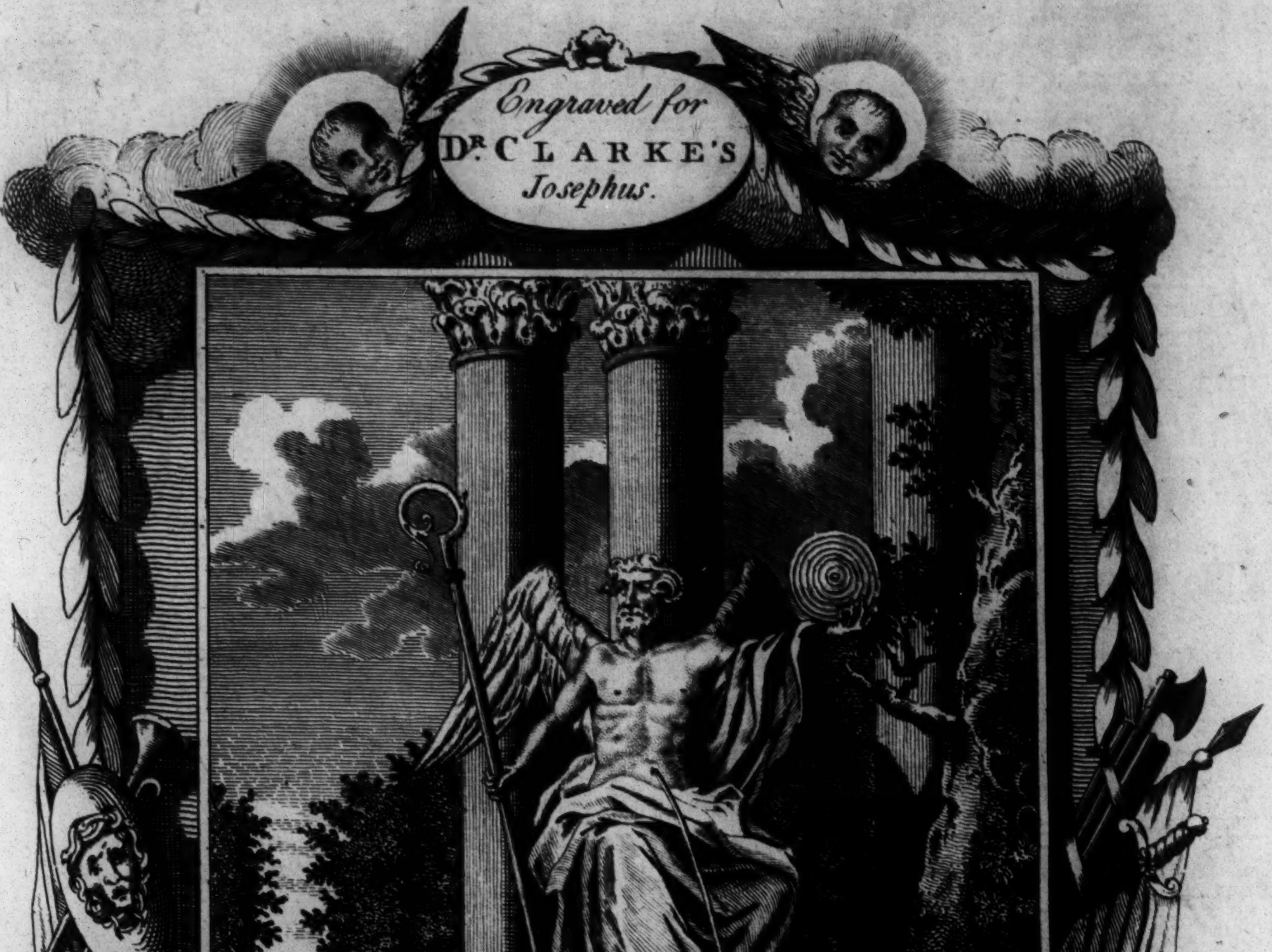
God commanded Moſes to direct the Hebrews to make preparations on the thirteenth for the ſacrifice that was to be offered to him on the fourteenth day of the month, called Niſan by the Hebrews, Pharmuthi by the Egyptians, and Xanthicus by the Macedonians. In compliance with the order of Moſes, the Hebrews aſſembled at break of day, on the fourteenth of the month, being diſtinguiſhed, according to his direction, into tribes and claſſes, and purified their habitations by ſprinkling blood thereon with bunches of hyſſop. After ſupper, they burnt what meat remained, as a token of their approaching departure. In this manner we ſtill perform ſacrifice on the feſtival of our paſchal, the import of which word is, paſſing over, it being inſtituted in conſequence of the Almighty paſſing over, or ſparing the Hebrews at a time when the Egyptians were viſited by a dreadful calamity; for this night the * firſt-born iſſue of all the Egyptian families periſhed. In conſequenſe of which, people of all ranks in life repaired in great numbers to the king, cla-

The inſtitution of the paſſover, Exod. XII. 3, 27.

The plague of the firſt-born, ver. 29.

---

* The death of every firſt-born of the Egyptian children, had a very natural alluſion to the ſin of their parents in deſtroying the male Iſraelites; and from hence may be concluded, that God takes particular cognizance of human affairs, and ſooner or later, rewards every man according to his works.


Engraved for
D^r. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

The Egyptian attributes of Divinity.

Publish'd as the Act directs Oct.^r 6; 1786 by John Walker, Paternoster Row.

BRITISH MUSEUM

mourouſly by demanding, that he would immediately diſmiſs the Hebrews. Hereupon the king ſent for Moſes, and upon his arrival, gave him authority to conduct the Hebrews out of his dominions, being now perſuaded, that while they remained in bondage, neither himſelf nor his ſubjects could enjoy happineſs or ſecurity. When the Iſraelites were preparing to commence their journey, many of the Egyptians made them preſents of various kinds, ſome with a view of haſtening their departure, and others by way of memorial of a long acquaintance: and at the time of ſeparating numbers of Pharaoh's ſubjects wept, being ſtruck with compunction for the unprovoked cruelties they had practiſed upon the Iſraelites.

CHAP. XV.

Moſes leads the Iſraelites out of Egypt. The eight days feſtival, or the feſtival of unleavened bread. The Egyptians purſue, and overtake the Iſraelites.

MOSES led the Iſraelites towards Letopolis, a city that had been for ſome time deſerted, and was ſituated on the ſpot where Cambyſes afterwards erected Babylon, when he had ſubdued and deſolated Egypt. Proceeding by long marches, on the third day they arrived at Beelzephon, near the Red Sea. This was ſo barren a country, that no proviſions were to be procured, ſo that they had no other ſubſiſtence for thirty days than meal and water mixed, and after being kneaded, baked into cakes. Notwithſtanding they acted with great œconomy, conſuming no more of the meal they had brought out of Egypt than was barely ſufficient for ſuſtaining life, their proviſions were now entirely exhauſted. In commemoration of this ſcarcity, we ſtill celebrate the eight days feſtival, calling it the feſtival of the * unleavened bread. The body of people that Moſes thus, under the direction of God, delivered from the Egyptian Bondage, conſiſted, excluſive of a vaſt concourſe of women and children, of the immenſe number of † ſix hundred thouſand men able to bear arms.

he feaſt of leavened ead, Exod. III. 6, 7.

The departure of the Hebrews from Egypt took place on the fifteenth day of the month of Xanthicus, or Niſan, Moſes being then eighty, and his brother Aaron eighty-three years of age. It was four hundred and fifteen years from the time of our father Abraham coming into Canaan, and two hundred and fifteen from the time of Jacob coming into Egypt. The Hebrews took with them into Canaan, the bones of Joſeph, agreeable to the charge, delivered by him to his relations, a ſhort time previous to his deceaſe.

Soon after they had quitted his kingdom, Pharaoh repented having conſented to their removal; and he attributed all the misfortunes that had befallen his ſubjects to the practices of Moſes, whoſe miraculous operations he conſidered merely as the effects of magick and inchantment. He therefore determined to march a formidable army in purſuit of them, in order to ſubjugate them again to their former ſtate of ſlavery and oppreſſion. He ſuppoſed, that in compelling them to return he ſhould not incur the diſpleaſure of God, ſince he had once conſented to their departure. A conqueſt over the Iſraelites, if they ſhould attempt reſiſtance, he imagined might be obtained without difficulty, ſince they were wholly unprovided with weapons of defence, and muſt neceſſarily be much fatigued with their journey.

The Hebrews are purſued by Pharaoh's army, ver. 6, 7, 8, 9.

Having procured intelligence as to what courſe the Hebrews had taken, the Egyptian army marched in purſuit of them, through a country where the paſſage was exceedingly difficult and troubleſome. Moſes had ſeveral inducements to prefer this way to a courſe attended with fewer difficulties and obſtructions: in caſe of a purſuit by the Egyptians, the fatigue of the journey would diſpirit them, and occaſion them to recollect their cruel and treacherous behaviour; and he held it not to be a matter of prudence to lead the people by the way of ‡ Paleſtine; for in conſequence

R of

---

* Unleavened bread was pure and unmixed with any corrupted matter: but leaven is a ſpecies of corruption. The uſe of unleavened bread might be enjoined to remind them of their ſincerity. Others, however, are of opinion that it was to commemorate their haſty deliverance, on which occaſion they had not time to make uſe of leaven.

† "And the children of Iſrael journeyed from Rameſes to Succoth, about ſix hundred thouſand on foot that were men, beſides children. And a mixed multitude went up alſo with them, and flocks and herds, even very much cattle." Exod. XII. 37, 38. The meaning is, that ſix hundred thouſand were able to bear arms, being twenty years old and upwards. But there were not above a third of thoſe, who went out of Egypt, and therefore their increaſe muſt have been amazing, from only ſeventy perſons. By the mixed multitude is meant ſuch of the Egyptians as had embraced the religion of the Hebrews.

‡ Through the land of the Philiſtines the diſtance from Egypt to Canaan was a journey only of a few days; but the ſpirits of the Hebrews being broken by the ſufferings they had endured in the Egyptian bondage, they were not in a condition to encounter a powerful enemy; and therefore it was the pleaſure of the Almighty, that they ſhould paſs through the deſart, that they might avoid the Philiſtines, who were a fierce people, and implacable enemies to the Hebrews "And it came to paſs, when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not through the way of the land of the Philiſtines, although that was near; for God ſaid, leſt peradventure the people repent when they ſee war, and they return to Egypt.

of an ancient diſagreement, the Philiſtines ſtill entertained an inveterate enmity againſt the Iſraelites, and probably would have aſſailed them had they approached their country.

Having reached the neighbourhood of the * Red Sea, the Hebrews were thrown into great terror and conſternation upon perceiving that they were entirely encompaſſed by the Egyptian army, which was compoſed of ſix hundred chariots of war, five thouſand cavalry, and two hundred thouſand infantry, all completely equipped for war; and the main body of this mighty army being drawn up in order of battle. Having ſtationed centinels at all the paſſes and ſecured every avenue, the Hebrews were driven into a very narrow compaſs, and they perceived no poſſibility of retreat; for by the ſea, inacceſſible mountains, and the Egyptian army, they were entirely encloſed. Being wholly unprovided with arms, they could not maintain a battle with the enemy, and to eſcape from them being impoſſible, they had no viſible means of preſerving their lives but by an unconditional ſubmiſſion to their former oppreſſors. Being in this extremity of diſtreſs the Hebrews, with great acrimony of language, reflected upon Moſes as the author of their preſent calamities; for they no longer bore in remembrance the wonderful operations of God towards their deliverance from bondage, and the miracles to which they had been made witneſſes for the purpoſe of ſtrengthening their faith. Having nothing in view but rocks, ſeas, and armed troops, deſtruction ſeemed to be inevitable, and the affliction of the men was greatly increaſed by the lamentations and clamours of the women and children. At length, they were ſo exaſperated by their misfortunes as to entertain a deſign of † ſtoning Moſes to death as a falſe prophet, by whoſe ſeductive artifices they were now on the point of being reduced to a more intolerable ſlavery than they had endured before.

The clamorous and outrageous behaviour of the headſtrong multitude had no effect towards abating the reſolution of Moſes, he being confidently perſuaded, that the divine preſages he had repeatedly witneſſed of approaching liberty to the Hebrews would be completely fulfilled; and therefore, ſtanding in the midſt of the people, he addreſſed them to the following effect:

"Had you depoſited a charge of ineſtimable value in the cuſtody of a perſon who had before executed the ſame truſt with fidelity, might you not reaſonably rely on his acquitting himſelf towards you with equal integrity? Is it not then the higheſt degree of indiſcretion to yield to deſpondency, when the Almighty himſelf has condeſcended to take you under his protection. Inſtead of terrifying and diſcouraging you, the danger and difficulty of your ſituation ſhould animate you with the confidence to expect a ſpeedy change in your favour; for God has brought you into this diſtreſs, for the purpoſe of manifeſting his power and goodneſs in your deliverance. Comfort yourſelves in the reflection, that you have for your protector that Almighty Being who is able to exalt the lowly and oppreſſed, and humble and chaſtize their perſecutors. Becauſe they are armed, fear not the Egyptian troops, nor apprehend that your lives are in danger, becauſe a retreat from the enemy is cut off by the ſea and the mountains; for the God you ſerve has power in an inſtant to level thoſe mountains with the plains, and to dry up the waters of the ocean. Therefore repoſe your truſt in him:—and let his righteous will be done."

CHAP. XVI.

Moſes leads the Iſraelites towards the ſea, and after praying to God, ſtrikes the waters with his rod, whereupon they ſeparate. The Iſraelites advance, and being purſued by the Egyptians, the latter are drowned. Moſes goes to Mount Sinai to perform ſacrifice.

Moſes leads the Iſraelites towards the ſea.

MOSES now led the Iſraelites towards the ſea, in view of the Egyptian army, who being extremely harraſſed and fatigued by their purſuit, determined to recruit their ſtrength and ſpirits with reſt, and poſtpone making an attack upon the Iſraelites till next day. Upon coming

---

Egypt. But God led the people about, through the way of the wilderneſs of the Red Sea." Exod. XIII. 17, 18.

* And the Lord ſpake unto Moſes, saying, "ſpeak unto the children of Iſrael, that they may turn and encamp before Pinhahiroth, between Migdol and the ſea, over againſt Baal-zephon: before it ye ſhall encamp by the ſea." Exod. XIV. 1, 2. Pi-hahiroth ſeems to have been the name of a narrow paſſage, between the mountains on the weſt ſide of the Red Sea; the word Pi, in Hebrew, ſignifying a mouth. This place was about ſixteen miles from Etham. Migdol imports a caſtle, and probably was a fortreſs erected upon one of the mountains of Pi-hahiroth. It was ſituated on the weſtern ſhore of the Red Sea.

† The Scripture does not mention that the people intended to ſtone Moſes, though we are told therein, that they addreſſed him in a ſtile of ſevere expoſtulation. "And they ſaid unto Moſes, becauſe there were no graves in Egypt, haſt thou taken us away to die in the wilderneſs? Wherefore haſt thou dealt thus with us, to carry us forth out of Egypt? Is not this the word that we did tell thee in Egypt, ſaying, Let us alone, that we may ſerve the Egyptians? For it had been better for us to ſerve the Egyptians, than that we ſhould die in the wilderneſs." Exod. XIV. 11, 12.

to the ſide of the ſea, Moſes, having his rod in his hand, thus ſupplicated the aſſiſtance of God:

"Almighty and benevolent father of the univerſe, thou ſeeſt thy faithful ſervants reduced to an extremity of diſtreſs, from whence they cannot hope for deliverance but by ſupernatural means. Thou, Oh God! who alone has power to relieve us in our calamities, be merciful to theſe thy people, who, confiding in thy gracious promiſes, are come out of Egypt, in pious obedience to thy holy will and command. To thee, O Lord, we appeal, who alone can reſcue us from the power of our unmerciful enemies. Speak comfort to thy ſervants, and in the depth of their deſpair inſpire them with a confidence of thy ſpeedy aſſiſtance. Our eſcape from our cruel enemies is obſtructed by the ſea and mountains: but that ſea and thoſe mountains are ſubject to thy command; and, at thy word, the one ſhall be levelled, and the other ſhall become dry land; or, if it ſhall be thy gracious will ſo to employ thy divine Providence, we may be thereby conveyed among the birds of the air, out of the power of our enemies."

The waters of the ſea divide, Exod. XIV. 21.

Having concluded this prayer, Moſes ſtruck the ſea with his rod; and the waters parted and recoiled, whereby a paſſage was produced for the eſcape of the Hebrews. Moſes now putting himſelf at the head of the people, directed them to return thanks to God, for yielding them ſo miraculous a means of deliverance, and commanded them, in the name of the Almighty, to follow him with chearfulneſs and alacrity through the way his beneficence had provided for them.

The Hebrews immediately marched forward, under the conduct of Moſes, while the Egyptians ſuppoſed them to be ruſhing into certain deſtruction. But obſerving, at length, that they had proceeded to a conſiderable diſtance from the ſhore, and continued to advance, without inconvenience or obſtruction, they determined to purſue them, not entertaining the leaſt ſuſpicion that the ſame road might not be traverſed by both armies with equal ſafety. The cavalry being drawn up in the van, and the infantry following at a ſmall diſtance, the whole body made a deſcent from the ſhore to the ſea. Some time being employed in preparations for their removal, and the men being encumbered with the weight of their arms, the Egyptians were not able to overtake the Iſraelites; but perceiving their ſafe arrival on the oppoſite ſhore, their eagerneſs for the purſuit increaſed; and when the whole army had paſſed to ſome diſtance beyond the banks of the ſea, the waters returned to their former channel, and not a man of the vaſt body of Egyptian troops eſcaped being drowned. This judgment was accompanied with a violent hurricane, together with ſtorms of hail and rain, and dreadful flaſhes of lightning and claps of thunder; and, in ſhort, all circumſtances combined to complete the horror of the ſcene, and manifeſt the dreadful ſituation of thoſe who provoke the diſpleaſure of God.

Pharah's army drowned, ver. 23, 28.

The tranſports of the Hebrews for this providential deliverance were beyond the powers of deſcription. They deemed themſelves now to be ſecure in the poſſeſſion of their liberties, ſince, by one ſignal act of the power of God, not a man was now living of thoſe who had ſo lately been their cruel oppreſſors. They employed the whole night in returning thankſgivings to God for their wonderful deliverance, and in ſinging hymns to his praiſe. On this occaſion Moſes compoſed a ſong in hexameter verſe, which is juſtly deemed a production of uncommon excellence, whether conſidered with reſpect to the elevation of ſentiment, grandeur of expreſſion, or beauty of imagery.

Moſes's ſong of thankſgiving, Exod. XV.

Of theſe occurrences I have been the more particular, on account of their being mentioned in Scripture. Though the fact is ſo remarkable, let no one diſpute the authenticity of what has been related concerning the ſeparation of the waters of the ſea, for the preſervation of the Hebrews; for it is not the only event of the kind that has happened, either by the providence of God, or by ſome natural operation. The ancient records inform us, that the Macedonians, under the command of Alexander, were witneſſes to a ſimilar inſtance, when, to afford a paſſage to the army, the Pamphylian ſea divided; the Almighty, in that caſe, making Alexander his inſtrument for effecting the deſtruction of the Perſian empire. All the hiſtorians who have written the life of that prince, concur in bearing teſtimony to the authenticity of the fact. But of this the reader will judge, according to his own diſcretion.

The day after that on which the Egyptian army was deſtroyed by the providence of God, the winds and the waves forced the arms of the deceaſed on the ſhore where the Hebrews had pitched their tents. Being thus ſupplied with the weapons of defence, of which his people were in ſuch neceſſity, Moſes conſidered this as another act of divine Providence. After the arms that had belonged to the Egyptians were diſtributed among the Hebrews, Moſes led them to mount Sinai, in order to offer up ſacrifices and oblations, in obedience to the command of God, for their wonderful deliverance from the power of the Egyptians.

THE

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS,

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK III.

From the Year of the World 2454 *to* 2455.

CHAPTER I.

The diſtreſſes of the Iſraelites in the wilderneſs. Bitter water made ſweet. The Iſraelites encamp at Helim. Their wants become more urgent. They threaten to ſtone Moſes, who expoſtulates with them, and they are pacified. Moſes prays. A flight of quails drops into the camp. The Iſraelites are miraculouſly ſupplied with manna for food. Upon the prayer of Moſes, water guſhes out of a rock.

THE joy of the Hebrews, on occaſion of their deliverance, was in a great meaſure abated by the unexpected and extreme difficulties and hardſhips they encountered in their paſſage through the wilderneſs to mount Sinai. They were entirely deſtitute of food, and the water was not only ſcarce, but of ſo bad a quality that even the cattle refuſed it. When the water that, in purſuance to the advice of Moſes, they had brought into the deſart, was exhauſted, to procure a further ſupply, they dug pits: this was a work of great difficulty, owing to the earth being very hard; and when they came to the water, it proved bitter and diſagreeable to the taſte.

Purſuing their journey, towards the evening they arrived at a place called Marah, on account of the taſte of the water in that part of the country; Marah, in the Hebrew, importing bitterneſs. They were much in want of proviſions: but being fatigued with travelling, they reſolved to make ſome ſtay at this place; and the rather as they diſcovered a pit, which though not yielding a quantity of water equal to the ſupply of ſo numerous a company, yet in ſome degree contributed to their convenience. However, the water proceeding from this pit was equally diſagreeable to the palate, and unfriendly to the health of man and beaſt with what they had before diſcovered.

Such was the diſtreſs of the people, that they promiſcuouſly reſorted to Moſes in great numbers, huſbands ſupplicating relief for their wives, wives for their huſbands, and parents for their children. Hereupon, Moſes entreated, that the Almighty would be pleaſed to correct the ill quality of the water, and render it agreeable to the palate and nutritious to the body: and God was pleaſed to attend to his ſupplication. Accidentally perceiving a piece of wood, Moſes cleft it lengthways in the middle, and caſt it into the waters; informing his followers, that the Almighty had been pleaſed to hearken to his prayers, and had promiſed to ſupply them with a wholeſome and agreeable beverage, on condition that they would chearfully conform to the directions which he, as the ſervant of God, ſhould preſcribe. The people then requeſted what meaſures he would adviſe them to purſue, in order to procure water of a better quality. He told them, that if the moſt robuſt and healthy of the men would induſtriouſly employ themſelves in caſting water out of the pit, when the better half ſhould be removed, the remainder would prove agreeable to the taſte, and nouriſhing to the conſtitution. The people complied with the direction of their leader; and, by the conſtant agitation of the water, it was ſo purified as to become a very acceptable beverage.

From Marah they directed their courſe towards Helim, the proſpect of which place gave them very pleaſing expectations; for obſerving a plantation of palm trees, they hoped to obtain from them the means of refreſhment, of which they ſtood in great need. Upon their arrival at the place, however, they were diſappointed; for the trees were of the dwarf kind, and their produce of fruit was very inconſiderable, the vegetation of that part of the country being checked and impeded by a deficiency of moiſture. Though there were twelve ſprings in Helim, they contributed nothing towards propagating the fruits of the earth; for the water of them did not riſe to a ſufficient height to contribute towards refreſhing and fructifying the ſoil.

The ſufferings of the Iſraelites continuing to encreaſe, their patience and ſubmiſſion diminiſhed in the ſame proportion. Their proviſion for thirty days being expended, and the wilderneſs affording them no ſupplies whatever of the neceſſaries of life, their ſufferings drove them to a ſtate of deſperation, when their ingratitude and outrage became ſo ungovernable, that they actually entertained the deſign of ſtoning Moſes to death, notwithſtanding deſtruction muſt inevitably have overtaken them, but for his pious interference and mediation. While the multitude were armed with ſtones ready to caſt at him, and were diſcharging againſt him the moſt intemperate and furious denunciations of vengeance, Moſes ſtood up in the midſt of them, and with a force of argument, and perſuaſiveneſs of elocution peculiar to himſelf, addreſſed them to the following effect:

The people threaten to ſtone Moſes.

He expoſtulates with the Hebrews.

"Do not imagine that complaints of your preſent ſufferings can be admitted in acquittal of the bounties you have formerly received. The difficulties you now labour under ſhould rather induce you to humble yourſelves in grateful acknowledgments for the bounties heretofor experienced by you. You have, on former occaſions, received bleſſings that exceeded your moſt ſanguine expectations; and, if you adhere to your obedience to the will of God, you may reaſonably expect, that the ſame providential care will attend you in your preſent emergency. Conſider, that the affliction you now endure may be impoſed as a trial, to prove whether you have that ſenſe of former benefits that you ought to entertain, and poſſeſs the patience, fortitude and reſolution wherewith your former deliverances ought to have inſpired you. I admoniſh you to be careful, that by an impatience under misfortunes, and thankleſſneſs for benefits received, you do not render yourſelves unworthy the future favour and protection of Heaven. I am the miniſter of that Almighty Power that redeemed you from the miſery of the Egyptian bondage; and your enmity againſt me is only on account of my ſtrict conformity to the commands of my heavenly Maſter, whoſe commiſſions in regard to the promotion of your welfare I have in no inſtance either tranſgreſſed or neglected."

Moſes now enumerated the judgments that had befallen the Egyptians for having detained the Iſraelites in a cruel bondage; particularly mentioning the river Nile being turned into the reſemblance of blood; the ſame water being poiſonous to the Egyptians at the time when it was perfectly ſalutary to the Hebrews; the opening of the ſea to afford a paſſage for the Iſraelites; the reflux of the waters, whereby their perſecuting adverſaries were deſtroyed; and the providential manner in which they had been enabled to put themſelves into a condition either of conqueſt or defence, by means of the arms of their former oppreſſors, that the waves and winds had driven on ſhore, near the ſpot of their encampment. Moſes then purſued his diſcourſe to the people in this manner:

"The omnipotence of the Creator is eternal, and his providence and mercy are not at this time leſs extenſive than they have been at any other period: therefore deſpair not of ſtill continuing under the protection of Heaven; but ſubmit to your ſufferings with temper and moderation, ſtill preſerving in your recollection, that, though for wiſe purpoſes withheld for a time, ſuccour may arrive early enough to compenſate you for all your misfortunes. Do not conſider yourſelves as neglected or abandoned: but believe, that it is the pleaſure of the Almighty to put you to the trial, as to whether you can endure a ſcarcity of the neceſſaries of life for the preſervation of your freedom and independency; or whether your minds are ſo debaſed, as to diſpoſe you, for the ſake of a ſenſual gratification, to put yourſelves upon a level with the brutes, that are fed and fattened only for the benefit of their owners. I do not thus addreſs you from any conſideration with regard to myſelf; but, that I may provide for your ſafety, I deem myſelf bound to be in ſome degree careful of my own. Every ſtone you may preſume to caſt againſt me on this occaſion, be aſſured will convey a cenſure upon, and a condemnation of the opperations of, the divine Author of your Beings, who, while he is proving the extent of your virtues, is preparing for the advancement of your happineſs."

The multitude are pacified by the perſuaſions of Moſes.

This addreſs reduced the turbulent multitude to order; and thoſe who were the moſt violently inflamed againſt their leader, being now appeaſed, threw down the ſtones which they had intended to diſcharge againſt him.

Moſes now retired to a neighbouring eminence, and fervently addreſſed himſelf to Heaven, praying, that God would extend his mercy to the afflicted Hebrews; for it was in his power alone to ſave them from the ruin wherewith they were threatened; beſeeching the Lord to pardon them for the intemperance of their complaints, and to impute all that was reprehenſible in their conduct to the frailty of human nature. Upon this prayer, God was pleaſed to inform Moſes, that he would provide for the ſafety and welfare of the people, and ſpeedily ſupply them with whatever their neceſſities required.

A flight of quails falls into the camp, Exod. XVI. 13.

Having received this aſſurance from the Almighty, Moſes returned to the people, and informed them of the promiſe he had received of ſpeedy relief, which was ſhortly verified by a wonderful flight of quails being ſent for their ſubſiſtence. Near the Arabian Gulph are great quantities of thoſe birds, and a vaſt flight of them were ſo greatly fatigued by flying over the water, that they dropped into the camp of the Hebrews. This relief the people properly conſidered as proceeding immediately from the bounty of Heaven. Moſes addreſſed himſelf to Heaven, thanking God for the benefits already beſtowed, and for the gracious promiſes that yet remained to be fulfilled.

Manna deſcends from Heaven, Ver. 4, 15.

Soon after the hunger of the Hebrews had been appeaſed by the birds that had fallen into the camp, another ſupply of proviſion was ſent them from Heaven. Moſes being at his devotions, while holding up his hands in the attitude of prayer, a kind of dew dropped from the clouds, which ſtuck to, and thickened upon his hands. Upon taſting it, and finding it to be a ſecond miraculous kind of food, he was greatly rejoiced. This being the winter ſeaſon, many of the Hebrews inſiſted that this dew was ſnow: but Moſes corrected their miſtake, informing them, that it was a nouriſhment ſent from Heaven to prevent the calamity of famine. After the example of Moſes, the people taſted of it, and found it exceedingly grateful to the palate, it having the flavour of honey, and alſo ſome reſemblance to Bdellium, being in particles each about the ſize of a coriander ſeed.

There being much ſtrife and contention in gathering the food, an edict was publiſhed, prohibiting any perſon from collecting any greater quantity of it than the meaſure of an omer in one day; and they were at the ſame time informed that the ſupplies of this food would be daily continued. The above order was iſſued for preventing the ſtrong and robuſt from obtaining a greater portion than was their due, to the injury of the weak and infirm. Thoſe who collected more than the quantity preſcribed, which was ſufficient for a day's ſuſtenance, derived no benefit from their greedineſs; for the day after falling it became corrupted and ſerved to generate maggots. There was in this ſpecies of food a quality very remarkable; for whoever taſted it had no deſire of eating any thing elſe. In the ſame country dews and rains are very frequent, having a reſemblance to what deſcended from Heaven, at the interceſſion of Moſes. The Hebrews call it manna, on account of the word * man, in our tongue, importing the interrogation, What is this? With great expreſſions of joy the Hebrews returned God thanks for this bleſſing, on which they ſubſiſted during the forty years that they continued in the wilderneſs.

Upon the removal of the Iſraelites to Rephidim, their thirſt became intolerable, having found but a very ſcanty ſupply of water for ſeveral days before. Being now in a country that produced no water, their diſtreſs was greatly aggravated; and they again murmured againſt Moſes; who, upon obſerving their impatience and diſcontent, retired to his devotions, beſeeching, that God, who had ſupplied them with food, would not ſuffer them to labour under the affliction of wanting water to abate their thirſt. Hereupon the Almighty was pleaſed to inform Moſes, that a ſtream of water ſhould be found where it could not be expected; at the ſame time commanding him to ſtrike with his rod a neighbouring rock, from whence immediately would iſſue a ſtream of pure water, more than ſufficient to ſupply their wants.

Moſes now went back to the people, who were impatiently expecting his return; and as he deſcended from the mountain, they looked

---

* Druſius in his Queſt. Hebr. lib. I. p. 62. and in his Difficil. loc. Exod. XXVI. rejects this interpretation.

looked ſteadfaſtly at him, to diſcover whether his countenance was expreſſive of good or ill tydings. He informed the multitude, that God had been pleaſed to ſignify his deſign of alleviating their thirſt in a manner which they could little expect; and pointing to a rock, he told them a river would ſhortly iſſue therefrom. They ſuppoſed that they were to penetrate the rock, in order to form a paſſage for the water; an undertaking that muſt have been attended with great labour, which would have been the more diſagreeable, as they were already exhauſted with fatigue, and almoſt ready to periſh with thirſt. However Moſes undeceived them, by ſtriking the rock with his rod: and at the ſame inſtant a copious ſtream of pure and wholeſome water iſſued from it, to the great aſtoniſhment and joy of the multitude. In the holy Scripture, which is depoſited in the temple, it is recorded that the Almighty predicted to Moſes that a ſtream of water ſhould iſſue from a rock, in the manner we have above related.

Water guſhes out of a rock, Exod. XVII 2.

CHAP. II.

The kings of the Amalekites join in a confederacy againſt the Hebrews. Moſes encourages the people. Joſhuah appointed general of the Hebrews. The armies engage, and the Amalekites are defeated. In gratitude for the victory, Moſes erects an altar and offers up ſacrifice. He leads the people to mount Sinai.

THE great reputation which the Hebrews had attained, excited the jealouſy and terror of the inhabitants of the ſeveral neighbouring parts of the country; and they entered into conſultation for adopting means either for diſperſing, or utterly annihilating that people. They appointed ambaſſadors to treat with the different princes concerning a league of confederacy, the object of which was, to reduce the power of, if not abſolutely exterminate from the face of the earth, the whole Hebrew nation. Thoſe who were chiefly inſtrumental in fomenting this confederacy were the inhabitants of the country of Gobol, and thoſe of the city of Petra. They were eſteemed the moſt warlike people in that part of the country, and commonly went under the appellation of the Amalektes. The kings of the places above mentioned not only concerted meaſures between themſelves for carrying on a war againſt the Hebrews, but prevailed upon other communities to engage in the ſame enterprize.

The confederated council being aſſembled, it was contended that, "The Hebrews were a fugitive race of worthleſs people, who had abſconded from ſlavery in Egypt with a deſign of committing hoſtilities againſt other people, and ſubſiſting upon the plunder they ſhould obtain; that the wiſeſt expedient would be, to attack and ſubdue them, while their army was yet in a rude and undiſciplined ſtate, and before they ſhould gain poſſeſſion of a fruitful province, to ſupply them with the means of recovering from that ſtate of debility and wretchedneſs, in which the toil they had undergone, and a want of the common neceſſaries of life, had involved them; that by attacking them in the wilderneſs, they might be eaſily ſubdued; whereas, if they ſhould be diſregarded till they ſhould gain poſſeſſion of places of ſtrength and importance, and increaſe in power and reputation, the danger attending the projected enterprize, and the uncertainty of its ſucceſs, would be greatly augmented." After the matter had been fully diſcuſſed, the council unanimouſly reſolved upon making an immediate and reſolute attack upon the Hebrews, in order to compel them to abandon that part of the country.

Moſes, who till this time had not expected any oppoſition or annoyance from the natives, was greatly alarmed upon receiving intelligence of their hoſtile preparations; and by the ſame circumſtance his followers were thrown into great conſternation; for though they were in poſſeſſion of the arms that had belonged to the Egyptians, they were, in other reſpects, deſtitute of every accommodation neceſſary for enabling them to encounter a powerful enemy with a proſpect of ſucceſs. Moſes admoniſhed his followers to recollect the various declarations God had been pleaſed to make in their favour, particulariſing the event of their redemption from the Egyptian bondage, and other bleſſings conferred upon them; thereby encouraging a confidence of victory, if a war ſhould enſue. "Conſider, ſaid Moſes, that in counterbalance of the powerful arms, money and proviſions of our enemies, that God is friendly to our cauſe, and will aſſuredly fight our battles. Neither force nor ſtratagem can poſſibly be of any avail to our enemies, ſince all the advantages they enjoy will not enable them to contend with that omnipotent Being through whoſe bounty you have been relieved from greater calamities than thoſe you are now threatened with. That you are ſtill under the protection of God, is manifeſt from his affording you a ſafe retreat through the ſea, whereby your adverſaries were deſtroyed, and from the late inſtance of his goodneſs in relieving your wants, when you were under the greateſt extremities of thirſt and hunger. Reflect, that if we prove victorious over the enemies that are preparing to aſſault us, we ſhall immediately gain poſſeſſion of all thoſe accommodations and conveniencies of which we are at preſent ſo greatly in need, and which ſo eſſentially contribute towards the happineſs of life: therefore do not ſuffer your fortitude and reſolution to abandon you, but conduct yourſelves conſiſtently with the character you have hitherto maintained."

This addreſs animated the Hebrews with the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs: and Moſes obſerving in how favourable a diſpoſition they were, aſſembled the principals of the ſeveral tribes, and gave them advice and inſtructions for their conduct both ſeparately and collectively; he admoniſhed the young men to conform to the directions of their elders, and recommended the whole body to yield implicit obedience to their commander

The apprehenſions of the people were now ſo completely diſſipated, that the danger ſo terrible to them but a ſhort time before, they now looked upon with contempt, expreſſing an anxious impatience of coming immediately to battle, which they truſted would terminate in their favour, and prove the means of relieving them from all the afflictions they had ſo long endured. They earneſtly requeſted, that Moſes would permit them to take advantage of the preſent opportunity of attacking the enemy, when they could ſcarcely fail of obtaining a complete conqueſt, ſince the whole army appeared to be ſo gloriouſly animated with a ſpirit of heroiſm and intrepidity.

Joſhuah appointed general of the Hebrew army, Exod. XVII. 9.

From the vaſt body of the Hebrews, Moſes ſelected ſuch as were the beſt qualified for war, and gave the command of them to Joſhuah, the ſon of Nun, and of the tribe of Ephraim. Joſhuah was the diſciple of Moſes; and ſuch were his righteouſneſs and virtue, as to do honour to ſo admirable an inſtructor; he was alſo eminent for valour, military ſkill, and prudence. Moſes then ſent out ſeveral detachments, ſome to ſecure the water, ſome to guard the tents, and others to attend to the ſafety of the women and children.

Every neceſſary preparation being made for battle, the troops remained under arms the whole night, impatiently expecting the word of command from Moſes, who continued in council with Joſhuah till the next morning, communicating directions to him for conducting the engagement. Upon the approach of day-break, Moſes recommended Joſhuah to juſtify by his actions the exalted opinion his countrymen entertained of his character. The ſame advice he recommended to the other commanders; and, in ſhort, exerted every poſſible endeavour to inſpire the whole army with fortitude and intrepidity, and a ſtrict obedience to martial diſcipline.

Having thus animated his people with a ſenſe of righteouſneſs and martial fame, Moſes commended them to the protection of God, and then retired to the ſummit of the mountain. The battle immediately commenced, and was maintained with ſurpriſing bravery on both ſides. In the mean time, Moſes fervently appealed to Heaven, beſeeching that the Almighty would crown the arms of the Iſraelites with ſucceſs: he obſerved, that while his hands were elevated towards Heaven, in the attitude of prayer, his people were manifeſtly ſucceſsful; and, on the contrary, when through wearineſs, he was no longer able to keep his hands in that poſition, the advantage was on the ſide of the enemy. Hereupon he requeſted that his brother Aaran, and Hur, the huſband of his ſiſter Mariam, would ſtand on either ſide of him, and ſupport his hands from falling. After a furious conteſt, the Amalekites were totally defeated. So dreadful was the ſlaughter of the enemy, that no eſtimate could be formed of the number of the ſlain: but, in the courſe of this obſtinate contention, not a ſingle life was loſt in the whole Hebrew army. The miſerable remainder of the Amalekites muſt have been cut off, but that their eſcape was favoured by the darkneſs of night.

The Hebrews defeat the Amalekites with great ſlaughter, ver. 13.

The hiſtory of our anceſtors does not exhibit a more glorious inſtance of ſucceſs in war, than the ſignal conqueſt obtained over the Amalekites; for the conſequence thereof was not only deſtructive to the power of a formidable enemy, but the atchievement ſtruck the ſurrounding provinces with terror and diſmay, and at the ſame time advanced the military reputation of the Hebrews into an object of admiration to all other people.

The booty obtained was immenſe, in the camp of the enemy being found effects of ineſtimable value, conſiſting of gold and ſilver plate, minted money, braſs veſſels of curious workmanſhip, richly embroidered apparel, valuable arms, clothes, and accoutrements for the ſoldiery, horſes and other cattle, and, in ſhort, an infinity of other articles for the accommodation of all ranks of people, to whom theſe great acquiſitions were the more acceptable, as they had, but the day before, been threatened with all the complicated miſeries of famine. Though the immediate advantages were unqueſtionably very great, they were by no means comparable with the conſequences that ſubſequently reſulted to the victors from this ſplendid atchievement; for their ſucceſs encouraged the Hebrews to great and heroic undertakings, and occaſioned them to be looked upon with awe and reſpect by the people of all the ſurrounding provinces.

On the day after the battle, Moſes cauſed the ſlain to be ſtripped of their apparel, and the ſcattered arms of the vanquiſhed enemy to be collected for the uſe of his own people. In juſtice to Joſhuah, Moſes pronounced a public eulogy on his valour and military ſkill, and the whole army re-echod the commendations ſo worthily beſtowed upon that illuſtrious warrior.

An altar erected and inſcribed to God, Exod. XVII. 15.

On occaſion of this victory, Moſes erected an altar, bearing the following inſcription: TO GOD THE CONQUEROR; thereby avowing the Almighty as the author of the ſucceſs of the Hebrews; and he devoutly worſhipped him with ſacrifices and thankſgivings, at the ſame time predicted the entire deſtruction of the Amalekites, as a deſerved puniſhment for their baſe and cowardly attempt upon the Hebrews, when they were reduced to ſo diſtreſsful a ſituation in the wilderneſs. The ſolemnity was concluded with a feſtival and rejoicings; Joſhuah, the reſt of the commanders, and all the ſoldiery, being entertained in a manner ſuitable to the occaſion.

The above was the firſt battle fought by the Hebrews after their emancipation from the Egyptian bondage. After ſome days employed in rejoicings and recruiting the ſtrength and ſpirits of the people with reſt, and other refreſhments, Moſes led them forward, the army being not only under better diſcipline, but greatly increaſed in number; for the arms taken from the enemy ſerved for the equipment of a conſiderable number of Hebrews, who before were unprovided with the implements of war.

By eaſy marches, Moſes led his people to mount Sinai, where, as we have already related, he ſaw the viſion of the burning buſh. They arrived at the mountain in the third month after their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage.

CHAP. III.

Raguel repairs to Moſes, and congratulates him upon his ſucceſs againſt the Amalekites. A ſacrifice offered to God; and the multitude entertained.

IMMEDIATELY upon receiving intelligence of the wonderful ſucceſs of Moſes, Raguel ſet out to congratulate him on the occaſion, and enquire after the welfare of his daughter Zipporah, or Sephora, and their children. Moſes was exceedingly rejoiced at the arrival of his father-in-law, and on that occaſion offered up a ſacrifice to the Almighty, and gave an entertainment to all his people, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſpot where he had ſeen the miracle of the burning buſh, they being diſtinguiſhed in the order of their reſpective tribes and families. During the feſtival, Aaron and Raguel were joined by the whole of this numerous company in chanting hymns to the honour and praiſe of God, attributing the bleſſing of being reſtored to freedom, ſafety and happineſs, to the gracious interpoſition of his Providence. Raguel alſo ſang in celebration of the dignity of the character of Moſes, by whoſe extraordinary wiſdom and unabating perſeverance, ſuch glorious ſucceſſes had been obtained.

CHAP IV.

Raguel's advice to Moſes on the ſubjects of religion and government. Inſtance of the diſintereſtedneſs and modeſty of Moſes.

SO great was the reverence and reſpect in which the Hebrews held the ſplendid abilities and ſtrict integrity of Moſes, that he became their ſole judge and arbiter in all their diſputes, contentions, and miſunderſtandings, they conſidering no other man ſo well qualified for the adminiſtration of public juſtice; and even thoſe againſt whom his deciſions were pronounced, were content to acquieſce therein, being fully perſuaded that he was actuated by the principles of honour and integrity, and was incapable of being influenced to an unfair determination by avarice or corruption.

Raguel obſerved one day, while his ſon-in-law was hearing cauſes, that he was continually harraſſed and oppreſſed with importunities to attend to public buſineſs, and conceived an idea of ſuggeſting to him a means for relieving himſelf of a part of the fatigue attending his public avocations. Therefore, the buſineſs of the day was no ſooner concluded, than Raguel addreſſed him in the following manner:

Raguel's advice to Moſes, XVIII. 14.

"The multiplicity of buſineſs in which you are engaged, to me appears too great to be diſpatched by one man. So numerous are the private cauſes between individuals now depending, that you will not be able to go through them in any moderate time; and freſh ones will be daily inſtituted. I, therefore, would adviſe you to appoint other perſons to act as your deputies for the diſcharge of the above function. But all matters relating to religion and government, it muſt be your peculiar and excluſive province to attend to; for it is unanimouſly allowed, that there is no man ſo admirably qualified as yourſelf for undertaking the care of ſo many ſouls. You cannot be ignorant of the excellent faculties to aſſault us, we ſhall immediately gain poſſeſſion of all thoſe accommodations and conveniencies of which we are at preſent ſo greatly in need, and which ſo eſſentially contribute towards the happineſs of life: therefore do not ſuffer your fortitude and reſolution to abandon you, but conduct yourſelves conſiſtently with the character you have hitherto maintained."

This addreſs animated the Hebrews with the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs: and Moſes obſerving in how favourable a diſpoſition they were, aſſembled the principals of the ſeveral tribes, and gave them advice and inſtructions for their conduct both ſeparately and collectively; he admoniſhed the young men to conform to the directions of their elders, and recommended the whole body to yield implicit obedience to their commander

The apprehenſions of the people were now ſo completely diſſipated, that the danger ſo terrible to them but a ſhort time before, they now looked upon with contempt, expreſſing an anxious impatience of coming immediately to battle, which they truſted would terminate in their favour, and prove the means of relieving them from all the afflictions they had ſo long endured. They earneſtly requeſted, that Moſes would permit them to take advantage of the preſent opportunity of attacking the enemy, when they could ſcarcely fail of obtaining a complete conqueſt, ſince the whole army appeared to be ſo glorioſly animated with a ſpirit of heroiſm and intrepidity.

Joſhuah appointed general of the Hebrew army, Exod. XVII. 9.

From the vaſt body of the Hebrews, Moſes ſelected ſuch as were the beſt qualified for war, and gave the command of them to Joſhuah, the ſon of Nun, and of the tribe of Ephraim. Joſhuah was the diſciple of Moſes; and ſuch were his righteouſneſs and virtue, as to do honour to ſo admirable an inſtructor; he was alſo eminent for valour, military ſkill, and prudence. Moſes then ſent out ſeveral detachments, ſome to ſecure the water, ſome to guard the tents, and others to attend to the ſafety of the women and children.

Every neceſſary preparation being made for battle, the troops remained under arms the whole night, impatiently expecting the word of command from Moſes, who continued in council with Joſhuah till the next morning, communicating directions to him for conducting the engagement. Upon the approach of day-break, Moſes recommended Joſhuah to juſtify by his actions the exalted opinion his countrymen entertained of his character. The ſame advice he recommended to the other commanders; and, in ſhort, exerted every poſſible endeavour to inſpire the whole army with fortitude and intrepidity, and a ſtrict obedience to martial diſcipline.

Having thus animated his people with a ſenſe of righteouſneſs and martial fame, Moſes commended them to the protection of God, and then retired to the ſummit of the mountain. The battle immediately commenced, and was maintained with ſurpriſing bravery on both ſides. In the mean time, Moſes fervently appealed to Heaven, beſeeching that the Almighty would crown the arms of the Iſraelites with ſucceſs: he obſerved, that while his hands were elevated towards Heaven, in the attitude of prayer, his people were manifeſtly ſucceſsful; and, on the contrary, when through wearineſs, he was no longer able to keep his hands in that poſition, the advantage was on the ſide of the enemy. Hereupon he requeſted that his brother Aaran, and Hur, the huſband of his ſiſter Mariam, would ſtand on either ſide of him, and ſupport his hands from falling. After a furious conteſt, the Amalekites were totally defeated. So dreadful was the ſlaughter of the enemy, that no eſtimate could be formed of the number of the ſlain: but, in the courſe of this obſtinate contention, not a ſingle life was loſt in the whole Hebrew army. The miſerable remainder of the Amalekites muſt have been cut off, but that their eſcape was favoured by the darkneſs of night.

The Hebrews defeat the Amalekites with great ſlaughter, ver. 13.

The hiſtory of our anceſtors does not exhibit a more glorious inſtance of ſucceſs in war, than the ſignal conqueſt obtained over the Amalekites; for the conſequence thereof was not only deſtructive to the power of a formidable enemy, but the atchievement ſtruck the ſurrounding provinces with terror and diſmay, and at the ſame time advanced the military reputation of the Hebrews into an object of admiration to all other people.

The booty obtained was immenſe, in the camp of the enemy being found effects of ineſtimable value, conſiſting of gold and ſilver plate, minted money, braſs veſſels of curious workmanſhip, richly embroidered apparel, valuable arms, clothes, and accoutrements for the ſoldiery, horſes and other cattle, and, in ſhort, an infinity of other articles for the accommodation of all ranks of people, to whom theſe great acquiſitions were the more acceptable, as they had, but the day before, been threatened with all the complicated miſeries of famine. Though the immediate advantages were unqueſtionably very great, they were by no means comparable with the conſequences that ſubſequently reſulted to the victors from this ſplendid atchievement; for their ſucceſs encouraged the Hebrews to great and heroic undertakings, and occaſioned them to be looked upon with awe and reſpect by the people of all the ſurrounding provinces.

On the day after the battle, Moſes cauſed the ſlain to be ſtripped of their apparel, and the ſcattered arms of the vanquiſhed enemy to be collected for the uſe of his own people. In juſtice to Joſhuah, Moſes pronounced a public eulogy on his valour and military ſkill, and the whole army re-echod the commendations ſo worthily beſtowed upon that illuſtrious warrior.

n altar rected and nſcribed to od, Exod. XVII. 15.

On occaſion of this victory, Moſes erected an altar, bearing the following inſcription: TO GOD THE CONQUEROR; thereby avowing the Almighty as the author of the ſucceſs of the Hebrews; and he devoutly worſhipped him with ſacrifices and thankſgivings, at the ſame time predicted the entire deſtruction of the Amalekites, as a deſerved puniſhment for their baſe and cowardly attempt upon the Hebrews, when they were reduced to ſo diſtreſsful a ſituation in the wilderneſs. The ſolemnity was concluded with a feſtival and rejoicings; Joſhuah, the reſt of the commanders, and all the ſoldiery, being entertained in a manner ſuitable to the occaſion.

The above was the firſt battle fought by the Hebrews after their emancipation from the Egyptian bondage. After ſome days employed in rejoicings and recruiting the ſtrength and ſpirits of the people with reſt, and other refreſhments, Moſes led them forward, the army being not only under better diſcipline, but greatly increaſed in number; for the arms taken from the enemy ſerved for the equipment of a conſiderable number of Hebrews, who before were unprovided with the implements of war.

By eaſy marches, Moſes led his people to mount Sinai, where, as we have already related, he ſaw the viſion of the burning buſh. They arrived at the mountain in the third month after their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage.

CHAP. III.

Raguel repairs to Moſes, and congratulates him upon his ſucceſs againſt the Amalekites. A ſacrifice offered to God; and the multitude entertained.

IMMEDIATELY upon receiving intelligence of the wonderful ſucceſs of Moſes, Raguel ſet out to congratulate him on the occaſion, and enquire after the welfare of his daughter Zipporah, or Sephora, and their children. Moſes was exceedingly rejoiced at the arrival of his father-in-law, and on that occaſion offered up a ſacrifice to the Almighty, and gave an entertainment to all his people, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſpot where he had ſeen the miracle of the burning buſh, they being diſtinguiſhed in the order of their reſpective tribes and families. During the feſtival, Aaron and Raguel were joined by the whole of this numerous company in chanting hymns to the honour and praiſe of God, attributing the bleſſing of being reſtored to freedom, ſafety and happineſs, to the gracious interpoſition of his Providence. Raguel alſo ſang in celebration of the dignity of the character of Moſes, by whoſe extraordinary wiſdom and unabating perſeverance, ſuch glorious ſucceſſes had been obtained.

CHAP IV.

Raguel's advice to Moſes on the ſubjects of religion and government. Inſtance of the diſintereſtedneſs and modeſty of Moſes.

SO great was the reverence and reſpect in which the Hebrews held the ſplendid abilities and ſtrict integrity of Moſes, that he became their ſole judge and arbiter in all their diſputes, contentions, and miſunderſtandings, they conſidering no other man ſo well qualified for the adminiſtration of public juſtice; and even thoſe againſt whom his deciſions were pronounced, were content to acquieſce therein, being fully perſuaded that he was actuated by the principles of honour and integrity, and was incapable of being influenced to an unfair determination by avarice or corruption.

Raguel obſerved one day, while his ſon-in-law was hearing cauſes, that he was continually harraſſed and oppreſſed with importunities to attend to public buſineſs, and conceived an idea of ſuggeſting to him a means for relieving himſelf of a part of the fatigue attending his public avocations. Therefore, the buſineſs of the day was no ſooner concluded, than Raguel addreſſed him in the following manner:

Raguel's advice to Moſes, XVIII. 14.

“ The multiplicity of buſineſs in which you are engaged, to me appears too great to be diſpatched by one man. So numerous are the private cauſes between individuals now depending, that you will not be able to go through them in any moderate time; and freſh ones will be daily inſtituted. I, therefore, would adviſe you to appoint other perſons to act as your deputies for the diſcharge of the above function. But all matters relating to religion and government, it muſt be your peculiar and excluſive province to attend to; for it is unanimouſly allowed, that there is no man ſo admirably qualified as yourſelf for undertaking the care of ſo many ſouls. You cannot be ignorant of the excellent faculties wherewith it hath pleaſed the Almighty to endow you; how inſtrumental you have been in the preſervation of the people under your care; and how neceſſary your counſel and aſſiſtance will be to their future welfare. Therefore, let your attention be particularly directed towards the promotion of religion and virtue, whereby you will largely contribute to your own welfare, and that of the people under your direction; and transfer to ſuch other perſons as you may judge to be beſt qualified, the charge of terminating civil cauſes and controverſies. With regard to other affairs, I would adviſe you to adopt ſuch regulations as I ſhall now particularize. After a general muſter of the people, divide them into companies, each of ten thouſand men, the proper officers being appointed to command them. After this, ſubdivide them into thouſands, five hundreds, hundreds, and fifties, with officers over thoſe parties; let them be again divided into thirties, twenties and tens; the ſeveral diviſions having diſtinct officers bearing names according to the number of men under their command. This being done, let judges, who are approved by the people, as men of probity and virtue, be appointed, that private cauſes may be referred to their deciſion: but, when caſes of difficulty and importance occur, it will be proper that you ſhould preſide, to hear the teſtimony on either ſide, and pronounce judgment thereon. By introducing theſe regulations, juſtice will be done to the public, and your attendance to your religious duties, and to the government of the people will be ſubject to little interruption."

The juſtice and modeſty of Moſes, ver. 24.

Raguel's plan of regulation being highly approved by Moſes, he determined to carry it into immediate execution, and accordingly iſſued orders for that purpoſe: but, at the ſame time, he diſclaimed the merit of ſuggeſting the project, avowing, before the people, that they were indebted to the wiſdom of his father-in-law for deviſing thoſe excellent improvements in the ſyſtem of government.

CHAP. V.

Moſes repairs to mount Sinai. A dreadful tempeſt. The people are apprehenſive for the ſafety of Moſes. He recapitulates the mercies of the Almighty towards the Iſraelites. The voice of God heard by the Hebrews. The two tables of the decalogue, or the ten commandments. Moſes again goes to mount Sinai, where he faſts forty days and forty nights. Upon his deſcent from the mountain he gives orders for building a tabernacle.

HAVING aſſembled the people, Moſes informed them, that he was preparing to go to the ſummit of mount Sinai, for the purpoſe of conſulting the divine will and pleaſure of God; and that he hoped, on his return, to be able to communicate ſuch tidings as would be highly acceptable to them. He then commanded them to pitch their tents at the foot of the mountain, and departed.

Mount Sinai is conſiderably the moſt elevated ſpot in the country where it is ſituated, and from its extreme height, and the cragginess of its rocks, it appears to be inacceſſible. Upon the credit of an ancient tradition, purporting that it is the reſidence of God, the place is held in ſacred veneration. In obedience to the command of Moſes, the Hebrews removed their tents to the foot of the mountain; and lifting up their hands to Heaven, contemplated what might be the happy tidings which Moſes had ſignified he ſhould bring them. During the abſence of Moſes, they kept feſtivals, purifying themſelves, and living in continence from their wives, in obedience to the command they had received. They fervently prayed to the Almighty, that he would prove gracious and merciful to Moſes, and, through his agency, confer upon them means of future peace, ſafety and happineſs. On this occaſion they had magnificent entertainments, and the women and children were dreſſed with unuſual ſplendour. Theſe ceremonials continued two days; on the third, before the riſing of the ſun, the firmament being then remarkably clear, the whole encampment of the Hebrews was invelopped in a thick cloud. This prodigy, which was the firſt of the kind, was followed by a dreadful tempeſt of thunder, lightning, wind and rain, whereby the preſence of the Almighty upon the mountain was indicated. Of this the reader will judge according to his own diſcretion; being apprized, that I ſhould by no means hold myſelf juſtified, were I to depart from what is recorded in the holy Scriptures. The above occurrences threw the Hebrews into ſuch conſternation, that they did not dare to quit their tents, fearing that the vengeance of Heaven had fallen upon Moſes, and that they ſhould ſpeedily experience the ſame fate. While they were under theſe dreadful apprehenſions, Moſes deſcended from the mountain, ſuch dignity appearing in his deportment, and ſuch expreſſions of joy and ſatisfaction in his countenance, as not only to diſſipate the fears of the people, but inſpire them alſo with the pleaſing hope, that the Almighty had been pleaſed graciouſly to accept his prayers, and that he was now prepared to communicate to them the good tidings he had mentioned before aſcending the mountain. Upon the appearance of Moſes, the violence of the tempeſt ſubſided, and all the elements recovered their former ſtate of ſerenity.

Moſes now ſummoned the people to aſſemble, in order that they might be informed of what the Almighty had commanded him to deliver to them; and when they had collected themſelves together, ſtationing himſelf upon a riſing ground, for the convenience of being better ſeen and heard, he addreſſed himſelf in the following manner to the multitude:

"Hebrews and brethren! God having hitherto been propitious to your prayers, I am to inform you, that on the preſent occaſion, he received your meſſenger with his accuſtomed benevolence, grace, and condeſcention: and be aſſured, that he will continue his protection to you, and preſcribe ſuch rules for the regulation of your lives, as, if you comport yourſelves in ſtrict obedience thereto, cannot fail to render you as happy and proſperous as you can hope or expect to be. By the reverence you bear towards the Almighty Creator of the world, and by the ſignal bleſſings he hath, from time to time, been pleaſed to beſtow upon you, I now ſeriouſly exhort you, not to treat ſlightly what I am, in obedience to his commands, preparing to communicate to you. Let not my deficiency in conſideration and importance induce you to have the leſs reſpect for the matter which I am about to communicate: but be aſſured, that it is God who ſpeaks to you at this moment, though the voice of a weak mortal is made the humble inſtrument whereby his gracious intentions are to be communicated and explained. Conſider me no longer in the character of Moſes, the ſon of Amaram and Jochabel, but as the agent for reporting to you the gracious deſigns of that Almighty Being, who, for your benefit, cauſed the waters of the river Nile to be turned into blood, and the hearts of your Egyptian oppreſſors to be tormented with a variety of plagues; who formed a paſſage for you, through the ſea, and ſupplied you with food from Heaven, and water from the rock; who created Adam, and made him lord of the whole earth; who preſerved Noah from deſtruction by the deluge; gave the land of Canaan into the poſſeſſion of Abraham, our progenitor; made Sarah bring forth Iſaac, in the old age of his parents; bleſſed Jacob with twelve righteous ſons, and advanced Joſeph to the government of Egypt; in ſhort, it is that almighty and benificent Being who has appointed me to explain his holy precepts and commands; and remember, that you are only to conſider me as the interpreter of his righteous will. I hereby ſolemnly admoniſh you, ſtrictly to adhere to the commands of God; for by keeping them inviolate, you will obtain ample rewards; inaſmuch as your wives will be fruitful, your lands will bring forth abundant increaſe; you will be a terror to your enemies; all your undertakings will be ſucceſsful, and happineſs will attend you through life. This I ſpeak to you with the firmeſt confidence; for I have been ſo happy as to be admitted into the preſence of God, and have heard his divine voice. I ſhall now conclude with an aſſurance, that God has a fatherly tenderneſs for you, and that, if you ſtrictly obey his commands, he will continue his protection to you and your poſterity."

oſes enu-
erates ſe-
eral of
od's mer-
ies to the
raelites.

After the above diſcourſe, Moſes ordered the men, accompanied with their wives and children, to follow him, ſaying he would conduct them to a place where they ſhould hear the inſtructions for regulating the conduct of their lives pronounced by the voice of God. This he did in order that the promulgation of the law might more deeply impreſs their minds, and gain a degree of authority greater than was to be expected from whatever documents might proceed from the lips of a mortal. The people followed Moſes to ſome diſtance from their camp, and diſtinctly heard a voice from Heaven pronounce thoſe ten holy commandments, which Moſes afterwards delivered to them, they being written with the ſacred hand of God upon the two tables of the Decalogue, each of which contained five articles. A literal publication of theſe commandments would be a prophane act: but the ſubſtance of them is as follows:

The Hebrews diſtinctly hear the voice of God.

The ten Commandments, Exod. XX.

I. That there is but one God, who alone is the proper object of worſhip.

II. That no image or reſemblance of a living creature is to be adored.

III. That no man is raſhly to ſwear by the name of the Almighty.

IV. That the holineſs of the Sabbath muſt not be prophaned by labouring in the common avocations of life.

V. That children muſt honour their parents.

VI. That we muſt not commit murder.

VII. That we are not to commit Adultery.

VIII. That we muſt not commit theft.

IX. That we are not to bear falſe witneſs.

X. That we are not to covet any thing that is the property of our neighbour.

The people having heard the above laws, which Moſes had before explained, pronounced by the voice of God, they expreſſed themſelves perfectly ſatisfied of their divine authority, and promiſed to live in exact conformity thereto; after which the aſſembly diſperſed.

Soon after the ten commandments had been delivered to them, the multitude frequently reſorted to the tent of Moſes, ſupplicating, that he would eſtabliſh a body of laws for the better regulation of the civil concerns of life. In compliance with their deſires, he formed a number of ordinances, whereby they were inſtructed as to what things they might do, and what they were to refrain from, and likewiſe in what manner they were to conduct themſelves towards each other. For the particulars of theſe laws, I muſt refer the reader to a ſeparate tract, wherein they will be found contained.

Moſes goes again to the ſummit of mount Sinai, Exod. XXIV 13, 18.

About this time, Moſes went to mount Sinai, having previouſly informed the people of his deſign, that they might be witneſs to his aſcent. Remaining upon the mountain forty days, and forty nights, the unuſual length of his abſence, greatly alarmed the Hebrews, who were apprehenſive that ſome misfortune had happened to him. Hereupon, various opinions were entertained: ſome imagined him to be devoured by wild beaſts; others, who had a greater reverence for him, ſuppoſed, that God had taken him up to Heaven. They obſerved, that, if he were devoured by ſavage animals, that circumſtance could not be urged as derogatory to his character, it being a misfortune to which human beings were conſtantly expoſed; and with regard to his being taken up to God, the conjecture was conſiſtent with the veneration they had for his righteouſneſs and virtue. Conſidering the loſs of ſo truly excellent a governor, as irreparable, their grief was without bounds; and they durſt not venture out of the camp, on account of the injunction he had laid upon them to wait his return.

At the end of forty days, and forty nights, during which time he had neither food nor drink, Moſes deſcended from the mountain, to the inexpreſſible joy of the multitude. He informed them, that they were ſtill under the care and protection of divine Providence; for, during his abſence, he had been inſtructed in the means of rendering themſelves acceptable to the Almighty, and ſecuring proſperity and happineſs through life. He then told them, there would in future be no neceſſity for travelling to the ſummit of mount Sinai; for the Almighty had commanded, that a tabernacle ſhould be built, to which, according to his divine pleaſure, he might deſcend, and be among them; and that this tabernacle was to recompany the people wherever they ſhould go, in order that God might be preſent to relieve them in their neceſſities. He had inſtructions concerning the dimenſions and form of the ſtructure, and exhorted the people to commence the undertaking without delay.

CHAP. VI.

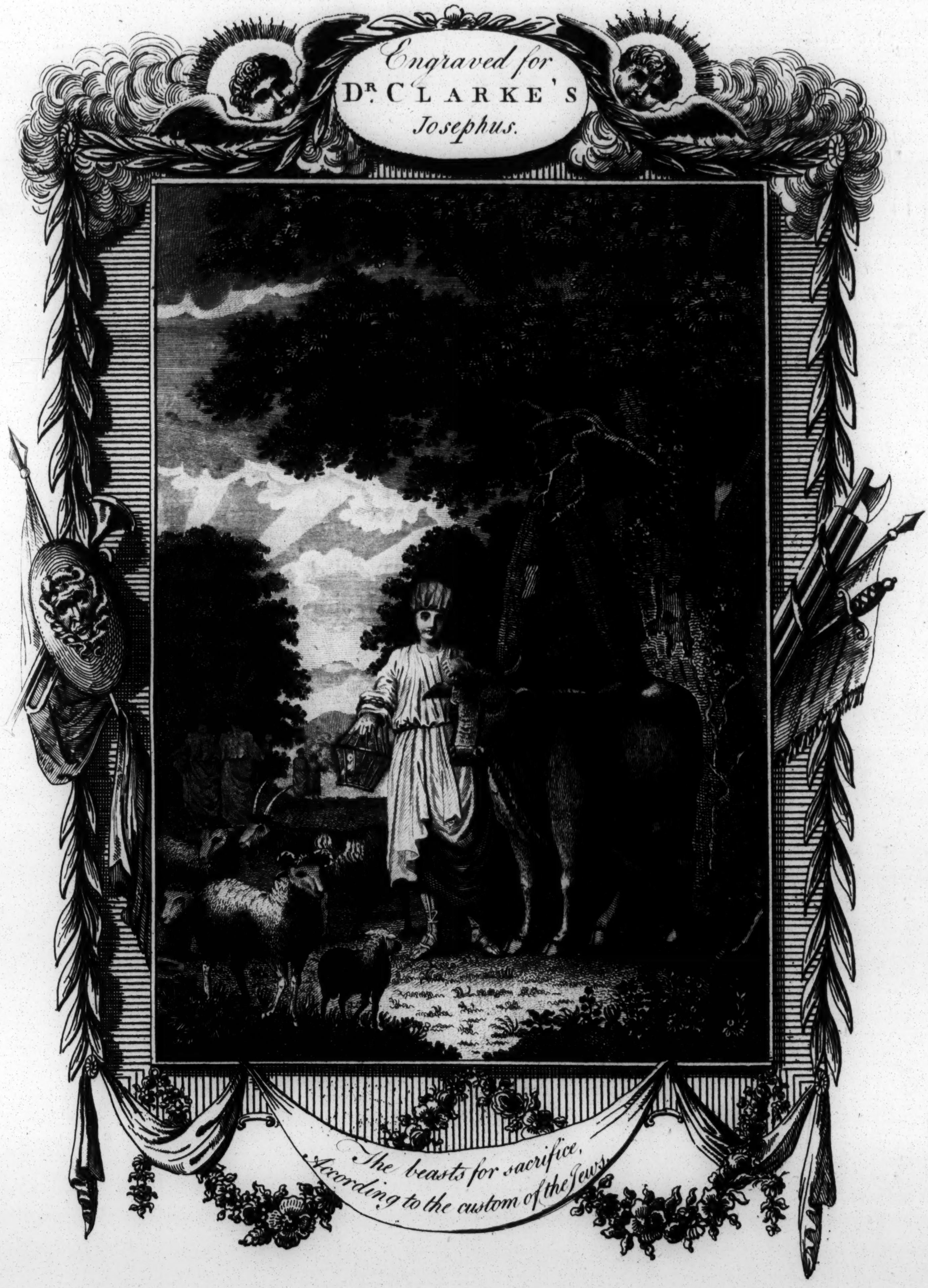
Contributions towards building the tabernacle. The names of the principal workmen. The tabernacle is built. The building and its contents deſcribed.

THE preſence and diſcourſe of Moſes ſo elevated the minds of the people, that a righteous emulation took place among them, in making contributions for the advancement of the ſtructure. They preſented great quantities of gold, ſilver, copper, curious woods, of a quality to reſiſt the worm, goats-hair, ſheep-ſkins, ſome white, others dyed purple, ſcarlet, and blue, with wool of the ſame tinctures, fine linen, precious ſtones, many of them ſet in gold, together with perfumes of various kinds. The tabernacle, for completing which the above, and many other articles were collected, was to be a kind of portable temple.

The contributions was no ſooner finiſhed, than Moſes employed architects, and other ſkilful perſons to perform the work, according to the commands and inſtructions he had received from the Almighty. They were ſo eminent for ſuperior ingenuity in their reſpective departments, that had the appointment been left to the people at large, they would undoubtedly have ſelected the ſame artificers. The names of the principal artificers are upon record in the holy Scriptures; being Bezaleel, of the tribe of Judah, the ſon of Uri and Mariam, the ſiſter of Moſes; and Aholiah, the ſon of Aheſamach, of the tribe of Dan. So liberal were the people in their donations, that Moſes judged it prudent to reſtrain their generoſity, by iſſuing a proclamation purporting, that the collections were already more than ſufficient for the completion of the undertaking. Moſes gave the maſter-builders directions concerning the magnitude and proportion of the ſtructure, agreeable to the commands he had received from the Almighty. He alſo gave them orders for making the ſacrificing veſſels, aſcertaining the ſize and form of each, and ſpecifying the number to be employed in divine worſhip. On this occaſion, the zeal and bounty of the women proved highly honourable to them, for they exerted every poſſible endeavour, in forming the ſacerdotal veſtments with the utmoſt elegance, ſplendour and magnificence.

The gold, ſilver, jewels, braſs, iron, loom-

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

The beasts for sacrifice,
According to the custom of the Jews.

Publish'd as the Act directs April 14; 1786, by J. Walker Paternoster Row.

loom-work and other materials being prepared, Moſes appointed a ſolemn feſtival to be held, on which occaſion the people were to aſſemble, and offer up ſacrifices according to their reſpective abilities. After this ſolemnity, Moſes cauſed the utmoſt expedition to be uſed in conſtructing the tabernacle, according to a model of which we ſhall proceed to give a deſcription.

Deſcription of the model of the tabernacle.

The breadth of the outer court was fifty cubits, and it was an hundred in length. There were twenty brazen pillars on each ſide, and ten a-croſs, every pillar being five cubits in height, and having rings and borders of ſilver: the baſes were of braſs, curiouſly wrought and gilt, being faſtened to the ground with pins of a cubit in length, pointed at the end like a pike: theſe pins, with the help of cords paſſing through the rings, kept the whole fabric compact and firm in all its parts. It was encompaſſed with a veil of fine and curious linen, depending from the cornices to the extremity of the baſes.

The dimenſions of three ſides of the work were as follow: in front it was fifty cubits, of which twenty were left open in width, and five in depth, for an entrance, there being on each ſide the paſſage two planks or quarters, in the manner of gate-poſts, they being covered with ſilver-work, except the baſes, which were of braſs. There were likewiſe ſix other planks, three on each ſide, which, for the greater ſtrength, were jointed into each other, curtains of curious workmanſhip being drawn over them. Over the entrance hung a veil of fine linen, richly embroidered with flowers, and various other ornaments, but not with the figures of any living creatures, in purple, ſcarlet, and violet colours. Within the gate of the court ſtood a laver of braſs, having a foot of the ſame metal, containing water for the prieſts to waſh their hands and feet.

In the middle of the above mentioned court, ſtood the tabernacle, fronting the eaſt, for the advantage of receiving the beams of the riſing ſun. It was thirty cubits in length, and twelve in breadth, the height and breadth being exactly equal. The two ſides were towards the ſouth and north, and the front being oppoſite the eaſt, the back conſequently was facing the weſt. The two ſides were formed of forty planks of wood, twenty in each, being of a quadrangular form, a cubit and a half in length, and four fingers in thickneſs, and plated all over with gold, each plank having two tenons, and two ſilver baſes, with mortiſſes for receiving the tenons. On the weſt ſide were ſix boards, overlaid with gold, and ſo nicely jointed as to appear only one piece, the twenty boards being each a cubit and a half over, the meaſurement thereof makes the length juſt thirty cubits; the ſix boards on the weſtern ſide were only nine cubits, but then there were two other planks to unite with them, one at each corner, placed in the ſame poſition, and of the ſame length and breadth with the others, but much thicker, for the purpoſe of binding the ends, and that ſide of the tabernacle the more firmly together. Every plank had golden rings, or ſtaples driven into it, they being diſpoſed in a direct and regular line. Through theſe rings ſeveral bars of five cubits in length, and plated with gold, were paſſed; and as they extended from end to end, the whole quarter was kept firm together. On the back, or lower part of the building, the boards were ranged in the ſame manner, and a gilt bar was paſſed through as many rings as there were plates, one bar exactly correſponding with another. At the corners there were bolts and ſtaples, to keep the ends and ſides cloſely together, and by means of mortiſſes binding the ſeveral parts compactly, and ſecuring the tabernacle againſt the inclemencies of weather.

The diviſion of the tabernacle, and the myſtery of it.

The inſide of the tabernacle was divided into thrice ten cubits in length. At ten cubits from the bottom were four pillars acroſs, all compoſed of the ſame materials, and ornamented in the ſame manner, reſting upon brazen baſes, and being placed at equal diſtances from each other. Within theſe pillars was the moſt holy place, where not even the prieſts were permitted to enter, though they had free acceſs to all other parts of the building. The diviſion of the tabernacle into three parts, ſeems to bear ſome analogy to the ſtate of the univerſe. That ſpace which was inacceſſible may be allowed to have ſome reſemblance to Heaven, as being the throne of the divine Majeſty; and with regard to the other twenty cubits, that ſpace, where only the prieſts were admitted, may be ſuppoſed to allude to the earth and ſea. At the entrance of the tabernacle were five gilt columns, ſtanding upon brazen baſes, and being covered with curtains of fine yarn, which were dyed blue, purple, and ſcarlet, and woven together. The firſt of theſe curtains was ten cubits ſquare, and the uſe of it was to cover the partition dividing the moſt holy place from the holy, and conceal the former from view. The temple was called holy: but the ſpace within the four pillars was called the holy of holies. This curtain or veil was beautifully ornamented with divers kinds of flowers, and curious figures, thoſe of living creatures excepted. There was another veil overſpreading the five pillars at the entrance; and this was not inferior to the former, either in ſize, the fineneſs of the colours, or the ingenuity of the embroidery. This curtain was faſtened at the top, and down to the middle of the five columns, by means of hooks and eyes, the reſt being left open to form a paſſage for the prieſts. Over this veil, and nearly contiguous thereto, was another of the ſame ſize, the web of it being compoſed of flax. By means of a line paſſing through rings this curtain, upon days of feſtivals, was drawn up, to give the people a view of the curtain that was ſuperbly ornamented with embroidery. At other times, and chiefly in foul weather, the outer curtain ſerved as a covering to preſerve the other, it being compoſed of materials that were proof againſt rain. This kind of curtain has been uſed at the door of the temple from the time of its being built, to the preſent day.

The tapiſteries of the tabernacle.

The top and ſides of the temple were covered with hangings, which reached within a foot of the ground. Theſe hangings were formed of ten pieces, ſo exactly joined with the golden loops that it appeared to have proceeded from the loom in one piece. The meaſure of the ten pieces of hanging was each eight-and-twenty cubits in compaſs, and four cubits in depth. There were likewiſe eleven other pieces of the ſame depth, but ſomewhat longer, they being thirty cubits each: they were made of hair, and the workmanſhip was as ingenious as that of the hangings that were compoſed of wool. Theſe curtains formed a covering for the other ten; and as they hung down looſe and flowing upon the ground, they had ſome reſemblance to the canopy of a bed. The eleventh curtain was placed over the door of the tabernacle, the odd number being particularly aſſigned for that ſervice. There was ſtill another covering of ſkins, the uſe of which was to defend that made of goats-hair from being injured by the effects of the ſun and rain. In ſhort this ſtructure was, in all its parts, moſt magnificently executed; and, when beheld at a diſtance, its beautiful covering had a near reſemblance to a finely variegated ſky.

The form of the ark, XXXVII. 1, 6.

The tabernacle being compleated, the next buſineſs was to conſtruct the ark of the Almighty. This was made of a kind of wood called by the Hebrews, heoron, it being the moſt durable of all timber, and the leaſt liable to be injured by the worm.

The ark was two cubits and a half in length, one and a half broad, and the ſame in depth: it was entirely overſpread with the pureſt gold, and the wood was not to be perceived either within or without. The cover of the ark was cramped together with golden hooks, whereby it was made perfectly firm. It was made extremely ſmooth, and fitted with ſo much exactneſs, that the preſſure was equal in every part. At each of the four corners, a golden ring was rivitted. Through the rings, along each ſide, a gilt bar was paſſed, for the convenience of removing the ark from place to place, as occaſion might require. Upon the ark was placed two figures, which the Hebrews call cherubims, being the reſemblance of the winged figures which Moſes ſaw about the throne of God, and ſuch as no other mortal ever beheld. In this ark were depoſited the two tables of the decalogue; five of the commandments being contained in each table, and two and a half in each column. The ark, which was never removed but when it was ſuſtained on the ſhoulders of the prieſts and Levites, Moſes depoſited in the ſanctuary.

The cherubims, ver. 7.

In the tabernacle Moſes placed a table, ſomewhat reſembling that at * Delphi; this was two cubits in length, one in breadth, and a cubit and a half in height. From the middle downward, the feet were round, and exactly reſembling thoſe made uſe of by the Dorians for their beds: but upwards they were ſquare, having a projecting border of four fingers in thickneſs, with a crown of gold beneath each ſide. Under this border were four golden rings faſtened into the upper part of the four feet, and gilt bars of the firmeſt wood were paſſed through them to ſerve as handles for the removal of the ark. This table was placed towards the north in the ark, and at but a ſmall diſtance from the ſanctuary. Upon the table were laid twelve loaves of unleavened bread, ſix being on each ſide, one upon another. Theſe loaves were made of the fineſt flour, of which the quantity in each was two aſſars, or ſeven Attic † cotylas, of the Hebrew meaſure. Over the loaves were placed two golden diſhes of incenſe; and, at the end of every ſeven days, the loaves were taken away, and others placed in their room. Of the ſeventh day, or Sabbath, we ſhall ſpeak more at large in the progreſs of our work.

The table of ſhew-bread, XL. 22.

The unleavened bread, ver. 23.

Oppoſite the table, and on the ſouth

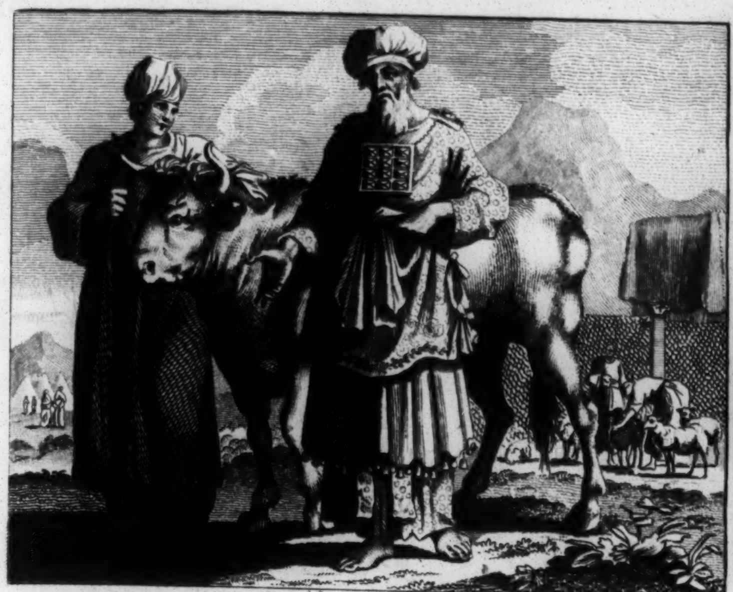
ſide,

---

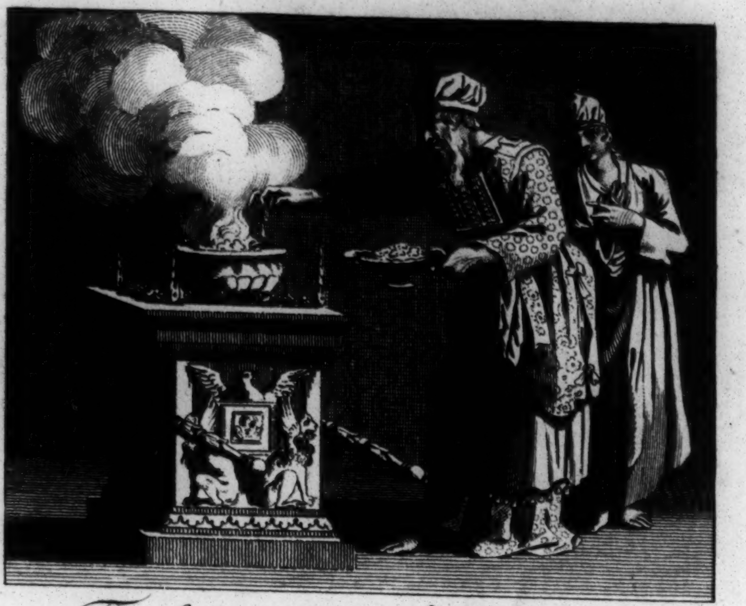
* It is however to be obſerved, that the table which Moſes placed in the ark was not made after the model of the Delphic table, but that the former ſerved as a copy for making the latter.

† An attic cotyla being about half a pint, ſeven of them muſt make three pints and an half; and two aſſars being equal to ſeven cotylæ, an aſſar muſt be one pint and three-fourths of Engliſh meaſure. Therefore, admitting a pint of flour to weigh a pound, each loaf muſt have been about four pounds in weight, being about half a pound leſs than the quartern loaves made according to the aſſize of London.

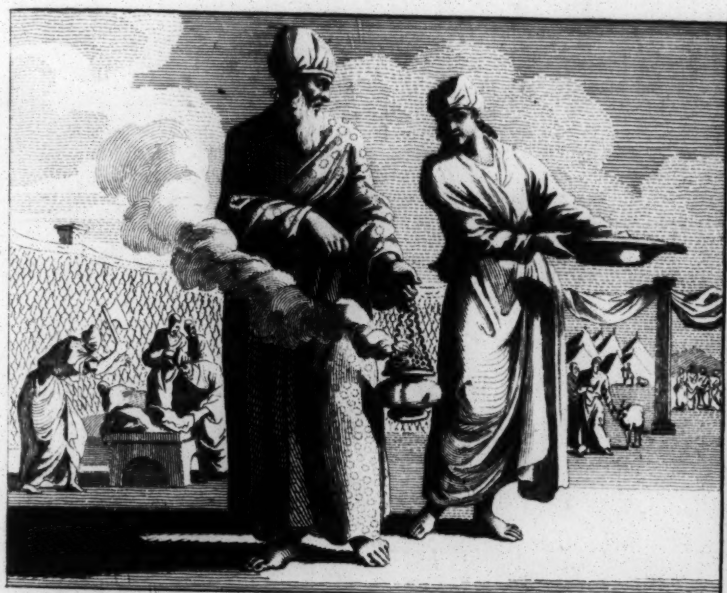
Habits & Ceremonies of the **JEWS.**



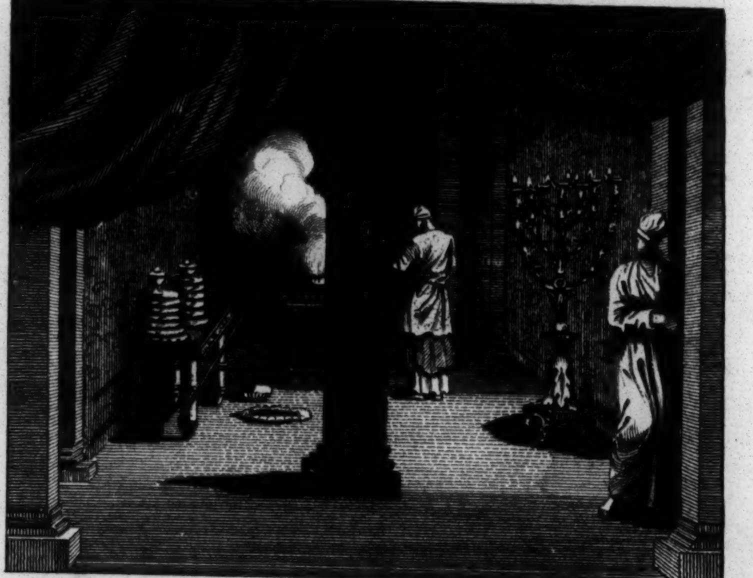
Habits of the High Priest.



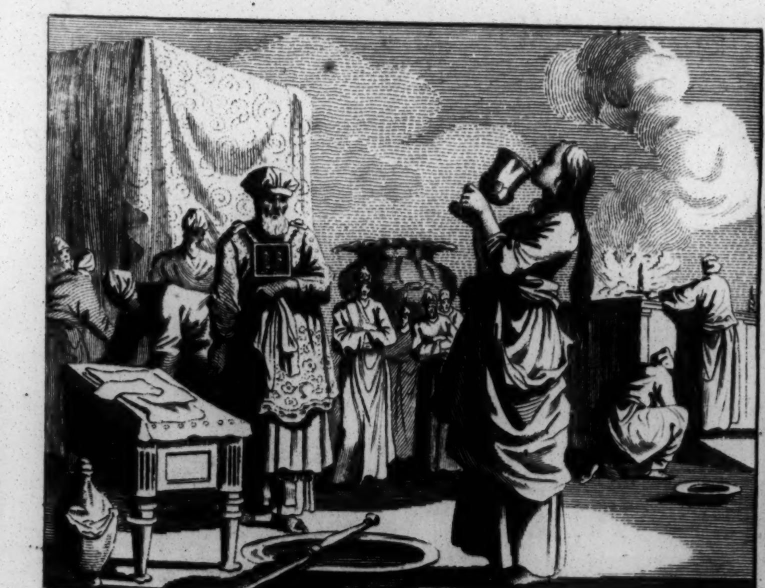
The Golden Altar of Incense.



Habit of the Levites.

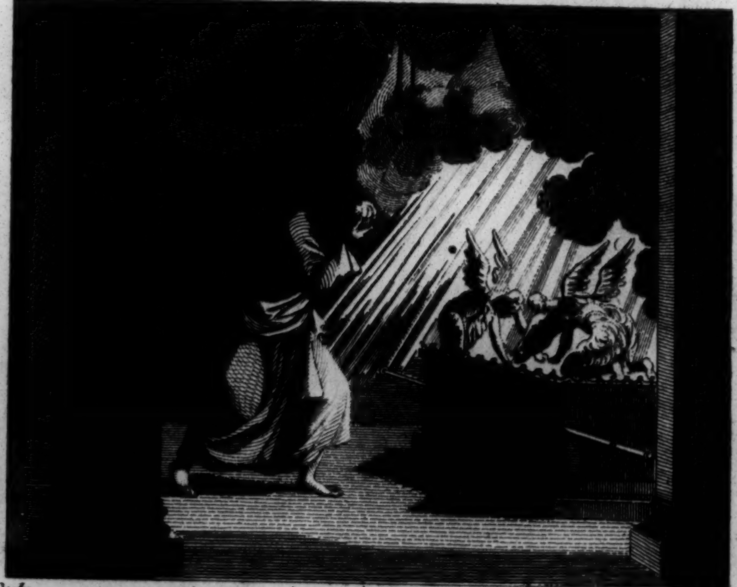


The Golden Altar & Golden Candlestick



The Trial of Jealousy.

T. Cook sculp.



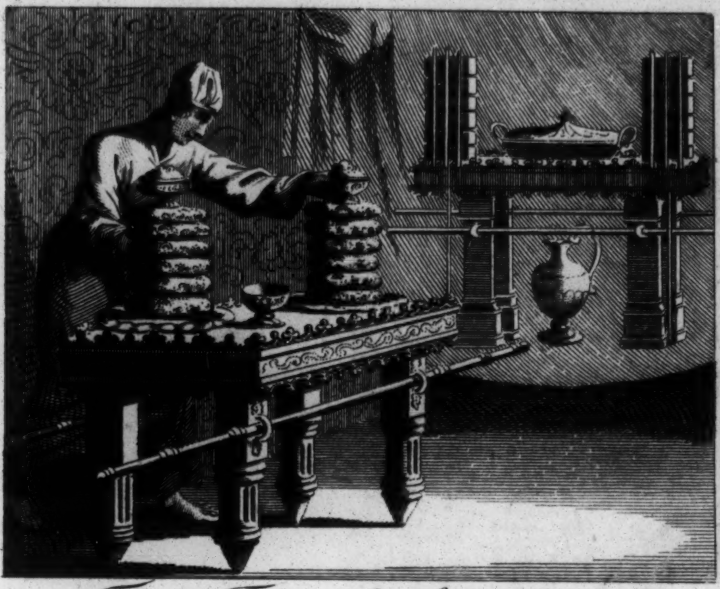
Moses prepares the Tabernacle.

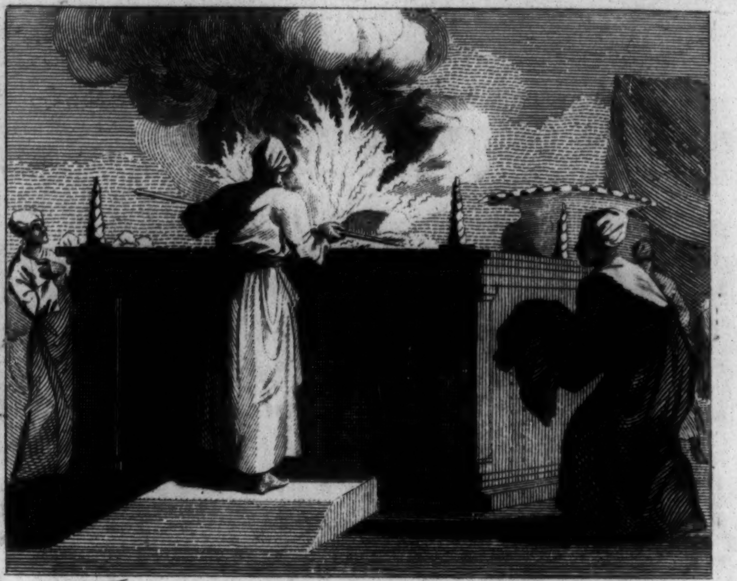
Publish'd as the Act directs, Oct^{r}. 22^{d}. 1788 by John Walker Pater noster Row.

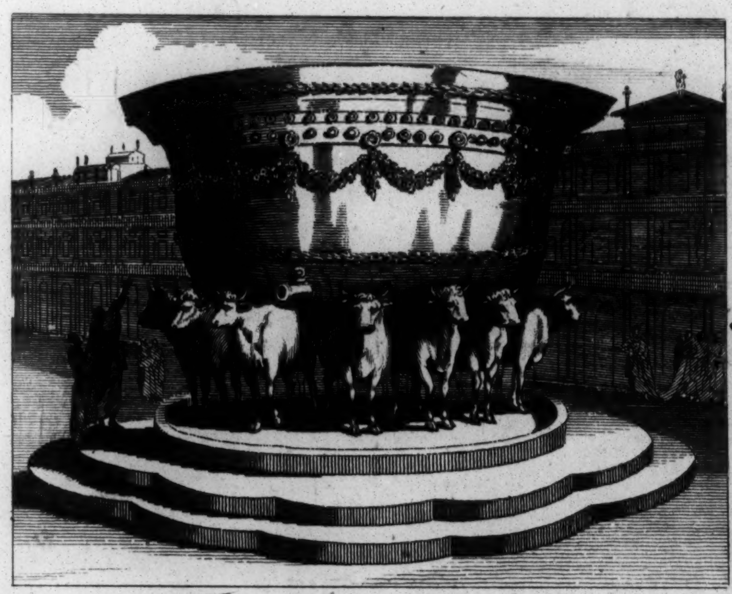
15 53
AUB

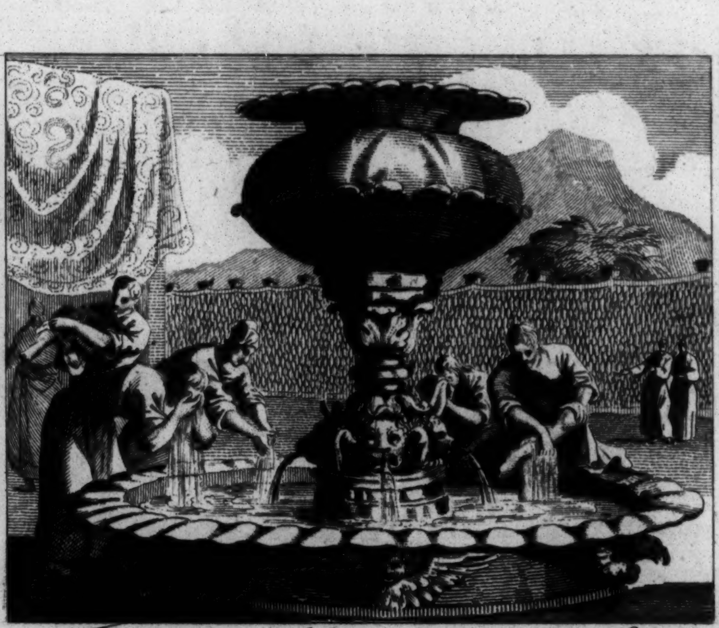
BRITISH MUSEUM

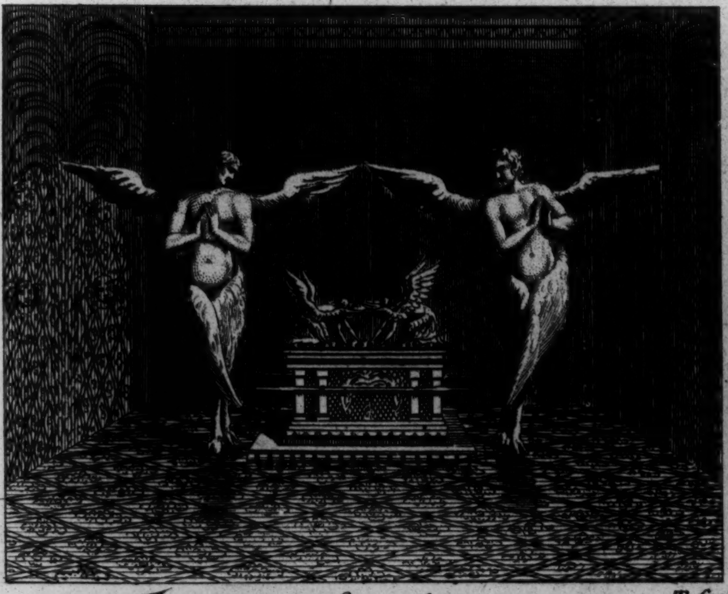
Dr. CLARKE'S JOSEPHUS.


The Table of Shew-bread.

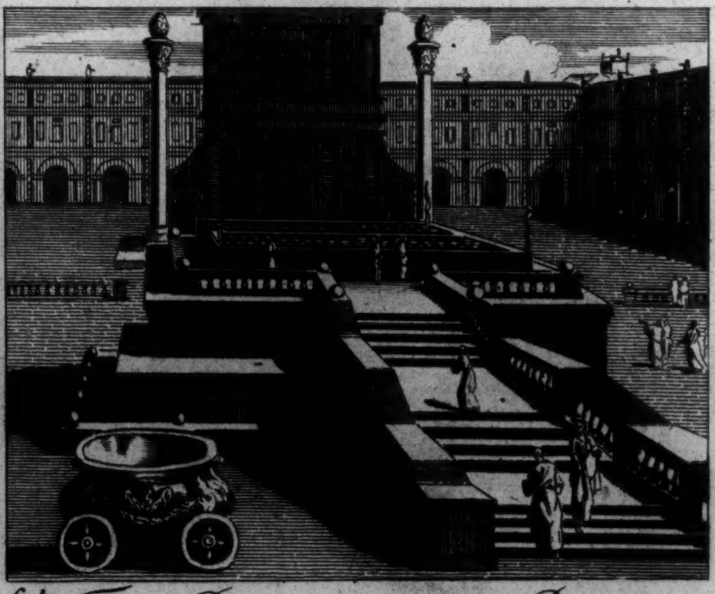

The Altar of Burnt-offering.


The Brazen Sea.


The Waters of the Brazen Sea.


The Ark of Alliance.

T. Cook sculp.


The Brazen Altar & Pillars.

Publish'd as the Act directs Novr. 18th 1785, by John Walker Pater noster Row.

he golden ndleſtick, xod. XXVII. 7, 22. and L. 24.

ſide, ſtood a golden candleſtick, it being caſt hollow, and weighing an hundred * mines, which the Hebrews call, cinchares, and the Greeks, talents. This candleſtick was ornamented with bowls, lilies, pomegranates, and ſmall cups and diſhes, all of pure gold, being ſeventy in number, which projected from the ſhank in ſeven branches, correſponding with the number of the planets; and they were uniformly ranged; and at the extremity of each branch was a lamp, each lamp pointing towards the eaſt and the ſouth.

he altar of cenſe.

Between the candleſtick and the table, was a ſmall altar for incenſe, made of the ſame kind of wood of which the ark was formed; it was one cubit ſquare, and double that height; it had a golden fire-hearth, and at each corner was a crown of the pureſt gold, with rings and ſtaves for the convenience of its removal.

Before the tabernacle, another altar was erected; the frame was of the ſame wood with that above mentioned. The altar was five cubits ſquare, and three in height, and in moſt reſpects it reſembled the other: but it was over-laid with braſs, and in the middle had a brazen grate of a kind of net work for the aſhes to fall through. Moſes provided funnels, vials, cenſers, cups, and a variety of other articles neceſſary for the ſervice of the altar, all of them being made of pure gold.

CHAP. VII.

Of the veſtments of the high-prieſt and prieſts. Of purifications and feſtivals.

WE ſhall now proceed to deſcribe the veſtments and other ornaments of the ordinary prieſts, whom the Hebrews call Canaans, and thoſe of the high-prieſt, who is called † Anarabaches, a word ſignifying the prince of the prieſts. No prieſt was to exerciſe any of the ſacerdotal functions, until he had been purified in conformity with the direction of the law. The under garment of an ordinary prieſt was of fine twiſted linen, made ſomewhat in the faſhion of the trowſers or drawers now in uſe. This part of the prieſt's apparel was called Manachaſe, Machanaſe, or Michnaſe. Over this was worn a veſtment of very fine linen, called by the Hebrews, Chethemene, ſignifying linen cloth, as Chethon imports the flax of which it is made. It deſcended to the heels, was made to fit the body cloſely, and with ſtraight ſleeves. This garment was faſtened about the middle with a girdle of four fingers in breadth, ſo ingeniouſly ornamented with needle-work as to reſemble the ſkin of a ſnake. This girdle was embroidered with different flowers and other ornaments in blue, purple and ſcarlet, but the ground was linen. It paſſed twice round the body of the prieſt, the ends depending nearly as low as his feet, except when he was employed in the duties of religion, upon which occaſion they were thrown over the left ſhoulder, to prevent him from being incommoded thereby. Moſes gives this girdle the name of Abaneth, and, at this time, it is called Emian by the Hebrews, who have borrowed the word from the Babylonians. The veſtment, which was faſtened by the girdle, was made without plaits or folds, being wide at the neck, and buckled both before and behind. The Hebrew name for it is Maſſabazanes.

The prieſt alſo wore a kind of mitre or bonnet, reſembling a ſmall helmet, and covering little more than half his head. It is called Maſnaemphthes. It was made of linen, and bound together with filleting to keep it together. Over this, he wore another cap of very fine linen, which came ſo low as entirely to conceal the former; and it was ſo ſecured, that there was no danger of its falling off, while the prieſt was employed in the duties of his office.

Beſides thoſe above mentioned, the high-prieſt wore ornaments which were peculiar to his dignified ſtation. He had a purple robe deſcending to his ancles, which we call Methir, and round it was a girdle like thoſe wore by the ordinary prieſts, excepting that it was decorated with a mixture of gold. The ſkirt of the robe was enriched with fringe, and golden bells, and pomegranates, alternately placed at equal diſtances from each other. This garment had no ſeam, being made out of one piece: it had an opening a little below the ſhoulders behind, and alſo one to the middle of the breaſt, the edges having a border round them to conceal the vacancy, and there were borders round the parts left open for the arms to paſs into the ſleeves.

Over the veſtment laſt mentioned, there was another called the ephod, reſembling the epomis of the Greeks. It was a cubit in length, and embroidered with gold, a rich variety of colours covering the whole breaſt. It had ſleeves to it, ſo that in effect it was no other than a ſhort coat. In the front of this robe was left a vacant ſpace of a ſpan ſquare, for the * eſſen, which the Greeks call logion, being as much as to ſay in latin the † rationale oracle. This ſquare piece, which exactly fitted the vacancy, had a golden ring at each corner, with a purple ribbon run through them, to confine the ephod and the rationale together. To fill up the ſpaces they were wrought over with purple threads. On each ſhoulder the high-prieſt wore a ſardonyx ſet in gold, and theſe two jewels ſerved for buckles to keep the two parts of the ephod together, with golden rings to faſten them to the rationale. Upon theſe ſtones were engraven, in Hebrew characters, the names of the twelve ſons of Jacob; the ſix elder upon that on the right, and the others upon that on the left ſhoulder. In the eſſen or rationale, were ſet twelve ſtones of ineſtimable value, both on account of their ſize and extraordinary brilliancy. They were diſpoſed in four rows, three ſtones in each, and ſeparated from each other with ſmall partitions of gold, whereby they were ſecured from falling out. In the firſt row were a ſardonyx, a topaz, and an emerald; in the ſecond a ruby, a jaſper, and a ſapphire; and in the fourth a chryſolite, an onyx, and a beril. Theſe precious ſtones were ſeverally inſcribed with the names of the twelve ſons of Jacob, who are conſidered as the heads of our tribes; and theſe names were inſerted according to the ſeniority of their birth. The hooks and faſtenings before mentioned, not being ſufficient to ſuſtain the weight of ſo many precious ſtones, and other rich ornaments, two of a ſtronger kind were annexed to the upper part of the rationale, towards the neck, projecting beyond the work of the garment, and to theſe were faſtened two wreathed golden chains, which were conveyed by an unperceived paſſage up to the ſhoulder-piece. The upper ends of theſe golden chains were carried about the back, and, by means of a ring, hooked upon the border of the ephod. There was alſo ſewed to the rationale, a purple girdle interwoven with gold. Having paſſed twice round the body, it was tied in a knot before, the ends hanging down, and a curious fringe of gold being attached to each.

---

* The mines here mentioned are ſuppoſed to be the common Attic Mina, which being reduced to Engliſh troy weight, conſiſts of eleven ounces, ſeven penny weights, ſixteen grains and two ſevenths; an hundred of the mines therefore muſt amount to ninety-four pounds ten ounces.

† Or, Caanarabbes. See Braunius, on the veſtments of the Hebrew prieſts, lib. I. c. 2, 16. and lib. II. c. 1, 2.

The high-prieſt's mitre, Exod. XXXIX. 28.

The tiara or mitre of the high-prieſt reſembled thoſe of the ordinary prieſts, except, that it had over it another of purple or violet colour, with a tripple crown of gold; and, that over the crown was a reſemblance in gold of a kind of cup, formed like the bud of the plant which the Hebrews call ſaccharus, and the Greeks hyoſcyamos. For the information of thoſe who may not have ſeen or heard of the plant, and thoſe who, though acquainted with the name, are yet ignorant of its form, I ſhall here give a conciſe deſcription of it. The height of this plant is generally about three ſpans; the root greatly reſembles that of a turnip, and the leaf has the appearance of mint; it branches out into a round knob, covered with a coat, which it ſheds as the fruit ripens. The cup over the crown was about the ſize of the joint of the little finger, being like a goblet. But by way of explanation, I ſhall ſpeak further of the plant already mentioned. The figure of it was hemiſpherical, narrowing a little upwards, and enlarging itſelf towards the brims into the form of a baſon, reſembling the half of a pomegranate; within the cup and cover the fruit was nouriſhed and preſerved; the ſeed is like that of the iron-wort, or wall-ſage, and the flower reſembled the poppy. The front of the mitre was overſpread with a plate of gold, whereon was inſcribed the holy name of God.

I cannot here refrain from expreſſing ſurpriſe at the harſh treatment we receive from a part of mankind, who traduce us as blaſphemers of the Divine Being. He who contemplates the ſtructure of the tabernacle, the form of the ſacerdotal veſtments, and of the holy veſſels dedicated to the ſervice of the altar, muſt be immediately convinced, that our law-giver was a man of ſingular righteouſneſs, and that the cenſure and ridicule of which we are injuriouſly made the objects, are impious ſlanders and calumnies; for the tabernacle and ſacred utenſils manifeſtly bear an analogy to the whole world. The tabernacle of thirty cubits is divided into three parts; that is to ſay, two for the prieſts in general, and as free of acceſs as the earth and the ſea. The third ſpace, where no mortal was permitted to enter, is, as the Heaven, reſerved for the reſidence only of the Almighty. The twelve loaves of ſhew-bread placed upon the table, indicate the twelve months of the year. The golden candleſtick, which is made of ſeventy pieces, has reference to the twelve ſigns of the zodiack, through which the planets take their courſe, and the

---

* For eſſen, Bracnius reads chosuhen, lib. II. c. 20, p. 766.

† This was the breaſt-plate wherein were placed the urim and thummim. By means of this, when conſulted upon difficult and important occaſions, the Almighty was ſometimes pleaſed to reveal himſelf by the high-prieſt; and therefore it is called the oracle. "And he made the breaſt-plate of cunning work, like the work of the ephod; of gold, blue, and purple, and ſcarlet, and fine twiſted linen." Exod. XXXIX. 8. In the account given by Moſes in this chapter, of the breaſt-plate and its conſtituent parts, no mention is made of the urim and thummim; and therefore it is probable they were not diſtinct things, but, that thoſe words had only relation to the precious ſtones of the breaſt-plate.

the ſeven lamps at the top of the ſeven branches, allude to the planets themſelves. The four elements are repreſented by the four curtains, into which the four colours are wrought. The fine linen ſignifies the earth, where the flax, of which linen is made, is produced. By the purple is meant the ſea, on account of the * fiſh, the blood of which gives that tincture. The violet colour is the ſymbol of the air; as the ſcarlet is of fire. The linen garment of the high-prieſt ſignifies the whole body of the earth, and the blue ſignifies the Heavens. The pomegranates ſignify the lightning, and the noiſe of the bells has alluſion to thunder. The ephod being of four colours, according to the order of God, it has a reſemblance to the nature of the univerſe; and the circumſtance of its being interwoven with gold, induces me to ſuppoſe, that it has relation to the rays wherewith it is illuminated. The rationale, or oracle, in the middle of the ephod, is typical of the earth being ſituated in the centre of the univerſe. The girdle ſurrounding the body of the prieſt, is as the ſea encompaſſing the globe of the earth. The ſardonyx ſtones repreſent the ſun and moon; and the other twelve precious ſtones may be underſtood as alluding either to the twelve months of the year, on the twelve ſigns in the circle, which the Greeks call the zodiac. The violet coloured mitre has alluſion to Heaven; and it would have been an irreverence to God to have inſcribed his ſacred name upon any other colour. By the tripple crown and plate of gold are to be underſtood the majeſty of the Almighty. Thus have I endeavoured to give a plain and rational illuſtration of the tabernacle, and the holy utenſils; and I am free to acknowledge, that I would not, either on this, or any other occaſion, neglect the opportunity of doing all poſſible juſtice and honour to the incomparable wiſdom of our excellent legiſlator.

CHAP. VIII.

Aaron appointed high-prieſt. A tax laid for raiſing money for the ſervice of the tabernacle. The conſecration of the tabernacle. Nabad and Abihu conſumed by a judicial fire. The miraculous brilliancy of the precious ſtones upon the habit of the high-prieſt. The oblations of the twelve tribes of Hebrews.

THE command of the Almighty being fulfilled with regard to the building the tabernacle, to conſecrate it to the ſervice and worſhip of God, was the next matter that engaged the attention of Moſes. Previous to the conſecration of the tabernacle, God appeared to Moſes, and commanded him to inveſt his brother Aaron with the high prieſthood, he being, of all men, the beſt qualified for diſcharging the functions of that holy office. Hereupon, Moſes aſſembled the people, and addreſſed to them a diſcourſe on the eminent virtues of Aaron, repreſenting the warmth of his zeal for the public welfare, for the promotion of which he had on ſeveral occaſions endangered his life. Finding what he had ſaid, correſponded with the ſentiments of the whole congregation, he proceeded in words to the following effect:

"We have, good people of Iſrael, to the utmoſt extent of our abilities, acquitted ourſelves of the commands lately impoſed upon us by the divine will of the Almighty: but that the tabernacle we have conſtructed may be honoured with the preſence of the Divinity, it is neceſſary that it ſhould be conſecrated to the worſhip of God, and that we ſhould proceed to the appointment of a high-prieſt, who muſt be a man in every reſpect qualified to diſcharge the duties of that holy office, and offer up prayers and ſacrifices in our behalf; were the power of appointment veſted with me, I ſhould make no difficulty in aſſuming the honour, both on account of the partiality which all men entertain towards themſelves, and the ſervices I have rendered the public. But God has already ſelected Aaron as the moſt worthy of the ſacerdotal tribe, to officiate at the altar."

Aaron appointed high-prieſt,

The people expreſſed the utmoſt ſatisfaction, and unanimouſly confirmed the nomination of Aaron to the pontifical dignity.

The overplus of the contributions towards the tabernacle, Moſes cauſed to be expended in veils and coverings for that ſtructure, as well as for the candleſtick, the altar of incenſe, and the holy veſſels and utenſils, to the end, that on occaſion of their removal from place to place, their beauty might not be injured by the duſt, or rain, or humidity of the air, or intenſe heat of the ſun.

Having aſſembled the people, Moſes informed them, that for the ſervice of the tabernacle, a contribution was neceſſary of half a ſhekel from every man, of from twenty to fifty years of age, a Hebrew ſhekel being equivalent to four † Attick drachmas. Without heſitation, and with the greateſt chearfulneſs imaginable, the people ſubmitted to the tax, which was only to affect freemen between the ages mentioned above, of whom the number amounted to ſix hundred five thouſand, five hundred and fifty.

---

* The blood of the ſhell-fiſh called the murex was the chief ingredients uſed by the ancients in dying purple.

† A tetradrachm, or four Attic drachmas being equal to two ſhillings and ſeven pence ſterling, the half thereof, being one ſhilling and three pence half-penny, was the ſum paid by each man liable to the tax; and there being ſix hundred and five thouſand, five hundred and fifty contributers, the groſs ſum was thirty-nine thouſand one hundred and eight pounds, eight ſhillings and nine-pence.

The purification of the tabernacle and the Prieſts.

Moſes now applied himſelf to the purification of the tabernacle and the prieſts, which was done in the following manner: of the choiceſt myrrh, that could be procured, he took to the amount of five hundred [*] ſhekels, of iris the ſame quantity, and half as much each of cinnamon and calamus: theſe ingredients he cauſed to be beaten and macerated in a [†] hin of the fineſt olive-oil, [‡] a hin being equal in meaſure to two Attick choas; and the compoſition being placed over a fire, the proceſs was continued according to art, till an ointment was produced the moſt grateful and fragrant that can be imagined. With this Moſes anointed the tabernacle and the prieſts and the ceremony was completed; at the ſame time ſeveral ſacrifices were offered upon the altar.

I do not mean to treſpaſs upon the time of the reader by relating all the particulars of the precious perfumes that were dedicated upon the golden altar. But be it in general obſerved, that incenſe was offered twice each day; that is to ſay, before the riſing and about the time of the ſun ſetting. There was purifying oil for the lamps of the holy candleſtick; three to burn all day, and the reſt to be lighted in the evening. The tabernacle and all its utenſils and ornaments were completed in the ſpace of ſeven months, and within a year of the departure of the Hebrews from Egypt. As we have mentioned before, Bezaleel and Aholiab were appointed to ſuperintend this undertaking; and they acquitted themſelves with wonderful ability, both with regard to the ingenuity of their own inventions, and their improvements upon thoſe of other men. Of the two, however, Bezaleel was deemed the more ſkilful.

The tabernacle conſecrated, Exod. XL. 17, 38.

In the following year, and on the new moon of the month Xanthicus, according to the Macedonians, or Niſan, according to the Hebrews, the tabernacle was ſolemnly conſecrated to the ſervice and worſhip of God, as were all the veſſels and utenſils it contained. Upon this occaſion the Almighty was pleaſed to ſignify his gracious acceptance of his zeal in his ſervice, and his approbation of their obedience to his commands; and this he did by condeſcending to honour with his glorious preſence the ſtructure they had raiſed, and dedicated to his holy worſhip. The ſky being remarkably clear, not a cloud was to be perceived but juſt over and about the tabernacle. This cloud was not ſo thick as to threaten foul weather, nor yet was it ſo thin as to be tranſparent: but from it there iſſued a gentle and grateful dew, which ſtruck the people with an immediate conviction that it proceeded from a divine influence, and was an indubitable token that their prayers had proved acceptable, and that the tabernacle was honoured with the preſence of the divinity.

Having gratified the artificers employed in conſtructing and embelliſhing the tabernacle in proportion to their reſpective deſerts, Moſes, in obedience to the command of the Almighty, made an oblation at the door of the building, the victims conſiſting of a bullock, a ram, and a kid, as a ſacrifice for the ſins of the people. Of the ceremonies to be obſerved on occaſion of offering up ſacrifices to the Lord, I ſhall ſpeak more particularly hereafter; and alſo explain what are thoſe ſacrifices which the law directs ſhall be totally conſumed, and thoſe which are permitted to be eaten.

Levit. VIII.

The animals above mentioned being killed, Moſes ſprinkled the blood of them upon Aaron and his ſons, purifying them with water from the fountain, anointing them with oil, and the fragrant ingredients before mentioned, and hallowing and conſecrating them as prieſts of God. This ceremony of conſecration was repeated on ſeven ſucceſſive days, on each of which oblations of the ſame kind of ſacrifices were alſo made. On the eighth day, Moſes appointed a feſtival, on which occaſion he commanded the people to aſſemble, and offer up ſacrifices to the Lord in proportion to their reſpective abilities. The multitude not only complied with chearfulneſs, but even engaged in a pious emulation, as to which ſhould moſt diſtinguiſh his zeal for the honour of God. No ſooner were the ſacrifices laid upon the altar, than a fire, reſembling a flaſh of lightning, ſuddenly, and without any human intervention, broke forth and conſumed them all.

Soon afterwards a misfortune happened to Aaron, too dreadful to have been ſuſtained, had he not been a man of ſingular fortitude, and perfectly reſigned to all the operations of the divine will. Nabad and

---

[*] A ſhekel being equivalent to the Attick tetradrachm, which was worth two ſhillings and ſeven pence of our money, the amount of five hundred ſhekels was ſeventy-ſeven pounds, eight ſhillings and nine pence.

[†] The Calamus was an aromatic growing in Arabia, Syria, and the Eaſt Indies.

[‡] According to Doctor Aburthnot's tables of Grecian, Roman, and Jewiſh meaſures, &c. a hin was equal to a gallon and two pints Engliſh.

Abihu, the two elder of the four ſons of Aaron, being about to ſacrifice upon the altar, not agreeable to the method preſcribed by Moſes, but according to the manner formerly practiſed, they were ſuddenly ſtruck with a judicial fire from Heaven, which, in an inſtant, blaſted and conſumed their bodies. Hereupon, Moſes directed Aaron and his two ſurviving ſons to bury the deceaſed, without the limits of the encampment; and they accordingly complied. The unexpected and terrible death of theſe brothers had ſuch an effect upon the multitude, that they deplored the ſhocking event with a poignancy of ſorrow not to be deſcribed, their lamentations being only interrupted by ſuch expreſſions as their alarms for their own ſafety ſuggeſted. Moſes earneſtly exhorted Aaron and his ſons, not to permit their ſpirits to be too greatly depreſſed by the fate that had befallen Nabad and Abihu; obſerving, that it was not correſpondent with the dignity of the prieſthood, to ſuffer any human conſiderations to ſuperſede the worſhip, honour, and glory of God.

After receiving the divine command for conſtructing the tabernacle, Moſes did not, as before, go up to mount Sinai to conſult the pleaſure of God: but for that purpoſe he repaired into the tabernacle, whenever circumſtances rendered an application to the Divine Being neceſſary. Except that his endeavours for promoting the public welfare continued to be unremitting, Moſes lived in every reſpect as a private man. The commands which Moſes received, from time to time, for regulating the conduct of human life, appeared to be ſo admirably adapted for that purpoſe, that it is impoſſible they ſhould be of any other than a divine origin; and therefore it became an indiſpenſable obligation upon the Hebrews, rigidly to adhere to them, both amidſt the enjoyments of public tranquility, and in the diſtreſſes and exigencies of war. But on this ſubject I ſhall expatiate more diffuſely in a diſtinct publication.

CHAP IX.

Of various kinds of ſacrifices and purifications, and the laws relating thereto.

BEING now to treat on the ſubject of ſacrifices and purifications, I muſt apprize the reader, that my deſign is to explain only the moſt remarkable laws in relation thereto. Sacrifices are of two kinds, one being popular and public, and the other particular and private; and they differ in the manner of celebration. One is called a burnt-offering, or holocauſt; and the whole of this is to be conſumed with fire: the other is an offering of thankſgiving, and is to be eaten by thoſe who preſent it. The oblation of the burnt-offering of a private man conſiſts of a bullock, a lamb and a goat; the age of the two latter muſt not exceed a year, but the former may be ſomewhat older; they muſt be all males; and they muſt be entirely conſumed by fire. As ſoon as the beaſts are killed, the prieſt ſprinkles their blood round the altar; being then cleanſed with water, he cuts them into pieces, which he places upon the altar, a fire of wood being previouſly kindled there. After waſhing the feet and the intrails, the prieſt caſts them into the fire to be conſumed with the reſt. The ſkins of the animals become the property of the prieſt.

The burnt-offering, Levit. I. 5, 10.

A peace-offering, III. 1, 16.

Whether the oblation be a peace offering, or an offering of thankſgiving, the victims are the ſame as are mentioned above; but they muſt be upwards of yearlings, either male or female, being free from blemiſh, and ſuch as have coupled in procreating their kind. After the animals are ſlain, the prieſt ſprinkles the blood upon the altar, whereupon he lays the kidneys, the caul, and the fillets of the livers, without the fat being taken off, and the rump of the lamb. The breaſts and the right ſhoulders belong to the prieſt; and with reſpect to the overplus, it may be eaten during two days, by thoſe who offer the ſacrifice; but what remains after that time muſt be burnt.

The ſin-offering, V. 7.

The ſame method is practiſed in the ſin-offering: but in this caſe, perſons who cannot provide the beaſts above ſpecified, may ſubſtitute two young pigeons, or two turtles; one for a burnt-offering, and the other to be eaten by the prieſts. But when I ſhall come to treat further of ſacrifices, this will be explained more at large.

The ſins of ignorance, IV.

The ſacrifice of the man who commits ſin through ignorance, is to be a lamb, or a ſhe-goat; but the prieſt muſt not, as in the other caſes, caſt the blood over the whole altar; he muſt only ſprinkle it upon the horns or corners; the kidneys, the caul, and the fibres of the liver, muſt be laid upon the altar; the ſkin, and the fleſh to be for the uſe of the prieſts, and the latter to be eaten by them the ſame day in the tabernacle. A man who ſecretly commits a wilful ſin, is commanded by the law, to make an oblation of a ram, the fleſh of which the prieſts are to eat the ſame day in the tabernacle.

The ſin-offering of the heads of tribes is the ſame as that preſcribed to private perſons, except that the victims are to be a bull and a male goat.

In all ſacrifices, whether public or private, the law ordains, that there ſhall be uſed certain proportions of fine flour; the quantity preſcribed being one aſſar to a lamb, two to a ram, and three to a bullock; this is to be conſecrated upon the altar, being mixed with a portion of oil, whereby a part of the oblation was formed. Half an hin of oil was to be uſed to a bullock, a third part thereof to a ram, and a fourth to a lamb; and wine, equal in quantity to the oil, was to be poured about the altar. He, who without ſacrificing, makes an offering of fine flour tempered and kneaded with oil, for the performance of a vow, muſt lay a handful of it upon the altar, the remaining part to be eaten by the prieſt, either boiled, or made into cakes, and baked. The law prohibits that the dam and the young one ſhall be ſacrificed at the ſame time, unleſs the young ſhall be at leaſt eight days old. Sacrifices are alſo inſtituted for the recovery of health and on divers other occaſions, when cakes are eaten with the fleſh of the victims, but no part of either muſt be reſerved till the next day.

CHAP. X.

Laws and ordinances for the regulation of the ſacrifices of prieſts, feſtivals, and other matters, religious, political and civil; including the feaſt of the tabernacles, the feaſt of unleavened bread, and the feaſt of Pentecoſt.

IT is ordained by the law, that every morning and evening a lamb of a year old ſhall be ſacrificed at the expence of the public; that two ſacrifices of the ſame kind ſhall be made upon the ſeventh, or ſabbath day; and that at the commencement of every month, excluſive of the ordinary ſacrifices, an oblation ſhall be made of two oxen, ſeven lambs of a year old, a ram, and a male goat, by way of expiating ſins, for which atonement had been forgotten.

On the ſeventh month, called Hyperberetæus by the Macedonians, excluſive ot the ſacrifices already enumerated, the oblation was appointed to conſiſt of a bullock, a ram, ſeven lambs, and a he-goat, for a ſin-offering.

The tenth of the ſame month was appointed to be obſerved as a faſt till night, and the ſacrifices were a young bullock, two rams, ſeven lambs, and a he-goat, beſides two other goats. One of the two laſt mentioned goats was preſented living before the Almighty, and then permitted to range at large in the wilderneſs, by way of expiating the ſins of the people: the other was taken to a clean place adjacent to the camp, and there entirely burnt to aſhes in its ſkin; and a bullock was alſo burnt at the ſame time. This bullock was not provided by the people, but by the high-prieſt, who, after killing the animal, attended it into the tabernacle, and dipping his finger into the blood of it, as well as into that of the goat, ſprinkled therewith ſeven times the covering and floor of the tabernacle, the golden altar, and the great altar before the door of the tabernacle. After this, the extreme parts of the animals, the kidneys, with the fat, and part of the liver, together with a ram provided by the high-prieſt, were conſecrated to the Almighty for a burnt-offering.

Upon the fifteenth day of the ſame month, Moſes ordered the people to ſecure and fortify their tents, ſo that they might reſiſt the rigour of the winter ſeaſon, which was then approaching; and likewiſe that when they ſhould arrive in the land which the Almighty had promiſed they ſhould inherit, they ſhould immediately repair to the capital, which was to be their metropolis, where the holy temple was to be erected, and there celebrate a feſtival for eight ſucceſſive days, with burnt-offerings, ſacrifices, and peace-offerings; carrying boughs of myrtle, willow, palms, and ſmall branches of the peach-tree in their hands.

On the firſt of the eight days, a burnt-offering was to be made, conſiſting of thirteen young bullocks, fourteen lambs, two rams, and a goat; and theſe were to be preſented to the Lord, as an offering of atonement. The ſame number of lambs and rams, with a goat, were to be ſacrificed for ſix days; but a bullock was to be abated every day, till the number was reduced to ſeven. The eighth was appointed as a day of reſt, when, as we have already mentioned, a calf, a ram, ſeven lambs, and a goat, were dedicated to God, for a ſin-offering. This was the feaſt of the tabernacles, obſerved on occaſion of the Hebrews erecting their tents; and it has been conſtantly obſerved by us, with all the ceremonies tranſmitted to our anceſtors.

On the fourteenth of the moon of Xanthicus, or Niſan, which we reckon the beginning of the year, when the ſun is in the ſign Aries, that being the month when our anceſtors were redeemed from the Egyptian bondage, it is enjoined by the law, that we ſhall offer the ſame kind of ſacrifice that was made by our forefathers, on occaſion of their departure from Egypt; and this ſolemnity is called the feaſt of the Paſſover. This feſtival is punctually celebrated by all the Hebrew tribes, who are interdicted from reſerving any part of the oblations till the next day.

The feaſt of unleavened bread is obſerved the fifteenth of the month, and continues ſeven days, being the next feaſt to that of the Paſſover. The ſacrifices upon this feſtival are two bullocks, one ram, and ſeven lambs for a burnt-offering, there being added a goat each day for a ſin-offering, which was to be eat by the prieſts. The Hebrews make an offering of the firſt fruits of their grain, before taſting any part thereof, on the ſecond day of the feaſt of unleavened bread, being the ſixteenth of the month. The oblation is made in the following manner:—a quantity of ears of corn being dried before a fire upon a clean hearth, they are broke and finely bruiſed, and the quantity of an aſſar is placed upon the altar, where about a handful remains, the reſidue becoming the property of the prieſt. After the above ceremony, the people were permitted to gather their harveſt. On this occaſion a lamb was offered up as a holocauſt.

On the fifteenth day after the feaſt of the Paſſover, being at the end of ſeven weeks, or forty-nine days, was celebrated the feſtival of the Pentecoſt, ſo called by the Greeks, on account of the word denoting the number fifty; and for the ſame reaſon it is called Aſſartha * by the Hebrews. On this day the people made an offering to God of a wheaten loaf of two aſſars, baked with leaven, and two lambs for a ſacrifice, on which the prieſts made their ſupper; but no part thereof was to be left till the next morning. The burnt-offering for ſin conſiſted of three calves, two ſheep, fourteen lambs, and two goats. Our law preſcribes, that we ſhall celebrate no feſtivals without burnt-offerings, and a ceſſation from labour in the common employments of life.

Proviſion is made by the law, that twenty-four aſſars of fine flour ſhall be weekly taken out of the public ſtock, to be made into the loaves of unleavened bread. The ordinance purports, that theſe loaves ſhall be baked on the Sabbath eve, and next morning be placed on the holy table, ſix loaves on each ſide, a golden cup of incenſe being over each parcel of bread. The loaves having remained on the table till the next Sabbath, they are to be given the prieſts to eat, and other loaves to be placed upon the table. Frankincenſe is thrown into the holy fire when the burnt-offerings are conſumed, and when the loaves of unleavened bread are replaced, freſh incenſe is put into the veſſels. Twice every day the high prieſt makes an offering, at his own expence, of an aſſar of the fineſt flour, one half to be caſt into the holy fire in the morning, and the other in the evening. But this ſubject will be treated more copiouſly in another place.

CHAP. XI.

The tribe of Levi peculiarly appointed to officiate at the altar. Of meats and perſons, clean and unclean. Laws relating to child-bearing women, and to caſes of adultery and jealouſy.

MOSES having ſelected the tribe of Levi from the reſt of the people, and eſpecially appointed them to exerciſe the ſacerdotal functions, he purified them with water from the fountain; on this occaſion he offered up a ſacrifice to God, and transferred to the tribe of Levi the care of the tabernacle, and all the holy veſſels and utenſils thereunto belonging; and they were now conſidered by the people as being peculiarly conſecrated to the ſervice of God.

Meats clean and unclean, Deut. XIV.

At this time, Moſes aſcertained the diſtinction between meats clean and unclean, appointing what might be eaten, and what the law prohibited from being uſed as food. The reaſons for this diſtinction will be explained in the proper place. The law poſitively interdicts, that the blood of any animal whatſoever ſhould be eaten, upon the principle that in the blood the vital powers and ſpirit of the creature reſides; nor is the fleſh of any creature dying naturally to be made uſe of as food; and the caul and fat of a goat, a ſheep, and an ox, are included in the prohibitory laws.

Blood to be forbidden to be eat, Levit. XVII. 10, 15.

Of clean and unclean perſons, Levit. XIII. XIV.

The law enjoins, that all perſons afflicted with the leproſy, and the ghonnorrhæa, ſhall be expelled the city; and this law extends to women under periodical indiſpoſition, in as much as they are not to hold converſation with the other ſex till the end of ſeven days after their recovery. He who has aſſiſted at a funeral is reputed to be unclean for the ſpace of ſeven days: but in caſes where the pollution exceeds ſeven days, the perſon is to make a ſacrifice of two lambs, one of which is to be dedicated to God, and the other to be the property of the prieſts. But lepers are abſolutely baniſhed the city, and all ſociety and intercourſe with them are interdicted. However, if it ſhall pleaſe the Almighty to reſtore the health of perſons ſo afflicted, it is enjoined that they ſhall offer up ſeveral kinds of ſacrifices in grateful acknowledgments of ſo great a bleſſing. But further will be ſaid on this ſubject hereafter.

An abſurd and an idle ſtory has been propagated, purporting that Moſes was driven out of Egypt, on account of being infected with the leproſy; and that therefore he led the Hebrews into Canaan, the inhabitants of which country were all tainted with the ſame malady. Had this been true, Moſes would not have promulgated ſuch ſevere laws againſt lepers: on the contrary, he would, from perſonal conſiderations, moſt undoubtedly have oppoſed their inſtitution; and this will appear the more probable, when it is conſidered, that in ſeveral parts of the world perſons infected with the leproſy were ſo far from being degraded on account of that calamity, that they were frequently promoted to employments of the higheſt dignity and honour in the military, civil, and eccleſiaſtical departments. Of this an inſtance is afforded in the caſe of Naaman, the leper, who was held in ſuch high eſteem by the king of Syria, that he made him commander in chief of his armies, and leant upon his arm whenever he went to the temple of Rimmon, which was the deity of his worſhip. Had Moſes and his followers been tainted with the leproſy, he would rather have formed inſtitutions favourable to thoſe labouring under the calamity. Upon the whole, the report is manifeſtly groundleſs, invidious, and ſlanderous.

---

* This is denied by Petavious, in his notes upon Epiphanius, p. 63.

Laws relating to child-bearing women. Levit. XII.

The mother of a male child is not permitted to enter the temple, or to be preſent at divine ſervice till the expiration of forty days after her delivery; and the reſtraint to the mother of a female child extends to double that time. Upon the expiration of the term preſcribed, the woman is commanded to offer up ſacrifices, part thereof to be dedicated to God, and the remainder to be applied to the uſe of the prieſts.

Laws in cauſes of adultery and jealouſy, Numb. V. 14 &c.

A man ſuſpecting his wife of adultery muſt make an offering of an aſſar of barley-meal, an handful thereof being laid upon the altar, and the reſt being given to the prieſts. One of the prieſts then places the woman at the gate fronting the tabernacle; he then uncovers her head, and writing the name of God upon a piece of parchment, commands her to declare, by the ſacred name of the Divinity, whether the ſuſpicion ſhe has incurred is founded in juſtice. Hereupon, the woman anſwers in theſe words: "If I am guilty of the crime alledged againſt me, may my thigh rot, and my body burſt, and may my death be miſerable; but if this accuſation originates in the exceſs of my huſband's love for me, I beſeech that almighty God will be pleaſed to grant me the bleſſing of a male child within ten months from this day."

The prieſt then takes water, and waſhes the ſacred name of God clear out of the parchment, and then pouring the water into an earthen veſſel, caſts into it ſome of the duſt from the floor of the temple, gives it the woman to drink. If ſhe was innocent, conception immediately enſued: but if to the guilt of incontinency, ſhe added that of ſwearing falſely, ſhe was ſure to periſh by means of the imprecations ſhe had called upon herſelf.

CHAP. XII.

Laws concerning adultery and inceſt. Ordinances relating to marriage. The ſeventh or ſabbatical year. The year of jubilee. Ordinances of war. Moſes numbers the people. The manner in which the Iſraelites formed their encampments. A review of the Levites. The ſilver trumpets, and the uſe of them.

CONSCIOUS that there could not be happineſs in a conjugal ſtate, unleſs there ſubſiſted a mutual faith and confidence between the parties, Moſes prohibited the crime of adultery under the ſevereſt puniſhment. He prohibited inceſt as a moſt abominable wickedneſs, whether committed with the mother, the mother-in-law, or the aunt; and whether by the father or mother, the ſiſter, or the daughter-in-law. He prohibited women from cohabiting with their huſbands during their periodical indiſpoſitions. And he condemned to * death ſuch as were guilty of unnatural propenſities.

Excluſive of being amenable to the ſame laws that were to affect the reſt of the people, Moſes inſtituted particular ordinances for the prieſts, they being prohibited from contracting marriage with mercenary proſtitutes, women ſervants, ſlaves, public hoſteſſes, or women divorced from their huſbands, on any account whatever. Some rules were alſo eſtabliſhed with regard to the high-prieſt in particular, the ordinary prieſts not being compelled to adhere to them. The latter were permitted to marry widows; but the high-prieſt was to eſpouſe no other than a virgin; he was prohibited from approaching the dead; whereas the other prieſts were allowed to pay all cuſtomary reſpect to the remains of their deceaſed fathers, mothers, brothers, or children. Moſes enjoined the prieſts to behave with candour and ſimplicity in all the tranſactions of life. If one of the prieſthood happened to be maimed, or to have any corporal defect, Moſes excluded him from officiating at the altar, and even from entering the temple: but he was notwithſtanding to have his proportion of the uſual emoluments of the ſacerdotal office. Thoſe who comport themſelves in conformity with the dignity of the prieſthood are ſober, diſcreet, chaſte, and ſpotleſs, as well in every other reſpect, as in their official capacity. The prieſts are not permitted to taſte of wine, while habited in their ſacerdotal veſtments; and their ſacrifices muſt be offered up whole, and be free from any kind of blemiſh.

---

* The law denounced the puniſhment of death againſt both the man and the woman who were detected in adultery. "And the man that committeth adultery with another man's wife, even he that committeth adultery with his neighbour's wife, the adulterer and the adultereſs ſhall be ſurely put to death." Levit. XX. 10.

The ſabbatical year, Levit. XXV. 4.

The year of jubilee, ver. 8, 9.

The above laws Moſes promulgated in the deſart, and he enforced obedience to them during this life. He preſcribed other regulations for the government of the Iſraelites, when they ſhould come into poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan. He appointed every ſeventh year to be obſerved as a year of reſt to the earth, during which the people were not permitted to plow, plant, or till their grounds; and commanded, that whatever fruits the earth ſhould ſpontaneouſly produce during the ſabbatical year, ſhould be the common property of ſtrangers, as well as the Iſraelites, and that no part thereof ſhould be ſtored for future ſervice. The like was alſo to be obſerved upon the expiration of ſeven times ſeven years: and on the year following, being the fiftieth, the feſtival of the jubilee of the Hebrews was celebrated, when all perſons confined for debt were liberated, and thoſe delinquents whoſe tranſgreſſions of the law had rendered them liable to capital puniſhment, had commuted the loſs of life on condition of ſlavery and ſervitude, were on this occaſion reſtored to freedom.

Upon the approach of the year of jubilee, which ſignifies the year of freedom, it was ſtipulated, that the property in land ſhould revert to the ancient proprietors. To ſettle this buſineſs, a meeting was held between the buyer and ſeller, when the produce of the eſtate being eſtimated, and the expence deducted therefrom, if upon the balance, the profits appeared to be the greater, the ſeller had his ground reſtored: but if, on the contrary, the charges exceeded the amount of the produce, the difference was paid to the purchaſer, and he quitted the poſſeſſion. In caſe of the produce and expences proving equal, the land returned to the original owner. Theſe rules were eſtabliſhed with reſpect to the purchaſe and ſale of houſes in open villages: but the method was different with regard to the buildings in walled towns: if the ſeller was ready to reſtore the purchaſe-money before the expiration of the term of the jubilee, he thereby acquired the right of re-entry; but if he permitted the year to elapſe, the purchaſer became confirmed in his poſſeſſion. Theſe laws and regulations Moſes received from the Almighty upon mount Sinai, for the benefit of the people who were then encamped at the foot of the mountain; and he cauſed them to be committed to writing for the uſe of poſterity.

Having inſtituted laws for regulating divine worſhip, and for a due adminiſtration of the civil goverment, Moſes next applied himſelf to the eſtabliſhment of the laws, and ordinances of war, and for maintaining a body of militia. He iſſued orders to the heads of the ſeveral tribes, the tribe of Levi being excepted, to make out an accurate liſt of the number of Hebrews that were able to bear arms. On account of their being dedicated peculiarly to the ſervice of God, the Levites were exempted from interfering in this or any other civil or military affairs. The number of men between twenty and fifty years of age, who were capable of military duty, was found to be ſix hundred and three thouſand, ſix hundred and fifty. In the room of Levi, Moſes conſtituted Manaſſeh, the ſon of Joſeph, a prince of one of the tribes, and alſo appointed Ephraim as the ſubſtitute for Joſeph, agreeable to the requeſt made by Jacob to Joſeph, when the former adopted the two ſons of the latter as his own.

When the Hebrews formed their encampment, the tabernacle was placed in the midſt of the tents, three of the tribes being ſtationed on each ſide of the ſtructure, there being large paſſages and avenues between the ſpaces of ground occupied by each tribe. In the camp was alſo a ſpacious market-place, where all the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life were expoſed to ſale, and in and about the market, tradeſmen and artificers of various deſcriptions were diſpoſed in convenient ſhops and ſtandings; ſo that the encampment had the appearance of a regular and well contrived city. The part aſſigned for the reſidence of the Levites was adjacent to the tabernacle; and a diſtinct account being taken of the number compoſing that tribe, the males of thirty days old and upwards appeared to be * twenty-three thouſand, eight hundred and eighty. While the cloud which we have before mentioned, remained hovering over the tabernacle, the Iſraelites continued upon the ſame ſpot: but whenever the cloud removed they formed their encampment in ſome other place.

The ſilver trumpets, and their uſe, Numb. X. 2, 10.

Moſes cauſed two trumpets to be made of ſilver, according to the following deſcription: they were each about a cubit in length, the tube being about the ſize of an ordinary flute, and juſt wide enough at the mouth to receive the breath for ſounding,

---

* This does not correſpond with Scripture where the number of the Levites, from a month old and upwards, is ſtated at twenty-two thouſand, two hundred and ſeventy-three.

and it was turned up at the end like the mouth of a bell, or of an ordinary trumpet. This inſtrument the Hebrews called Aſaphra. One of the trumpets was ſounded for aſſembling the people, the other for ſummoning the princes of the ſeveral tribes to hold councils on affairs of ſtate, and when they were both ſounded at the ſame time, it was underſtood to be the ſignal for a general aſſembly. Upon removing the tabernacle, the following regulations were obſerved. On the firſt ſounding of the trumpet, the three tribes to the eaſtward of the tabernacle were to decamp, as were thoſe to the ſouthward, upon the ſecond ſounding. The tabernacle was then to be taken to pieces, and the parts thereof to be placed upon two carriages. Upon the third ſounding of the trumpet, the part of camp towards the weſt moved, and upon the fourth ſound the tribes towards the north commenced their march. Six of the tribes preceded, and the others followed the tabernacle, the Levites keeping near it during the whole journey. The trumpets were uſed at the time of performing ſacrifice, upon the ſabbaths, and on various other occaſions.

CHAP XIII.

Being in want of food the people murmur againſt Moſes. Their wants ſupplied by a flight of quails.

HAVING removed from the neighbourhood of mount Sinai, the Hebrews travelled from place to place, till they at length formed their encampment at Iſeremoth, where the multitude engaged in a ſedition againſt Moſes, telling him, that through his perſuaſions they had been ſeduced to abandon one of the moſt fertile parts of the whole world, and now, inſtead of enjoying the bleſſings he had promiſed them, they were obliged to wander from place to place, in the utmoſt diſtreſs imaginable, being already on the point of periſhing through a want of water; and they added, that if their manna ſhould fail them, they muſt inevitably fall victims to the miſeries of famine. Whilſt they were diſcharging the moſt inſolent and opprobrious invectives againſt Moſes, one of the company reminded them, that they would act wiſely, if they were to reflect upon the many and ſignal ſervices Moſes had rendered them, and adviſed them to put their confidence in the goodneſs of God for relief: but this admonition ſerved only to render the revilings of the ſeditious multitude the more ungovernable and outrageous.

Obſerving that the people were driven to a ſtate of deſperation, Moſes addreſſed them in a ſtile calculated to appeaſe the turbulency of their paſſions, and inſpire them with the hope of ſoon experiencing a happy reverſe of fortune, notwithſtanding the provoking affronts he had ſo recently receiving from them. He aſſured them, that they ſhould ſpeedily have a ſupply of food ſufficient for their maintenance for ſeveral days. However, they gave no credit to his promiſes, but violently exclaimed againſt him, one of them aſking him in ſcorn, by what means he could ſuppoſe himſelf capable of ſupplying ſo many thouſand people with proviſions? Hereupon he replied, that notwithſtanding their ingratitude, they would be preſently convinced, that God and his ſervant Moſes were ſtill attentive to their welfare. Scarcely had he ſpoken theſe words, when an immenſe flight of quails deſcended into the camp, and the people gathered as many of them as they had occaſion for.

The miracle of the quails, Numb. XI. 31, 34.

However, in a ſhort time the Hebrews were ſeverely puniſhed for their ingratitude and inſolence; for the Almighty was pleaſed to afflict them with a plague, whereby great numbers of them were carried off. The place where they were viſited with this terrible judgment is called Cabrothraba, or the grave of luſts.

CHAP. XIV.

Moſes diſpatches meſſengers to examine into the ſtate of the land of Canaan. Upon their return, they repreſent the country as being in every reſpect highly deſireable: but the difficulty and danger of the paſſage, and the ſtrength of the fortifications deter the people from attempting to gain a ſettlement in that country. A conſpiracy againſt Moſes. The ſedition is appeaſed by the interference of Joſhua and Caleb. Mercy ſhewn to the Iſraelites in conſequence of the interceſſions of Moſes and Aaron.

HAVING led the Iſraelites to a place called the Streights, being upon the borders of the land of Canaan, and a ſituation extremely inconvenient to inhabit, Moſes aſſembled the people, and addreſſed to them the following diſcourſe:

"In his great goodneſs the Almighty was pleaſed to promiſe us two bleſſings; liberty, and the enjoyment of a happy land. By his grace and bounty, we already enjoy one of them, and moſt aſſuredly we ſhall ſoon have poſſeſſion of the other. We are already upon the borders of the country of Canaan; and it is not within the compaſs of human ability to diſappoint our expectations of eſtabliſhing a ſettlement in that truly deſirable ſpot. It is however neceſſary that we ſhould equip a powerful army; for without war, we muſt not hope to ſubjugate the country to our juriſdiction; and before we ſhall obtain a complete conqueſt over the inhabitants, we muſt expect to wage againſt them many fierce and obſtinate battles. I therefore adviſe, that we may diſpatch ſpies, to examine into, and make a report of the defenſive ſtate of the country, in order that we may be the better prepared to encounter the obſtacles we have to ſurmount. But I eſpecially recommend the preſervation of peace and unanimity, and that we may aſcribe all our ſucceſſes to the providence of God, who will aſſuredly fight on our ſide."

The multitude having expreſſed themſelves perfectly ſatiſfied with what Moſes had ſaid, he appointed twelve men, diſtinguiſhed for their talents, integrity and ſpirit of enterprize, to carry his propoſition into effect, one being ſelected from each tribe. Theſe deputies travelled through the land of Canaan, quite from Egypt and the parts in that neighbourhood, as far as the city of Amathe, and mount Libanus. Having accurately examined the nature and quality of the ſoil, the manners of the inhabitants, and the whole ſtate of the country, they returned, and made a report of the reſult of their expedition, having executed their commiſſion in the ſpace of forty days.

The deputies repreſented the country as extremely fruitful, and produced ſamples of ſeveral kinds of delicious fruits with which it abounded; and ſo favourable a report induced the Hebrews unanimouſly to eſpouſe the reſolution of ſubduing the land of Canaan by the force of arms: but the idea of this enterprize was entirely abandoned, when the commiſſioners came to relate the dangers and difficulties that were to be oppoſed. They ſaid, the rivers were impaſſable; that in different parts of the land were mountains and precipices, that appeared to be wholly inacceſſible; that the country contained many fortified cities, and ſtrong holds, and that Hebron was inhabited by a race of giants, who in ſtature and bodily ſtrength greatly ſurpaſſed the ordinary race of mankind. The deputies themſelves expreſſed their doubts of ſucceſs; and the ſame apprehenſion infected the body of the people.

Another mutiny againſt Moſes, Numb. XIV. 1, 4.

The dangers attending the enterprize drove the Iſraelites into a ſtate of the moſt violent deſperation: they paſſed the whole night in venting the moſt horrid blaſphemies againſt God, ſaying he had ſeduced them out of Egypt by means of promiſes that they were now convinced would not be fulfilled; and againſt Moſes and Aaron they diſcharged every reproach and execration that the utmoſt rancour of malice could ſuggeſt, declaring an implacable reſolution of making them a ſacrifice to their diſappointment and revenge. In the morning they entered into a conſpiracy to ſtone Moſes and Aaron to death, and agreed, immediately after executing their barbarous purpoſe, to return into Egypt.

The ſedition appeaſed; ver. 6, 9.

The people being in theſe circumſtances of tumult and confuſion, Joſhua, the ſon of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, and Caleb of the tribe of Judah, two of the twelve that had been employed to reconnoitre the land of Canaan, exerted their utmoſt efforts to appeaſe the ſedition. They addreſſed the people to the following purpoſe:

"Is it not ſtrange, that you ſhould ſtill diſtruſt the promiſes God has made to you, and yet give credit to reports that are fabricated concerning the land of Canaan, merely to deter you from gaining poſſeſſion of that country. You ſhould rather confide in, and follow the advice of thoſe who have ſo greatly exerted themſelves to put you in poſſeſſion of that bleſſing. Men of vigorous and enterprizing ſpirits will not be terrified by the height of mountains, or tht depth of rivers, which aſſuredly cannot be the means of diſappointing us of ſucceſs, ſince the Almighty is our protector and defender. Therefore let us immediately advance to attack the enemy, without deliberating as to what may be the conſequence. Truſt in the goodneſs of God for ſafety and ſucceſs, and chearfully follow wherever your leaders ſhall command."

In the mean time, Moſes and Aaron proſtrated themſelves on the earth, and implored the Almighty to compoſe the turbulent minds of the multitude; and their prayers being heard, a cloud appeared over the tabernacle, and thereby the preſence and favour of the Almighty were indicated.

CHAP. XV.

Moſes predicts that the people ſhall not enter the land of Canaan, but ſhall wander in the wilderneſs for the ſpace of forty years; as a puniſhment for their incredulity and wickedneſs. The Hebrews repent. The reputation and authority of Moſes. A dreadful famine.

MOSES now repaired to the people, and repreſented the judgments that God had denounced againſt them, not as being proportioned to the enormity of their guilt, but as a fatherly correction of his children.

"Upon my entering the tabernacle," ſaid Moſes, "to implore that you might not be utterly cut off from the face of the earth, the Almighty was pleaſed to expreſs his diſpleaſure at the ungrateful return you have made for all the benefits conferred upon you, and the affront and indignity you now offer him in ſuffering yourſelves to be induced, by the reports of the commiſſioners appointed to enquire into the ſtate of the land of Canaan, to diſcredit the promiſes he has, through my agency, been graciouſly pleaſed to make in your favour. Notwithſtanding your diſobedience, I am authoriſed to aſſure you, that God will not permit the choſen race of his people to become extinct: but you muſt not expect to enjoy the bleſſings of the land of Canaan, you being condemned to lead a wandering life in the wilderneſs, without any regular and ſettled habitation, for the ſpace of forty years, as a puniſhment for your perverſe obſtinacy and diſobedience. However, the promiſe of God will be amply verified, inaſmuch as your children will inherit that bleſſed land, which you have rendered yourſelves unworthy the poſſeſſion of, by your impious want of confidence in the veracity of God."

The ſubmiſſion of the Iſraelites.

This addreſs ſtruck the multitude with aſtoniſhment and terror; and they implored Moſes to intercede with the Almighty to pardon their diſobedience, and lead them out of the wilderneſs into the promiſed land. Upon this, he informed them, that the intentions of God were not to be diverted by unreaſonable importunities; for all his proceedings were founded upon unerring wiſdom and ſtrict juſtice; and therefore they were not to expect that the ſentence pronounced againſt them would be reverſed.

It may to ſome appear a matter of ſurprize, that a ſingle man ſhould be able to ſubdue the intemperate paſſions of ſo numerous a body of the people, and ſo effectually reduce them to moderation; but it ſhould be remembered, that in this he was aſſiſted by the Divine Power, whereby the minds of the multitude were prepared to be wrought upon and overcome by his perſuaſions.

The great qualities and authority of Moſes.

Moſes was not only eminent for his righteouſneſs, wiſdom and fortitude, but alſo for being held in ſuch high and univerſal eſteem, that people of all ranks placed implicit confidence in whatever he ſaid. The Hebrews, at this time, hold the laws and precepts of Moſes in ſacred veneration, and are fully perſuaded, that through the whole conduct of his life, he acted by a divine impulſe. Of the reſpect that was on all occaſions ſhewn to him, many inſtances might be produced; and among them is the following: From a preference to our mode of divine worſhip, a company of people came from beyond the Euphrates, at great hazard and expence, they being four months upon the journey. They offered up ſacrifice, but were not allowed any part thereof; becauſe in ſome caſes, the law of Moſes permits not people to partake of the ſacrifices they offer: ſome were refuſed the privilege of ſacrificing, and others were compelled to depart when they had but half performed that ceremony; and ſome were refuſed admittance into the temple: but they made no complaint, deeming it more prudent to wave gratifying their own inclinations, than to tranſgreſs the orders of Moſes, whom they held in the higheſt reverence and veneration, conſidering his ordinances of divine inſtitution.

A famine in Judea.

A ſhort time before the Jewiſh war, and in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, and during the pontificate of Iſhmael, ſo dreadful a famine prevailed in Judea, that flour ſold at the rate of * four drachmas the aſſar. Of this article ſeventy coruſes were provided for the feaſt of unleavened bread, they being equivalent to one Sicilian medimni and forty-one atticks. Though the prieſts were on the point of periſhing through want of bread, not one of them preſumed to taſte of this proviſion, ſo ſcrupulouſly obſervant were they of their duty, and ſo fearful of incurring the diſpleaſure of God, by tranſgreſſing the ſacred laws delivered to them by Moſes. Can a doubt be entertained of the wonders wrought by our admirable legiſlator, when our moſt inveterate enemies are compelled to acknowledge the divine origin of the records he has left in writings, and that the founder of our commonwealth was the immediate inſtrument whereby God was pleaſed to execute the great purpoſes of his righteous will?

---

* In the proportion of one pound and three quarters averdupoiſe, for two ſhillings and ſeven pence ſterling.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS,

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK IV.

From the Year of the World 2455 *to* 2493.

CHAPTER I.

The Hebrews determine to make war againſt the Canaanites. Moſes oppoſes their deſign, in conſequence of which they revile him, and a dangerous mutiny enſues. An engagement takes place, and the Hebrews are repulſed. Moſes leads the people back into the deſart.

THE Iſraelites continued to ſuſtain great inconveniences and hardſhips in the wilderneſs, and their diſcontent was increaſed upon reflecting, that God would not conſent to their making war againſt the people of Canaan. Finding them reſolutely determined to commence hoſtilities, Moſes endeavoured to prevail upon them to relinquiſh that deſign: but they contemptuouſly rejected his advice, ſaying, they were reſolved to proſecute the war without his aſſiſtance; adding, that the object he had in view was, to keep them in ſubjection and miſery for his own advantage. In ſhort, they determined upon an immediate war againſt the Canaanites, relying, as they ſaid, on the aſſiſtance of Heaven, not on account of his favour to Moſes, but becauſe God had declared himſelf to be the friend and protector of their anceſtors. If they behaved with reſolution, they ſuppoſed they could not fail of ſucceſs; and they expreſſed themſelves convinced, that the power that had redeemed them from bondage would crown their arms with victory. Though Moſes ſhould endeavour to render God unfavourable to the undertaking, ſtill they thought they had no reaſon to doubt their power of obtaining a conqueſt over the Canaanites. They argued in the following manner: It is a duty we owe to ourſelves to maintain our common liberties, and, after being reſcued from one ſlavery, to avoid ruſhing into another. Of what conſequence is it to us, whether we are ſubſervient to the Egyptians or Moſes? Let us no longer ſubmit to the deluſions of this man, who vainly pretends to receive revelations from Heaven, and to hold conferences with the Almighty, thereby ſtriving to perſuade us, that, of the whole human race, he alone is honoured with a knowledge of the ſecret purpoſes of God. Are not we all, as well as the man we are ſpeaking of, deſcended from Abraham; and can any reaſon be aſſigned for his aſſuming the reputation of ſuperior knowledge in the events of futurity? Let us no longer ſubmit to the arrogance and vain pretentions of this man; but, without ſurther delay, relieve ourſelves from thoſe diſtreſſes which are daily accumulating. The only way to attain this deſirable event is, immediately to attack the Canaanites, and thereby poſſeſs ourſelves of the land, which God, who will be our leader in the war, has promiſed us.

The voice of the people being unanimouſly for war, the neceſſary preparations for that event were made with the utmoſt expedition. They made a furious attack upon the Canaanites, who notwithſtanding the fierceneſs of the charge, and the ſuperior numbers of the enemy, maintained their ground, and repulſing the Hebrews, with conſiderable ſlaughter, purſued them to the very ſpot of their encampment. The Iſraelites were greatly dejected by this unexpected defeat, which they expected would be followed by conſequences ſtill more fatal to them; for they were now conſcious of having committed a raſh and preſumptious action in hazarding a battle, in oppoſition to the pleaſure of the Almighty.

The Hebrews defeated by the Canaanites.

So broken and depreſſed were the ſpirits of the Hebrews by their late diſaſter, and ſo elated were the Canaanites with their ſucceſs, that to lead his people back into the wilderneſs, Moſes deemed to be the beſt expedient he could adopt, being apprehenſive, that if they remained in their preſent ſituation, the enemy might purſue the advantage they had gained, and involve them in ſtill greater calamities. Being convinced by their late calamity, that they could not proſper in any undertaking wherein they ſhould engage contrary to the advice of Moſes, they ſolemnly pledged themſelves, on all future occaſions, to yield perfect and unconditional obedience and ſubmiſſion to him; and then they returned into the wilderneſs, under the eſcort of Moſes, having formed the reſolution never again to attempt a conqueſt over the Canaanites, unleſs they ſhould receive an expreſs direction for that purpoſe from Heaven.

Moſes leads the Hebrews back to the wilderneſs.

CHAP. II.

A deſperate mutiny among the Hebrews. The envy and ambition of Corah. He reviles Moſes for aſſuming authority over the people, and for having advanced his brother Aaron to the pontifical dignity. Two hundred and fifty leading men at the head of the inſurrection. The Hebrews call for Moſes to be ſtoned to death. Moſes addreſſes to Corah a diſcourſe in his own defence.

WHEN numerous bodies of people are in circumſtances of diſtreſs and embarraſſment, factions, calumnies and diſobedience generally enſue: and this was the caſe of the Hebrews. The number of Hebrews upon the muſter, as being capable of bearing arms, was ſix hundred thouſand; they had on all occaſions ſignalized themſelves by their untractable ſpirit and want of reſpect to their ſuperiors; and whenever an unfortunate alteration happened in their affairs, they became turbulent to each other, and totally regardleſs of all authority towards their ſuperiors. This malevolent diſpoſition gave riſe to a tumult and mutiny more formidable than had yet been known, either among the Iſraelites, the Greeks, or the Barbarians: and this ſedition muſt inevitably have terminated in the total deſtruction of the people, had not Moſes, generouſly excuſing all the cruel treatment he had received from the ungrateful multitude, interpoſed for their preſervation. Notwithſtanding their contempt of the divine commandments, and their oppoſition to their righteous legiſlator, the Almighty was graciouſly pleaſed not utterly to ~~withdraw his favour~~ from this degenerate people.

Among the Hebrews was a perſon named Corah, he being a man of diſtinction, both on account of the reſpectability of his family connections, and the extent of his poſſeſſions; and he having the art and addreſs to humour the paſſions and prejudices of the people, and inſinuate himſelf into their favour, he rendered himſelf as popular as any man of the Hebrew nation. The circumſtance of Moſes being advanced to ſovereign authority, excited the envy of Corah, who poſſeſſing greater wealth than the man to whom he aſpired to be the rival, and being of a family equally diſtinguiſhed, vehemently complained to the Levites and his relations, that his pretenſions being in every reſpect equal to thoſe of Moſes, he conceived himſelf to be as much intitled to public diſtinction as the other. He addreſſed the perſons attached to his intereſt to the following effect:

"It is highly injurious to the public, that, under the pretence of ſanctity and religion, Moſes ſhould have the opportunity of gratifying his ambition and inordinate luſt of power. It is notorious, that without the approbation of the people, he lately conferred the high-prieſthood, and other dignities upon his brother Aaron. By art and inſinuation, he acquired the executive powers of the government, and before they knew what was his aim, the people were deprived of their liberties. The man whoſe conſcience tells him that he is qualified to be the ruler of a people, will apply to them for their approbation, and for confirming him in the office, but will never attempt to arrogate it to himſelf by violence and tyranny. What pretenſions could Moſes erect for beſtowing the high-prieſthood upon Aaron, and appointing his ſons as ſucceſſors to that dignity? If the circumſtance of his belonging to the tribe of Levi operated towards the advancement of Aaron, I might, on that account, plead an equal right to preference, being of the ſame tribe, in addition to which I have the advantage of being his ſuperior both in years, and the amount of my poſſeſſions. If ſeniority gives a juſt claim to the high-prieſthood, it properly belongs to the tribe of Rubel, of which Dathan, Abiram, and Phala, are the ſeniors; and they are, beſides, men whoſe talents and integrity have deſervedly acquired them great reputation!"

Though his real motive was to obtain the office of high-prieſt, by clandeſtinely ſupplanting Aaron, he pretended to be actuated merely by an anxious deſire of promoting the public welfare. Corah's inſinuating diſcourſe paſſed from one to another till it became known to the whole encampment, and no leſs than an hundred and fifty of the leading men attached themſelves to the conſpiracy, for the purpoſe of depriving Aaron of the high-prieſthood, and conferring that dignity upon Corah. The multitude now crowded about the tabernacle, vehemently calling out for Moſes to be ſtoned to death, in order that they might be relieved from his tyranny and oppreſſion. They ſaid, that if God interfered with regard to the appointment of a high prieſt, it could not be ſuppoſed, that he would have ſelected a man ſo unqualified as Aaron for diſcharging the duties of that high office; adding, that if it was the pleaſure of Heaven, that Aaron ſhould inherit the pontifical dignity, it ought to have been confered upon him by the ſuffrages of the people, inſtead of through the partial interpoſition of his brother.

Moſes was perfectly acquainted with the motive of the artful practices of Corah, which he knew would powerfully operate upon the multitude: but conſoling himſelf in the reflection, that he had acted from the dictates of a good conſcience, and that his brother's advancement was in conſequence of the ſpecial appointment of God, he addreſſed himſelf to Corah and his aſſociates in terms to the following effect:

Moſes vindicates himſelf.

"I am free to admit that you, Corah, or either of your noble companions (pointing to the two hundred and fifty leaders of the ſedition), may be worthy of the prieſthood. The poſſeſſions both of my brother and myſelf are not more than half the amount of thoſe you have the good fortune to enjoy: and you muſt be ſatisfied that the exaltation of Aaron was not on account of his wealth; neither is he indebted for the dignity of the prieſthood to his illuſtrious deſcent; for we all derive our origin from the ſame progenitor. By no partial motive, nor conſideration of conſanguinity, was I induced to deprive another man of his right, in nominating my brother to the high ſtation he holds; for had I been influenced by any other principles than thoſe of honour and integrity, I might, without difficulty, have ſecured the prieſthood for my own peculiar emolument and advantage: but I abhor the idea of ſo unjuſtifiable an action. Be aſſured that God would not have permitted me with impunity to tranſgreſs his ſacred commands in the manner imputed to me, and that he would not have permitted you to remain in ignorance as to what proceedings in regard to the prieſthood would be moſt acceptable to him. Aaron's advancement was in obedience to the particular direction and appointment of God; and therefore, I muſt, of neceſſity, be exhonorated from the offence alledged againſt me. To convince you that Aaron is not ambitious, and that, for the ſake of public peace, he is willing to ſurrender a right that cannot be diſputed on reaſonable grounds, he will make no difficulty in reſting the iſſue of his cauſe upon a ſecond appeal to the people, by whoſe ſuffrages he was unanimouſly confirmed in his preſent office. Moſt undoubtedly there can be no offence in accepting the bounties which God is pleaſed to offer us, ſince the refuſal of them would be an act of impiety. It is ſurely reaſonable to allow the benefactor the right of ratifying the bounties he has beſtowed; and therefore you will act wiſely in referring the caſe again to the deciſion of Heaven, that you may eſpouſe the cauſe of the man whom God ſhall elect for the diſcharge of the ſacerdotal function. Stimulated by ambitious views, you, Corah, have diſputed the right of God to appoint his own prieſt: but one day more will bring this controverſy to an iſſue. Let all who have pretenſions to the dignity in queſtion, appear to-morrow morning, with their cenſers containing fire and incenſe in their hands. I ſhall expect, Corah, to ſee you among the number; but without preſuming to put your own authority in oppoſition to that of Heaven, I admoniſh you to wait for the determination of God. Aaron being of the ſame family, and a man whoſe official character is in every reſpect free from reproach, I can ſee no reaſonable objection againſt his attending the aſſembly. The candidates being met, let them ſeverally offer up incenſe in the ſight of the people, and be it now agreed, that he whoſe ſacrifice ſhall prove moſt acceptable to Heaven, ſhall be declared the high-prieſt, and be confirmed in that office by my authority. By this appeal the difference will be brought to a fair and ſatisfactory accommodation, and at the ſame time I ſhall be relieved from the imputation of a partial proceeding in favour of my brother."

This diſcourſe appeaſed the refractory ſpirit of the people, who acknowledged that what Moſes had ſaid was reaſonable and juſt. Their enmity and prejudices againſt him being conſiderably abated, they confeſſed that Moſes was a man of great righteouſneſs and wiſdom. The council then roſe.

CHAP. III.

Dathan and Abiram diſclaim the authority of Moſes. Moſes appeals to Heaven. The earth opens and ſwallows up Dathan, Abiram, and all their adherents. Corah and his aſſociates conſumed with fire from Heaven. Aaron confirmed in the dignity of the pontificate.

IN purſuance of the notice given by Moſes, the people aſſembled the following morning, in order to attend the ſacrifices, and learn the reſult of the matter in controverſy. They were diſſatisfied and tumultuous, being divided between hope and fear with regard to the iſſue of the conteſt. Many were deſirous of having Moſes publicly diſgraced: but the more ſenſible and moderate part of the people were for appeaſing the ſedition, and reſtoring affairs to their former ſituation, apprehending that if the tumult and diſorder among the lower claſſes of the community ſhould not be diſcountenanced, the probable conſequence would be a total ſubverſion of order and government; for the populace were naturally turbulent and refractory, fond of novelties, and much addicted to envy, malice, and diſreſpect and contumacy towards their ſuperiors.

Moſes diſpatched a ſummons to Dethan and Abiram, requiring their attendance on the buſineſs of the day, and to ſupport the claims to which they had made pretenſions. They returned by the meſſengers an abſolute refuſal to comply, ordering them to ſay that Moſes had obtained his power and authority by indirect and unjuſtifiable means, and that they were irrevocably determined no longer to ſubmit to his uſurpation. Hereupon Moſes commanded ſome of the heads of the tribes to follow him, and proceeded towards the tents of Dathan and Abiram, deeming it not inconſiſtent with his dignity to attempt reſtoring public tranquillity by a perſonal application to thoſe men who were among the leaders of the rebellious faction.

Being informed of the approach of Moſes, and his train, Dathan and his companions, with their wives and children, quitted their tents, and waited for their arrival, their guards being drawn up in readineſs to repel force by force, in caſe any violence ſhould be attempted. When Moſes came to Dathan, he lifted up his hands to Heaven, and exalting his voice, that he might be heard by the multitude, he made the following appeal to the Almighty.

Moſes makes a ſecond appeal to God reſpecting the juſtice of his cauſe, Numbers XVI. 28.

"Almighty God, thou who art the Lord and ſovereign ruler of the Heavens, the earth and the ſea, the irrefragable witneſs to all the actions of my life; thou, who in commiſeration of the ſufferings of the Iſraelites, delivered them from bondage, and miraculouſly ſupplied their miſerable neceſſities in their retreat from Egypt; thou, who haſt on all occaſions, and in every emergency, been my conſtant ſupport and protector, and who knoweſt that whatever I have hitherto done, hath been in ſtrict conformity with thy divine commandments; thou, from whom no event can be concealed, and who art acquainted with the moſt ſecret purpoſes of our minds, vouchſafe now to bring the truth to light, that the malice and ingratitude of my unrighteous accuſers may be expoſed and diſappointed: do thou, O God, who knoweſt even the moſt minute tranſactions of paſt ages, and who haſt witneſſed the integrity of my own life, bear teſtimony to my innocence, againſt the unmerited calumnies and cruel ſlanders that are advanced againſt me; thou, who knoweſt, that, when I was ſettled amidſt all the comforts of a private life, having the means of gratifying every virtuous deſire, through thy infinite bleſſings, the kindneſs of * Raguel, my father-in-law, I abandoned that ſtate of domeſtic happineſs, and for the ſake of the people who now treat me with ſuch unkindneſs, expoſed myſelf to innumerable dangers, and to unremitting toil, embarraſſment, and vexation. But ſince I am now become the object of the jealouſy and hatred of the people whom I have reſcued from ſo many extremities, do thou, O God, who did vouchſafe to appear to thy faithful ſervant on mount Sinai; who conferred upon him the honour of an embaſſy into Egypt, to humble the pride of the people of that country, and redeem the Hebrews from ſlavery; thou who enabled me to ſubdue the formidable power of Pharoah, and obtain compleat conqueſt over the vaſt Egyptian army, turning the ſea into dry land, and then converting that land into a part of the ocean, furniſhing the Hebrews, who were wholly unprovided with weapons of defence, with the arms that belonged to their oppreſſive and tyrannical enemies; who transformed corrupt and poiſonous water into a pleaſant and wholſome beverage; who, in the extremity of our drought, occaſioned a ſtream of pure water to iſſue from a rock, and miraculouſly furniſhed us with food from the ſea, and from the Heavens; thou who haſt laid the foundation of our government, and modelled our laws; thou, who art the judge and witneſs of all things: I now humbly beſeech and implore thee, to bear teſtimony in my behalf, that I have in no inſtance ſuffered myſelf to be corrupted to eſpouſe an unjuſt cauſe. I am now accuſed of an abuſe of authority in the adminiſtration of public affairs, in as much as it is pretended, that it was not in conſequence of the divine appointment, but from the impulſe of private affection, that I advanced my brother Aaron to the prieſthood. Be pleaſed then, O God, by ſome ſignal manifeſtation of thy wonderful power, to convince the credulous multitude, that it is not by chance, but by the interpoſition of thy gracious providence, that the affairs of this world are governed. I now call upon thee Almighty Father of the univerſe, to vindicate thyſelf, by executing vengeance upon Dathan and Abiram, for having impiouſly propoſed to counteract thy divine will, by artifice and impoſition. Inflict upon theſe blaſphemous detractors from, and traducers of, thy holineſs and glory, ſome exemplary vengeance: let them not meet the common fate of humanity; but, as they are unworthy to live, let them periſh by ſome extraordinary means; let the earth ſwallow them, together with their families and poſſeſſions, that by ſo dreadful a judgment, thoſe who ſurvive theſe abominable contemners of thy divine power, and all ſucceeding generations, may be thereby admoniſhed to treat thy divine Majeſty with becoming reverence, and to glorify thy ſacred name. If I ſhall be found guilty of the charges exhibited againſt me by my malicious and falſe accuſers, may thoſe judgments fall upon me, which I have imprecated on their heads, and may freedom and happineſs be the portion of thoſe of my enemies who now ſeek my deſtruction. But, when thou ſhalt diſcharge thy wrath againſt the iniquitous fomentors of the rebellion, I beſeech thee, O Lord, to ſpare the reſt of the people, and preſerve them in peace, unanimity and ſafety, and in due reſpect and obedience to thy ſacred commandments; and this requeſt I preſume to make, becauſe I conceive it would not be conſiſtent with the rules of thy juſtice to confound the innocent in the puniſhment that is due to the guilty."

---

* Scrip. Jethro.

During the delivery of this appeal, the voice of the ſpeaker was repeatedly interrupted by his expreſſions of ſorrow for the miſeries awaiting the people whoſe tranſgreſſions had expoſed them to the dreadful effects of the divine diſpleaſure. Immediately after the concluſion of this addreſs to God, a violent convulſion of the earth threw the people into the utmoſt horror and conſternation; and quitting their tents in terror and confuſion, they uttered the moſt diſmal lamentations. In concluſion, the * earth opened under their feet, and ſwallowed up Dathan, Abiram, and all their accomplices and abettors in the ſedition, together with their tents, cattle, implements of war, and every article belonging to them; and in an inſtant the chaſm ſo exactly cloſed, that not the ſmalleſt trace or veſtige of the rupture was diſcernible. Thus was a formidable and dangerous inſurrection terminated, by an event that muſt ever be conſidered an illuſtrious inſtance of the power and providence of the Almighty.

Dathan, Abiram, and their followers ſwallowed up by the earth, Numb. XVI. 32, 33.

After the deſtruction of Dathan, Abiram, and their accomplices, Moſes aſſembled the candidates for the pontifical dignity, and the two hundred and fifty beforementioned attended, they being men of great eminence among the Hebrews. With theſe came Aaron and Corah, they firſt approaching the tabernacle. While they were all employed in offering up incenſe with their cenſers, a ſudden fire appeared, which was ſo fierce and ardent as to ſurpaſs the violence of burning mountains or volcanoes, or whole foreſts in conflagration, while the wind gave additional power to the deſtructive and devouring quality of the other element. This fire was ſent from Heaven, it being impoſſible that a flame ſo fierce and ſubtle could be produced by any natural means; and, in an inſtant, it ſo entirely conſumed the bodies of Corah and his two hundred and fifty adherents, that not the ſmalleſt particle thereof could be diſcovered. Of the whole number of people aſſembled before the tabernacle to offer up incenſe, Aaron alone ſurvived, and he remained perfectly unhurt by the fire that

Corah and his aſſociates conſumed by a fire from Heaven, Numb. XIV. 35.

---

* "And it came to paſs, as he had made an end of ſpeaking all theſe words, that the ground clave aſunder that was under them: and the earth opened her mouth, and ſwallowed them up, and their houſes, and all the men that appertained unto Corah, and all their goods. They, and all that appertained to them, went down alive into the pit, and the earth cloſed upon them: and they periſhed from among the congregation. And all Iſrael that were round about them, fled at the cry of them: for they ſaid, Leſt the earth ſwallow us up alſo." Numb. XVI. 31, 32, 33, 34.—Hence it appears, that the earth ſwallowed up Dathan, Abiram, and all their aſſociates and followers, who abetted them in giving ſupport to the ſciſmatical rebellion of Corah; but though thoſe appertaining to him, or eſpouſing his cauſe, fell by this judgment, another fate was reſerved for him, as one of the two hundred and fifty-one candidates for the prieſthood, being equally dreadful with that experienced by Dathan, Abiram, and their companions, and at the ſame time as fully expreſſive of the wonderful power of God.

had ſo aſtoniſhingly devoured his vain and ambitious competitors for the office conferred upon him by the eſpecial appointment of God.

A brazen altar in memorial of the judgment, ver. 30, 40.

To perpetuate the memory of this ſignal judgment,* Moſes commanded Eleazar, the ſon of Aaron to affix the cenſers of the perſons who had ſo miſerably periſhed to the brazen altar, in order that future generations might be thereby admoniſhed, that the power of the Almighty is not to be eluded by human artifices or cunning. The miracle which the people had witneſſed, convinced them beyond all doubt, that Aaron had not been advanced to the pontificate through the partial interpoſition of his brother, but that he had ſucceeded thereto in conſequence of the eſpecial appointment and direction of Heaven.

CHAP. IV.

The Iſraelites again murmur againſt Moſes, upbraiding him as being the cauſe of all their calamities. The miraculous budding of Aaron's rod, whereby his election receives further confirmation. The Levites exempted from military diſcipline. The revenues and emoluments of the prieſts. Cuſtoms of the Nazarenes. The king of Idumea refuſes the Hebrews a paſſage through his dominions. The death of Mariam, ſiſter of Moſes. The purification of the people. Moſes leads the people through the deſart into Arabia. The death of Aaron.

THOUGH the miraculous operations of the divine Being ſerved to check the ſpirit of rebellion, it was far from extinguiſhing it; for the ſedition of which we have given the particulars, was followed by another populous tumult, ariſing from a cauſe that ſeemed to render the reſtoration of public tranquillity extremely difficult. Having adopted the idea, that the acts of divine providence to which they had been witneſs, were in conſequence of the interference of Moſes, the people vehemently exclaimed againſt him, as being the cauſe of all their ſufferings, contending, that the ſins of the people would not have been puniſhed with ſuch great ſeverity, had not the Almighty been induced to manifeſt his diſpleaſure by the interpoſition of Moſes. They imputed the deſtruction of the perſons who had lately fallen victims to the vengeance of offended Heaven, to the inſtigation of Moſes, whoſe private intereſt they pretended was promoted by the miſfortunes of others, which alſo ſerved to confirm his brother in the prieſthood, and intail the ſucceſſion thereof upon his family; for, after ſo terrible a fate as the former competitors had met with, all other than the deſcendants of Aaron would be deterred from aſpiring at the dignity of the pontificate. The prevailing diſcontents afforded the friends and relations of the deceaſed a favourable opportunity for expatiating on the neceſſity of reſtraining the exhorbitant power of Moſes, which, they aſſerted, it was a duty incumbent upon them no longer to neglect.

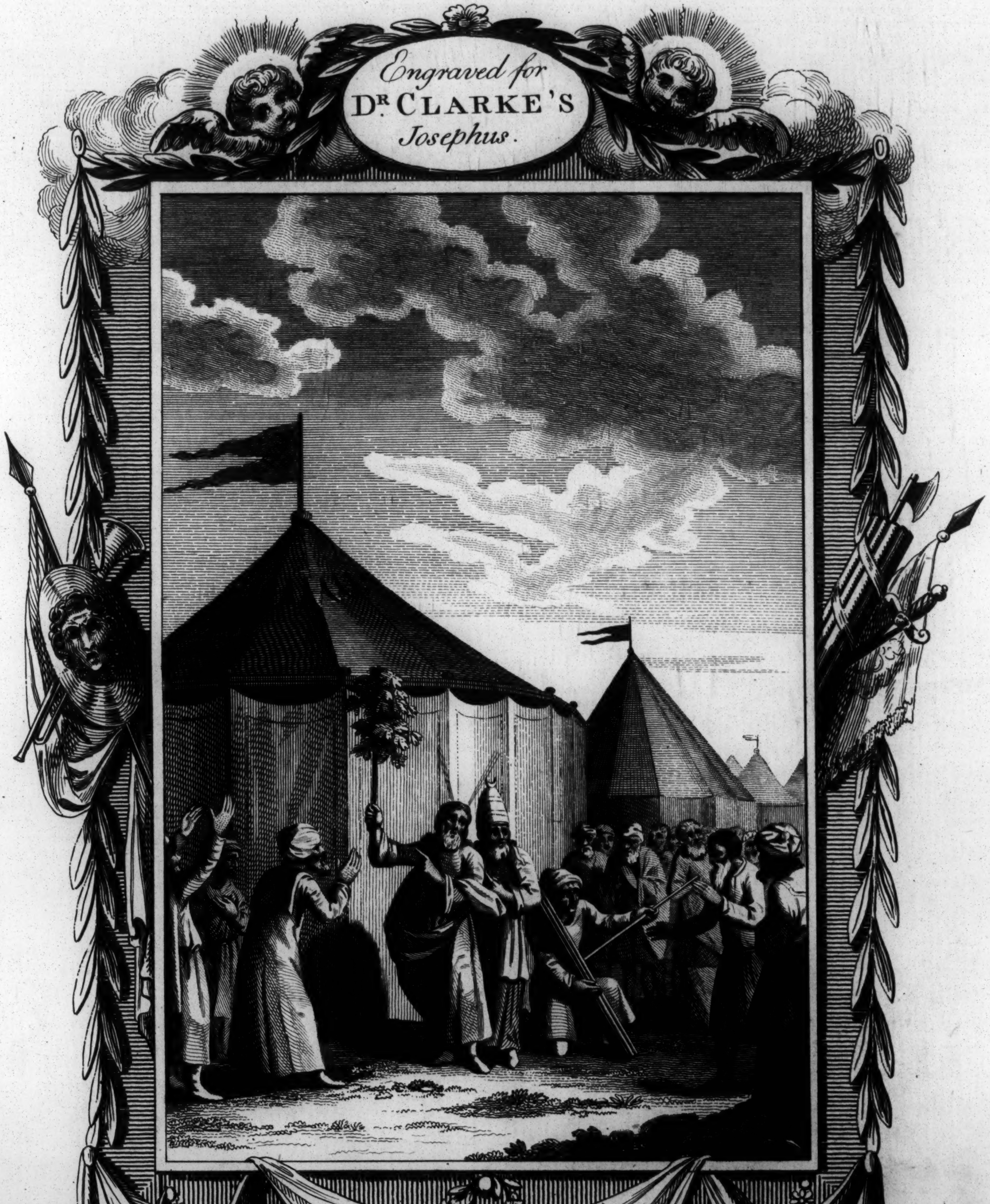
Obſerving the tumultuous diſpoſition of the people, Moſes prudently reſolved to purſue ſuch meaſures as were calculated to avert the impending ſtorm. He iſſued orders for the people to be ſummoned together, and upon their meeting, he requeſted that they would enumerate the cauſes of their complaints, that he might be the better enabled to yield them relief. He patiently attended to them, while they recapitulated their grievances, and made no obſervations thereon, but appointed the chiefs of the tribes to bring into his preſence their rods, they being inſcribed with the names of thoſe tribes to which they reſpectively belonged, propoſing that the chief on whoſe rod any eſpecialmark or ſign of the favour of God ſhould appear, ſhould be confirmed in poſſeſſion of the pontifical office. This propoſition was unanimouſly agreed to; and the rods were accordingly brought, bearing the inſcriptions as directed; and Moſes for the preſent, depoſited them in the tabernacle of God.

On the following day, Moſes produced the rods in preſence of the princes of the tribes, who, from the inſcriptions, eaſily diſtinguiſhed which was the property of each particular

---

* "And the Lord ſpake unto Moſes, ſaying, Speak unto Eleazar, the ſon of Aaron the prieſt, that he take up the cenſers out of the burning, and ſcatter thou the fire yonder; for they are hallowed. The cenſers of theſe ſinners againſt their own ſouls, let them make them broad plates for a covering of the altar: for they offered them before the Lord, therefore they are hallowed: and they ſhall be a ſign unto the children of Iſrael. And Eleazar the prieſt took the brazen cenſers, wherewith they that were burnt had offered; and they were made broad plates for a covering of the altar: to be a memorial unto the children of Iſrael, that no ſtranger, which is not of the ſeed of Aaron, come near to offer incenſe before the Lord; that he be not as Corah, and as his company." "Numb. XVI. 36. &c. God orders that the prieſts ſhould throw the incenſe, which was yet burning in the cenſers, to ſome diſtance from the tabernacle, and probably into that place where it was uſual to throw the aſhes from the altar. Levit. VI. 11.—The cenſers having been employed in ſacred uſe, it was unlawful to apply them to common purpoſes; and therefore God commanded, that they ſhould be beaten into broad plates, and laid over the great brazen altar, or the altar of burnt-offering, and not over the altar of incenſe, which was overlaid with pure gold. The cenſers were made of braſs. The altar of incenſe was in the holy place, which was inacceſſible, and therefore had the plates been put there, they would not have anſwered the end of being a ſign to the people.

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

The Miracle of AARON'S Rod

Van Stadt delin. T. Cook sculp.

Published as the Act directs Nov.r 5.th 1785. by John Walker Pater noster Row.

he miracle f Aaron's d, Numb. XVIII. 8.

ticular perſon. The other rods were found preciſely in the ſame ſituation in which they had been delivered to Moſes: but, to the aſtoniſhment of the beholders, that belonging to Aaron was found not only to have * ſprouted out with branches, but actually to bear ripe almonds, it being made of the tree naturally producing the fruit that thus miraculouſly appeared upon it. This wonderful ſpectacle at once convinced the people of the predeliction of the Almighty in favour of Aaron, and compleatly extinguiſhed that inveterate animoſity they had ſo long entertained, both againſt him and his brother Moſes. In admiration of the great power of God, the candidates for the pontificate withdrew their claims, and yielded the right of election to Aaron, whereby he and his poſterity were a third time, through the interpoſition of Heaven, confirmed in the prieſthood, the future right of inheriting that office not being the cauſe of future controverſy or contention. This was the happy period when the troubles of the Hebrews ſubſided, after a long courſe of domeſtic feuds, animoſities and diſſentions.

The tribe of Levi being peculiarly appointed to the exerciſe of the ſacerdotal functions, Moſes exempted them from all attention to military diſcipline; and this he did, in order, that the common employments of life might not interfere with their religious duties. Moſes ordained, that immediately after the Iſraelites ſhould come into poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan, ſix of the beſt cities ſhould be ſelected for the reſidence of the Levites, to whom alſo were aſſigned two thouſand cubits of land ſurrounding the walls thereof; and in addition hereto, it was ſtipulated, that they ſhould receive a tenth part of the profits ariſing from all the fruits of the earth, to be regularly paid to the prieſts and Levites by the other part of the Hebrew nation. From the time of its original eſtabliſhment to the preſent day, the people have chearfully contributed a tythe of the produce of their lands towards the maintenance of the prieſts and Levites.

In addition to the above-mentioned regulations, Moſes provided, that the Levites ſhould yield thirteen of the cities to the prieſts, and likewiſe the tenth part of the tythes, excluſive of the firſt fruits of all their products of the earth, as an offering to the Almighty. The firſtling of every quadrupede offered in ſacrifice, if a male, was to be preſented to the prieſthood, to be eaten by them in the holy city: but with reſpect to thoſe animals that were not permitted to be eaten, the law preſcribes, that the owners ſhall each preſent a † ſhekel and a half, inſtead of the firſtling; and for the firſt-born of a man, five ſhekels are to be paid; and the prieſts were entitled to a tax upon wool, corn and bread.

Cuſtoms of the Nazareens. Numb. VI.

By the obligation of an oath the Nazarenes pledge themſelves neither to wear their hair, nor drink wine. Upon the expiration of the time during which the vow was to continue in force, upon preſenting themſelves to have their hair conſecrated, whatever they offered in ſacrifice became the property of the prieſts. The people calling themſelves Corban, a word, ſignifying, a gift of God, when deſirous of being releaſed from the obligation of a voluntary vow, were ſubject to a duty to be paid the prieſts, conſiſting of fifty ſhekels for a man, and thirty for a woman. Such of theſe people as were not in circumſtances to pay the money, were to comply with ſuch terms as might be dictated by the diſcretion of the prieſt.

Perſons killing beaſts for domeſtic uſe, and not for ſacrifice, were commanded to allow the prieſts the breaſt and the right ſhoulder of each animal, and they were to make the ſin-offering mentioned in the preceding book of this work. Moſes ordained, that of all contributions to the prieſts, a proper portion thereof ſhould be aſſigned to the uſe of their wives, children, and ſervants; but this rule did not extend to the ſin-offerings, which are to be eaten of only by the prieſts officiating at the altar, within the temple, and on the ſame day on which the ſacrifices are made.

The ſedition among the Hebrews being appeaſed, and the multitude having bound

---

* "And the Lord ſpake unto Moſes ſaying, Speak unto the children of Iſrael, and take of every one of them a rod, according to the houſe of their fathers, of all their princes, according to the houſe of their fathers, write thou every man's name upon his rod." Numb. XVII. 1, 2. There are ſuppoſed to have been thirteen rods, the poſterity of Joſeph being divided into twelve tribes, beſides the tribe of Levi. It is probable, that each of the chiefs took a twig or a branch from one and the ſame almond-tree. "And it came to paſs, that on the morrow, Moſes went into the tabernacle of witneſs, and beheld the rod of Aaron for the houſe of Levi was budded, and brought forth buds, and bloomed bloſſoms, and yielded almonds." Ver. 8. Thus it ſeems that there was an appearance in ſome places of buds, in ſome that buds were fully thruſt forth; in ſome that bloſſoms were opened, and in others that thoſe bloſſoms were knotted, and grown into almonds. All theſe preternatural transformations happened in the ſpace of one night, which could not but afford the ſpectators an amazing proof of the diſtinction made by God between Aaron and the reſt of the Iſraelites. This miracle was ſo perfectly convincing, that we do not find any ſubſequent controverſy reſpecting the right of Aaron's family to the peculiar poſſeſſion of the pontificate.

† About one ſhilling one penny halfpenny Engliſh.

themſelves under a promiſe of obedience to Moſes, as we have before related, he led them to the borders of Idumea, and then * diſpatched ambaſſadors to the king of that country, to requeſt a free paſſage for his army, with an aſſurance, that no violence or affront ſhould be offered his ſubjects, who ſhould be paid for whatever neceſſaries they might ſupply his people with, during their progreſs through his territories. The Idumean king refuſed to comply with this requeſt, and ſtationed an army upon his frontiers to oppoſe the Hebrews, in caſe of their attempting to force a paſſage through his dominions. Hereupon Moſes had recourſe to the advice of the Almighty, who ſignified that he did not approve of Moſes being the aggreſſor in a contention with the Idumeans. In conſequence of this, Moſes directed his courſe by the way of the deſart.

The death of Mariam.

This was the beginning of the month Xanthicus, the fortieth year from the departure of the Hebrews from Egypt being compleated; and Mariam, the ſiſter of Moſes, dying at this time, her remains were buried with great funeral pomp upon a mountain bearing the name of † Sin. After thirty days mourning for the death of Mariam, Moſes purified the people. The ceromony of purification was as follows: the prieſt led a young red heifer, that had not known the yoke, to a ſmall diſtance from the camp, and, in a clean place, killed it: after which he dipped his finger ſeven times in the blood of the beaſt, and therewith ſprinkled the holy tabernacle. He then placed the whole carcaſe, together with the ſkin and intrails, upon the altar, and a ſtick of cedar, ſome hyſſop, and a ſmall quantity of wool dyed ſcarlet. When the whole was conſumed, a young man of unſpotted chaſtity was employed to collect the aſhes, and lay them in the cleaneſt place that could be found. Thoſe who having touched a dead body, or attended at a funeral, for the purpoſe of purification, were to caſt part of the aſhes into fountain-water, and after dipping a bunch of hyſſop into it, ſprinkle himſelf therewith on the third and the ſeventh days. Moſes commanded this ceremony of purification to be adhered to, when the Iſraelites ſhould inherit the land of Canaan.

After purifying the people on occaſion of the death of Mariam, Moſes led them through the deſart into Arabia. On their arrival at the capital city of that country, then called Arce, but now bearing the name of Petra, Moſes predicted to Aaron, that the period of his mortal exiſtence was near. Hereupon, Aaron aſcended a very high mountain, and having reached the ſummit, he took off his pontifical ſtole, and delivered it to his ſon Eleazar, he being the immediate heir to the prieſthood. In the ſight of the whole Hebrew army, Aaron yielded up his breath, in the hundred and thirty-third year of his age. Aaron died in the firſt moon of the month which the Athenians call Hecatombeon, the Macedonians Lous, the Hebrews ‡ Sabba, and the Romans Auguſtus. Mariam died four months before her brother Aaron.

The death Aaron.

CHAP. V.

The Hebrews engage and defeat the Amorites, and Sihon, the king of that people, is ſlain. They make an incurſion into the the dominions of Og, king of Galadene, who falls in battle. By a conqueſt over the people of Galadene, they acquire a rich booty.

AFTER a mourning of thirty days on occaſion the death of Aaron, Moſes led the Hebrew army to the river Arnon, which falls from the mountains of Arabia, and after running through the whole deſart, empties itſelf into the lake Aſphaltitis, dividing the country of the Moabites from that of the Amorites. To the king of the laſt mentioned people, whoſe name was Sihon, Moſes ſent a reſpectful meſſage, requeſting permiſſion for his army to march through his country, and promiſing that, if his requeſt was complied with, the Hebrews ſhould neither offer annoyance to his ſubjects, nor commit any devaſtations upon the land, in the courſe of their journey. Sihon not only refuſed to concur in this requiſition, but immediately marched a powerful army to the fords of the rivers, for the purpoſe of obſtructing the paſſage of Moſes and his followers.

---

* "And Moſes ſent Meſſengers from Kadeſh, unto the king of Edom." Numb. XX 14. Edom is another name of Eſau, the founder of the nation, and from him communicated to his poſterity, and to the country itſelf. "Let us paſs, I pray thee, through thy country: we will not paſs through the fields, or through the vineyards, neither will we drink of the water of the wells: we will go by the king's highway; we will not turn to the right-hand, nor to the left, until we have paſſed thy borders." Ver. 17. And the children of Iſrael ſaid unto him, we will go by the high way: and if I and my cattle drink of thy water, then I will pay for it: I will only (without any thing elſe) go through on my feet." Ver. 19. Thus he promiſed not to injure the cultivated part of the country, by marching his people through it, and not, without making adequate compenſation, to drink of the wells that were the property of private perſons, but only of the rivers which were for common uſe and convenience. By the phraſe, "I will only go through on my feet," is implied that his people ſhould paſs with all poſſible expedition, or as faſt as their feet would carry them.

† Scrip. Zin.

‡ Bochart in his Hieroz. Part II. lib. III. c. 13. ſays it ſhould be Ab, or Abba.

Being thus appriſed of the hoſtile diſpoſition of the Amorites, Moſes was of opinion, that it would be prudent immediately to attack the enemy, rather than give them time for putting themſelves into a better condition for proſecuting a war. However, he determined to conſult the Almighty, as to whether he ſhould attempt a paſſage by the force of arms through the country of the Amorites, or direct his courſe ſome other way. God not only gave him permiſſion to attack the Amorites, but aſſured him that he ſhould obtain a victory over that people. Thus encouraged, Moſes addreſſed to the people a diſcourſe calculated to animate them with a confidence of ſucceſs. He then led the Hebrews towards the enemy, whom they attacked with ſurpriſing fury. The charge was ſo fierce as to throw the Amorites into the utmoſt confuſion, and they had recourſe to flight, hoping to ſecure themſelves within their walled towns: but the Hebrews being ſwift of foot, and lightly armed, purſued them, diſcharging darts, arrows, and other miſſile weapons, againſt thoſe who they were unable to overtake. The weather being exceedingly hot, the fugitives ſtopped at a river to quench their thirſt, where great numbers of them were ſlain by the conquerors, and among them was Sihon, the king of the Amorites. Thus was a compleat victory obtained over the Amorites, upon whom a terrible ſlaughter was committed. The Hebrews obtained a great booty, particularly in grain, of which article they were in great want. The harveſt being ſtill upon the ground, they took poſſeſſion of whatever corn and other articles, their neceſſities required, without danger of moleſtation, the enemy being reduced to the ſtate of the moſt contemptible weakneſs, in conſequence of the flower of their army being cut off in the battle.

Sihon, king of the Amorites, falls in battle.

The diſcomfiture of the Amorites aroſe from two cauſes; namely, their puſillanimity, and the want of military ſkill and diſcipline; for they had neither prudence to avert the miſchief that threatened them, nor courage to reſiſt the aſſailants. The place, which by this conqueſt the Hebrews gained poſſeſſion of, is a kind of peninſula, it being ſituated between three rivers; the Arnon being on the ſouth, the Jaboc, which falls into the Jordan, on the north, and the river Jordan itſelf on the weſt.

The Iſraelites had now another enemy to encounter in Og, the king of Gadalene, and Gaulonitis, who while he was leading a powerful army to the relief and ſupport of Sihon, received the unwelcome news of the total defeat of his ally. But relying on the approved valour of his troops, this intelligence did not deter him from the reſolution of hazarding an engagement with the Hebrews. But his hopes of ſucceſs were diſappointed; for upon a battle taking place, his whole army was cut off, and the king was among the number of the ſlain. Og was a man highly celebrated for his bravery, and diſtinguiſhed for his bodily ſtrength; he was of a gigantic ſtature, as appeared from the dimenſions of the bed whereon he was accuſtomed to repoſe, which was found in his palace at Rabatha; it was nine cubits in length, and four in breadth, the frame being made of iron.

The Hebrews gain another victory.

Paſſing the river Jaboc, Moſes made an incurſion into the dominions of Og, where he ſubdued all the cities, and putting the inhabitants to the ſword, acquired immenſe booty, the country being extemely fruitful, and the people poſſeſſed of greater riches than thoſe of any of the adjacent parts.

The fall of Og not only contributed to the preſent eaſe and ſecurity of the Iſraelites, but proved the foundation of great future advantages; for they poſſeſſed themſelves of no leſs than ſixty of his ſtrong holds and fortified cities; and the plunder was ſo great, that upon its diviſion, every individual of the Hebrew army ſucceeded to property of conſiderable value.

CHAP. VI.

A war between the Hebrews and the Madianites. Balaak, king of the Moabites, urges Balaam to curſe the Hebrews: but he is forbidden by God. Balaam riding on an aſs is intercepted in a narrow paſſage, by an angel, and the aſs ſpeaks. The angel reproves Balaam, who thereupon returns to Balaak. Seven altars erected. Balaam's prophecy. Various particulars relating to Balaak and Balaam. The Madianites adopt the counſel of Balaam. The Iſraelites degenerate into idolatry. Zimri, a Hebrew, marries Coſbi, a Madianite. Moſes reprobates the apoſtacy of the Hebrews. Zimri and Coſbi killed in their tent, by Phinees. Moſes diſpatches an army againſt the Madianites

SOON after the conqueſt over the land of Galadene, Moſes removed the Hebrew encampment to a ſpacious plain, oppoſite Jericho, an opulent city, ſituated in a part of the country remarkable for producing palm-trees and balſam. Their late ſucceſſes ſo elated the minds of the Iſraelites, that they became almoſt ungovernably impatient to engage in other martial enterpriſes; and wiſhing to encourage this ſpirit of heroiſm, Moſes determined to employ a part of his forces againſt the Madianites. Having offered up prayers and ſacrifices to God, Moſes ordered a detachment of his army to march into, and lay waſte the country, and deſtroy the cities of the Madianites, in order to chaſtiſe them for a conduct the particulars of which we ſhall now proceed to relate.

Obſerving the rapid increaſe of the power of the Hebrews, Balaak, king of the Moabites, became greatly alarmed for the ſafety of his own dominions. He appears to have been ignorant that God had interdicted the Iſraelites from attempting to ſubjugate any other country than that of Canaan; but, though knowing that his power was not ſufficient to maintain a war againſt them with any proſpect of ſucceſs, he was extremely deſirous of having recourſe to ſome meaſures that might ſerve to check the rapid progreſs of their arms. He therefore ſent ambaſſadors to conſult with his allies, the Madianites, as to what meaſures it would be moſt proper to purſue for the common ſafety of the two countries. Upon this application, the Madianites ſent Balaak's ambaſſadors, and ſome of their leading men beyond the Euphrates, in ſearch of Balaam, in order to prevail upon him to pronounce a curſe againſt the Iſraelites, he being a man in high eſtimation, on account of his poſſeſſing the gift of prophecy, they doubting not of his ready acquieſcence, ſince they were perſuaded he was ſtrongly attached to their intereſts.

Balaam received the ambaſſadors with the utmoſt reſpect, and when they had explained the purport of their commiſſion, he ſupplicated the Almighty to direct him in what manner he ſhould act. The anſwer he received from Heaven was, that he ſhould not comply with the requiſitions of the Madianitiſh meſſengers. Upon this, Balaam informed the ambaſſadors, that he muſt decline a compliance with the requeſt they had made, not from diſreſpect to the Mandianites, but becauſe his concurrence would be highly offenſive to God; informing them, at the ſame time, that the people on whom they had urged him to pronounce a curſe, were highly in the favour of the Almighty, and that the beſt advice it was in his power to recommend was, to effect a compromiſe, by whatever means ſuch an end might be attained. Hereupon, the ambaſſadors returned, and made a report of what had paſſed with Balaam, which proving highly unſatiſfactory to Balaak, he importuned the Madianites to ſend them back with a commiſſion to repeat the requeſt with which Balaam had refuſed to comply. Upon the ſecond application of the ambaſſadors, and their making him large promiſes of reward, on condition of his compliance, Balaam requeſted they would wait for his reply till he ſhould have again conſulted the will of Heaven. He then implored the counſel of Heaven, and the oracle told him, that he might indulge his inclination in following the ambaſſadors: but, underſtanding this in its literal ſenſe, and not as the language of reproof, he informed the meſſengers that he had obtained the permiſſion of God to accompany them for the purpoſe of uttering a malediction againſt the Iſraelites. Being mounted on an aſs, Balaam departed with the ambaſſadors for the country of the Madianites. On the way, he was encountered in a narrow paſſage between two walls, by an angel, whereby the progreſs of the animal on which Balaam rode was obſtructed. Upon this, Balaam corrected his beaſt, when the Almighty being pleaſed to * endow her with the power of ſpeech, ſhe expoſtulated with her maſter on his injuſtice in beating her, for not proceeding forward when the paſſage was obſtructed by an angel of the Lord; adding, that this was the firſt time ſhe had ever diſobeyed him. Upon his hearing the aſs ſpeak like a human creature, Balaam was aſtoniſhed and terrified: and the angel of the Lord rebuked him for having preſumed to undertake the preſent journey, in contradiction to the expreſs will of God. Balaam now prepared to return; but God ſignified to him, that he might proceed, on condition that he ſhould utter only what ſhould be dictated to him by Heaven.

Balaam's aſ
ſpeaks,
Numb.
XXII. 28, 30.

Purſuing his journey, Balaam experienced a gracious reception from Balaak, who, being attended by his royal retinue, accompanied the prophet to the ſummit of one of the higheſt mountains in the neighbourhood, for the purpoſe of taking a view of the encampment of the Hebrews. This mountain was at about the diſtance of ſixty furlongs from the Hebrew army. Balaam ordered ſeven altars to be erected, and ſeven oxen, and the ſame number of rams to be prepared for ſacrifice. In a ſhort time, the victims were offered to God, preparatory to forming a judgment as to what would be the iſſue of the controverſy ſubſiſting between the Iſraelites and their adverſaries. Looking towards the Iſraelites, Balaam delivered the following preſages:

"You are the happy people, who ſhall enjoy the bleſſings of God in the greateſt abundance; providence will be your guide and protector; and in the innocence and probity of your manners, and the prac-

---

* Maimonides, one of the beſt of the Jewiſh writers, underſtands all that is ſaid in Scripture, relating to Balaam's aſs ſpeaking, to be a relation of what happened to him in a dream; and in this opinion many of the moderns concur.

tice of righteouſneſs and virtue, you will exceed all other nations. You ſhall have poſſeſſion of the land of promiſe, which ſhall be an inheritance to you and your poſterity for ever. Your deſcendants ſhall be ſo numerous, that every part of the world ſhall contain a ſtock of your family; and the whole earth ſhall reſound with your fame. For the preſent, you muſt content yourſelves with the land of Canaan: but, be aſſured, that the time is approaching when you ſhall have the whole world for your habitation. Not only the continent, but the iſlands ſhall be peopled with your offspring, who in number ſhall be as the ſtars in the Heavens. But, notwithſtanding the multitude will be infinite, they ſhall not experience the miſeries of want; for through the mercies of God, they ſhall enjoy plenty and peace, they ſhall diſtinguiſh themſelves by their ſuperior bravery and proweſs in arms, and their enemies ſhall become their ſervants. But remember, that you muſt not omit gratefully to acknowledge the bounty of providence, in beſtowing theſe gifts upon you, and to adore that Almighty being, who alone can exalt or depreſs you, as your deſerts or demerits may require."

Balaam's ſpeech proved highly offenſive to Balaak, who upbraided him in terms of great ſeverity, with a violation of his contract. "With the promiſe of gratifying you with rich rewards, I invited you hither, ſaid the king, for the purpoſe of uttering a curſe againſt the Iſraelites: but, inſtead of complying with my expectations, you have pronounced them to be a people peculiarly diſtinguiſhed by the bleſſings of Heaven." Hereupon Balaam made the following reply:

"Does king Balaak imagine, that when prophets are diſcourſing on the ſubject of future events, they are at liberty to ſpeak from the dictates of their own minds? We are merely the paſſive inſtruments of the oracle, whereby the words we deliver are put into our mouths, and we do not even know what we ſay, being tranſported beyond ourſelves by the influence of a ſupernatural and prophetical ſpirit. It is true, that I received, both from yourſelf and the Madianites, an earneſt invitation to come hither; and I complied, becauſe I was deſirous of rendering you every ſervice in my power. When I came, be aſſured I was inclined to to do what I afterwards found to be without the compaſs of my abilities. I had no intention of ſpeaking in favour of the Hebrews, or of the bleſſings that God has in ſtore for them: but the ſuperior power having taken poſſeſſion of me, my words were no longer under the government of my own will, and what you have heard me ſay was the effect of a divine and irreſiſtible influence. But that I may as far as poſſible, comply with the deſires of king Balaak and the Madianites, let other altars be erected, and other ſacrifices be prepared, that I may make another effort to obtain the permiſſion of God to curſe the Iſraelites."

Balaam's propoſition being approved by Balaak, the ſacrifices before offered were repeated: but God would not ſuffer him to curſe the Hebrews; inſtead of doing which, he proſtrated himſelf on the earth, and predicted the fate of many great kings, and famous cities, ſome of which are not yet built; but what he foretold with regard to others has been fully verified in our time; and therefore it may reaſonably be inferred, that his other prophecies will be fulfilled. The king was ſo incenſed againſt Balaam, that he abruptly diſmiſſed him, without any part of the rewards promiſed him. Balaam having travelled as far as the river Euphrates, he thence diſpatched a meſſenger to Balaak and the Madianites, to requeſt a conference with them, having ſomething to communicate that would prove more agreeable than what he had before delivered; another meeting being agreed upon, Balaam addreſſed king Balaak and the princes of Madian in the following manner:

"To convince you, O king, and you, princes of Madian, that I am earneſtly diſpoſed to gratify your inclinations, though I may thereby act, in ſome degree, contrary to the will of God, I am now to inform you, that I have conceived an expedient, by means of which I hope I ſhall be able to render you very acceptable ſervice. Do not imagine that the deſtruction of the Hebrews is ever to be effected by the force of arms, by peſtilence, famine, or any of the common calamities to which mankind are expoſed; for being under the eſpecial protection of God, they are perfectly ſecure from being deſtroyed by thoſe depopulating judgments. They may, and indeed certainly will, ſuffer ſome temporary inconveniencies and afflictions: but thoſe they will ſoon ſurmount. If the attainment of a temporary advantage over them will yield you ſatisfaction, attend to the advice I am now preparing to give. Send into the camp of the Hebrews a company of the moſt beautiful virgins you can ſelect, their natural charms being diſplayed and improved by the advantages of graceful apparel. When the Hebrew youths ſhall addreſs theſe virgins on the ſubject of love, let them practice ſuch allurements as may the more ſecurely engage their affections: but, if they proceed to wanton importunities, let them peremptorily declare their reſolution immediately to depart. When the Hebrews intreat them to remain, let them be inſtructed to withhold their conſent, but on the condition, that their ſuitors ſhall renounce the laws of their country, and abandon the worſhip of that God by whoſe command thoſe laws were delivered to them. By this ſtratagem they will be induced to practice the religion of the Moabites and Madianites, and conſequently they will provoke the diſpleaſure, and incur the vengeance of Heaven."

Having delivered this ſpeech Balaam departed.

" In purſuance of Balaam's advice, the Madianites ſent their daughters into the Hebrew camp, and the young men becoming paſſionately enamoured of them, they had recourſe to the alluring artifices in which they had been inſtructed, for ſecuring the conqueſts they had obtained; and when they had ſucceeded in that point, they affected a reſolution of immediately returning to their friends; whereupon the young men uſed every entreaty and perſuaſion they were able to deviſe, for prevailing upon them to protract their departure. Finding they had acquired the aſcendancy which it was their object to attain, the virgins thus addreſſed themſelves to the Hebrew youths:

" It is not that we are deſtitute of property or friends, that we have viſited your encampment; we are as tenderly beloved as we could wiſh to be by our parents; and our motive is not to advance our fortunes by the diſpoſal of our perſons for the gratifications of your deſires. Conſidering you as ſtrangers, to whom our company might be agreeable, we came hither, merely from a principle of hoſpitality and kindneſs. Believing you to be men of honour, we have made no ſcruple of behaving to you with as great a ſhare of freedom as is conſiſtent with virtue and innocence. You profeſs an ardent eſteem for us, and avow that you cannot conſent to our departure without great unwillingneſs. We candidly confeſs, that we are not averſe to a compliance with your requeſts: but our conſent is to be obtained by no other means than under an aſſurance of conjugal faith, whereby we ſhall be warranted in indulging the ſatisfaction we derive from your company and converſation. If, on any other terms than thoſe of marriage, we ſhould yield our perſons into your poſſeſſion, your love of variety might deprive us of your affections, and we might be ſent back to our relations and friends with the loſs of thoſe invaluable treaſures, virtue and reputation. You, therefore, will not judge ſeverely of us for our ſolicitude on a point of ſo tender and delicate a nature. We find that you obſerve certain cuſtoms that are altogether peculiar to yourſelves, even with reſpect to the articles of food and drink. Now, if it ſhall be agreed for us to unite in the connubial ſtate, it muſt be an indiſpenſable condition, that you adopt our cuſtoms and manners, and follow the mode of worſhip which we practice; for your veneration towards our Gods will be the criterion whereby we ſhall be able to judge of the degree of affection that you entertain for us. You cannot expoſe yourſelves to cenſure for adoring the dieties of the country into which you are come to reſide: whereas the God of your worſhip is an unknown being, and the object of no other adoration than that of the people of your own perſuaſion."

So greatly were the infatuated Hebrews under the dominion of their ſenſual appetites, that they became the dupes of the artifices of the Madianitiſh women, with whoſe propoſitions they immediately complied, abandoning the worſhip of their forefathers, adopting the opinion of a plurality of Gods, and making uſe of all kinds of food indifferently. This apoſtaſy rapidly ſpread through the whole camp, and was productive of an inſurrection more dangerous than any of the former.

The Hebrews apoſtatize from the worſhip of God, Numb. XXV.

Zimri, one of the princes of the tribe of Simeon, married a Madianite named Coſbi, the daughter of Zur, a man of high rank in his country. Through the perſuaſions of his wife, Zimri made an open profeſſion of his marriage, and alſo of his contempt of the Moſaical rites and inſtitutions, and his defection therefrom to idolatrous worſhip. Matters being thus circumſtanced, to avert the ſtill more fatal conſequences that threatened to enſue, Moſes aſſembled the people, and expoſtulated with them on their degeneracy from the righteouſneſs of their anceſtors, in gratifying their ſenſual appetites, whereby they committed ſo flagrant a violation of the expreſs commands of God, who muſt be highly incenſed againſt them for their abominable wickedneſs. He admoniſhed them to a timely repentance, and to prove themſelves men of reſolution, not by an impious perſeverance in a contempt of the divine laws, but in ſubduing their intemperate affections. Moſes did not direct himſelf to any perſon in particular, imagining that if he had done ſo, thoſe who might conceive themſelves to be pointed at moſt peculiarly as the objects of reproof, might give way to their anger and reſentment, and render the tumult more deſperate and difficult to be appeaſed. When Moſes had concluded, Zimri ſpoke in the following manner:

" You are perfectly at liberty, Moſes, to regulate the conduct of your life according to your own laws and ordinances. They have been long in uſe, and from that circumſtance it is that they maintain their credit and authority. I here avow myſelf to be one among the number of the Hebrews who are determined no longer to ſubmit to your tyranny and oppreſſion. Under the plauſible pretext of recommending the worſhip of God, we know that your view is to eſtabliſh yourſelf in power and greatneſs, and, to obtain that end, you wiſh to extinguiſh in our minds the very deſire of enjoying liberty. The vaſt promiſes you made, upon our coming out of Egypt, are in no reſpect fulfilled; for now, groaning under the oppreſſion of Moſes, our condition is as grievous as when we were in bondage to our former oppreſſors. You aſſume to yourſelf the peculiar privilege of making laws, and of inflicting upon us ſuch penalties as they exact; but you are the man moſt particularly deſerving puniſhment, for having oppoſed to general reaſon and practice, the fanciful inventions of your own mind, thereby abrogating the cuſtoms, rights, and privileges eſtabliſhed by the common conſent of nations. In my own conduct I can diſcover no cauſe of reproach, and I am as ready to avow the alliance I have formed, as I ſhall, on all occaſions, be to juſtify that meaſure. I confeſs, that I no longer practice the religion of the Hebrews; and muſt add, that, in my conception, it is unreaſonable that any man ſhould, by the forms of a deſpotic government, be compelled to adhere to the notions and opinions of any individual whatever."

This ſpeech was expreſſive of the ſentiments of the whole faction, of which Zimri was one of the principal inſtigators. The people waited for ſome time with great impatience, to ſee what would be the reſult of the matter in controverſy, expecting that it would be productive of more violent contention, and probably of public miſchief: and this apprehenſion was increaſed upon obſerving that Moſes made no reply to vindicate himſelf againſt ſo outrageous an inſult and provocation. Moſes, however, deemed it moſt prudent to remain ſilent, ſuppoſing a reply to the inſolent ſpeech of Zimri might afford the faction an opportunity of proceeding to diſorderly and riotous behaviour.

The daring contumacy of Zimri exaſperated Phinees to the higheſt degree of indignation. He was deſcended from an illuſtrious family, and held in the higheſt eſtimation, as being a youth of uncommon bravery and virtue. He was the ſon of Eleazar, the high-prieſt, and Moſes was his great uncle. Senſible that if the laws were deſpiſed and vilified, and if the arrogance and impiety of Zimri were to paſs with impunity, the contagion of his example would ſpread among the multitude, and the greateſt miſchief would naturally enſue, Phinees determined to execute vengeance upon the ringleader of the faction. He therefore haſtened to Zimri's tent, and with his ſword killed both him and his wife Coſbi at one thruſt. This exploit inſpiring his companions with a ſpirit of emulation, they furiouſly aſſaulted the reſt of the faction, and put great numbers of them to death; and thoſe who eſcaped the ſword, periſhed in a very ſhort time after by the judgment of a peſtilence, which not only carried off thoſe who had been actively concerned in the ſedition, but alſo ſuch of their kindred, who by their influence and authority might have interpoſed for its ſuppreſſion. The number of Hebrews who periſhed by the plague amounted to fourteen thouſand.[*]

Zimiri and Coſbi ſlain by Phinees.

The practices of the Madianites were ſo diſpleaſing to Moſes, that he diſpatched a powerful army to chaſtiſe them, which was effectually done, as the reader will find related in the following chapter.

It is but juſtice that we ſhould in this place bear teſtimony to the candour and generoſity of Moſes. Though Balaam could not obtain permiſſion to curſe the Hebrews, he gave ſuch counſel to the Madianites as corrupted the purity of our religion, and ſeemed to threaten the whole community with ruin: but notwithſtanding this, Moſes had the candour to honour Balaam by recording his prophecies and predictions in his writings. Without a probability of the falacy being detected, Moſes might have claimed to himſelf the merit of the prophecies of Balaam: but having too much ſincerity to aſſume the reputation properly belonging to another, he did juſtice to the memory of Balaam, as we found recorded in the holy ſcriptures.

CHAP. VII.

The Hebrews defeat the Madianites with great ſlaughter, and lay waſte their country. The vaſt booty obtained from the enemy divided. Moſes appoints Joſhua his ſucceſſor. The tribes of Gad, Rubel, and the half tribe of Manaſſes, petition Moſes to grant them the country of the Amorites; and he complies with their requeſt, upon certain conditions. Moſes builds ten cities. An ordinance eſtabliſhed relating to the inheritances of the different tribes.

TO chaſtiſe the inſolence of the Madianites, Moſes diſpatched againſt them an army of twelve thouſand men, a thouſand being taken from each tribe. The command of this force was given to Phinees, by whoſe means the laws had been vindicated, and Zimri, the violater of them, puniſhed. Upon receiving intelligence, that the Hebrews had marched to the borders of their country, the Madianites collected their troops, and fortified as many of the paſſes as time would admit, and in other reſpects put themſelves into a defenſive poſition. A battle taking place, the Madianites were compleatly diſcomfited, the number of the ſlain being immenſe. Among thoſe who fell in the battle, were the five Madianitiſh kings, whoſe * names were Ochus, Sures, Robeas, Ures, and Recem. The capital city of Arabia received its name from the laſt mentioned of theſe kings, he being the founder of it. The original inhabitants called the place Rekem; but the Greeks gave it the name of Petra.

---

[*] The ſcripture ſays, twenty-four thouſand. Numb. XXV. 9.

The Madianites vanquiſhed by the Hebrews.

After having vanquiſhed the enemy, the Hebrews laid waſte their country, and put to the ſword not only all the men, but ſuch of the women as were not in a ſtate of virginity, in purſuance of the directions which Phinees had received from Moſes. The Hebrew army returned unhurt, taking with them a vaſt booty, conſiſting of fifty-two thouſand and ſixty-ſeven oxen, fifty thouſand aſſes, and veſſels and houſhold utenſils of gold and ſilver to an immenſe value; for the Madianites were extremely opulent, and lived in the greateſt ſplendour and magnificence imaginable. The Hebrews alſo took with them thirty thouſand virgins.

Moſes made a diſtribution of the booty, according to which, one fiftieth part thereof was allotted to Eleazar and the prieſts; another fiftieth was aſſigned to the Levites; and what remained was ſhared among the people, who were thereby enabled to enjoy the bleſſings of plenty and eaſe.

Moſes nominates Joſhua as his ſucceſſor.

Having now arrived to an advanced age, Moſes, in obedience to the command he had received from God, conſtituted Joſhua his ſucceſſor in the ſeveral functions of a prophet, and the leader and governor of the Iſraelites. Moſes had trained up Joſhua in ſtrict obedience to the laws of God, and inſtructed him in a perfect knowledge of human inſtitutions.

About this, the two tribes of Gad and Reubel, and the half tribe of Manaſſes, joined in a petition to Moſes, requeſting that he would aſſign to them the country of the Amorites. This country, which the Hebrews had lately conquered, abounded in the fineſt paſture, and therefore it was admirably adapted to the convenience of people who had vaſt poſſeſſions in different kinds of cattle. Moſes underſtanding this requeſt as proceeding from a deſire to avoid being concerned in martial exploits, he upbraided them with cowardice and indolence." I perceive, ſaid Moſes, that your deſign is to appropriate to yourſelves the advantages reſulting from a common war, for the ſake of indulging yourſelves in luxury and eaſe. Your companions whom you now propoſe to abandon, have many and great exploits to perform on the other ſide the river Jordan, before they will be able to ſubdue, and extirpate their enemies, and gain poſſeſſion of the country which God has been pleaſed to promiſe they ſhall inherit.

The conduct of the petitioners appearing to be unſatisfactory to Moſes, they alledged in their defence, that they were not actuated either by the apprehenſion of danger, or a diſpoſition to inactivity and indolence, but merely with a view to obtain poſſeſſion of a ſpot of land where they might depoſit their property in ſecurity, while they ſhould take an equal part with their companions in the proſecution of the wars: they added, that if Moſes would be pleaſed to aſſign them towns for the ſafety of their wives, children, and effects, they ſhould be enabled more eſſentially to contribute towards the promotion of the common welfare, and they would, with the utmoſt chearfulneſs, and in deſpite of every danger and difficulty, march wherever they ſhould be commanded. Moſes expreſſed himſelf perfectly ſatisfied with what they had ſaid; and then requeſted the attendance of Eleazar, the high-prieſt, Joſhua, and the other magiſtrates and leading men of the different tribes; and in the preſence of thoſe perſons, he formally aſſigned to them the land of the Amorites, conditionally, however, that they ſhould join their countrymen in a league offenſive and defenſive againſt the common enemy, and not deſert their cauſe, till the wars ſhould be brought to a concluſion. Upon their agreeing to abide by theſe conditions, they were put into poſſeſſion of the country, where they erected ſeveral ſtrong cities, placing in them for ſecurity their wives, children, and all their fortunes.

In the ſame country Moſes built ten cities, being part of the forty, which were to be erected, as we have ſaid before, beyond the river Jordan. Three of theſe cities he appointed to be ſanctuaries or places of refuge, for ſuch of the people as ſhould be the occaſion of the death of others by accident, or without malice prepenſe. The refugee was to remain in baniſhment during the life of the high-prieſt, under whoſe juriſdiction the homicide took place; but upon his demiſe, he was to be reſtored to his former privileges. During the term of the baniſhment, it was declared to be lawful, for any of the kindred of the man that

---

* Evi, Rekem, Zur, Hur, and Reba.

that had been ſlain, to put the homicide to death, if he was found without the walls of the city where he had fled for refuge: but this power was not granted to any other than the relations of the deceaſed. The cities of refuge were Boſor, on the borders of Arabia; Ariman, in the county of Galadene; and Gaulademan, in the land of Batanæa. Moſes commanded, that when the Hebrews ſhould have poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan, three places of ſanctuary ſhould be erected there, among the cities of the Levites, and that they ſhould be under the ſame regulations with the three above mentioned.

Solophades, a man of eminence in the tribe of Manaſſes, died about this time, leaving daughters, but no male iſſue. In conſequence of this event, ſome of the chief men of the tribes ſubmitted the following queſtion to the deciſion of Moſes: Whether the daughters of Solophades were to ſucceed to the poſſeſſions of their deceaſed father? The determination of Moſes was, that if the daughters married perſons belonging to their own tribe, they would be intitled to the inheritance: but that, upon forming alliances with either of the other tribes, that right would become extinct. This reſolution was paſſed into an ordinance, purporting, that the property of each tribe ſhould be preſerved entirely diſtinct, and that the people ſhould not be permitted to transfer their inheritance from one tribe to another.

CHAP. VIII.

The dying advice of Moſes to the Hebrews. He recommends divers laws and ordinances for the government of the people, when they ſhall come into the land of Canaan. The death and character of Moſes.

Upon the
pproach of
eath, Moſes
ecommends
ivers laws
r the politi-
ical and civil
overnment
f the He-
rew nation.

FORTY years, within thirty days, being elapſed ſince the redemption of the Hebrews from the Egyptian bondage, Moſes aſſembled the people at a place now called Abila, ſituated on the banks of the river Jordan, and in the neighbourhood of a field of palm-trees. He addreſſed the multitude to the following effect:

"It being the pleaſure of the Almighty, now that I am in the hundred and twentieth year of my age, to remove me from this world, though I can no longer render you ſervice by my counſels in peace, or the power of my ſword in war, I derive great conſolation in the circumſtance of leaving my countrymen and fellow ſoldiers with a proſpect as favourable as they could wiſh before them, of obtaining poſſeſſion of the land which the Lord has been pleaſed repeatedly to promiſe, ſhould become their inheritance. Even at this important and critical hour, when I perceive the end of my days is rapidly approaching, I muſt not be ſo far forgetful of my duty, as to omit any endeavours for the promotion of your happineſs, by explaining to you, wherein that happineſs will conſiſt, and by directing you in the means for attaining it. The indefatigable zeal I have employed for the advancement of your intereſts, will doubtleſs inſure belief to what I ſhall now ſay, eſpecially when you conſider, that I have in no inſtance deceived, or diſappointed you, and that there is ſomething ſacred, and commanding of belief, in the declarations of a dying man.

Be aſſured, that human happineſs is only to be obtained through the favour of the Almighty, who alone has power to beſtow bleſſings upon the righteous, and afflict the wicked with miſeries. Conduct yourſelves conformably with the commands of God, and thoſe precepts and inſtructions which I have delivered to you, under his divine authority and appointment; and you ſhall not fail to be celebrated in every part of the world for your virtues, and envied for your happineſs and proſperity; and you will thereby ſecure the continuance of all the bleſſings that you already enjoy, with the addition of whatever bounties can contribute to render your ſelicity ſuperior to that of any other people. Reſign yourſelves to the will of God, and ſtrictly obſerve all his commands, and all the promiſes that he has been ſo graciouſly pleaſed to make in your favour, will be fully accompliſhed. I admoniſh you, to be extremely careful not to give other laws a preference to thoſe delivered to you through my agency from the Almighty, nor to admit any innovations in the eſtabliſhed mode of religious worſhip. Purſue the advice that I recommend to you, and you ſhall not only prove victorious over, but invincible to the power of your enemies; for when God is on your ſide, no inferiority of numbers, or other circumſtances of apparent diſadvantage, can diſappoint you of ſucceſs in all your undertakings. Glorious and infallibly certain as are the rewards of virtue, the poſſeſſion of that quality is in itſelf the greateſt bleſſing attendant upon this ſtate of mortality, all other advantages being but auxiliaries towards conſtituting the happineſs of this life. As the means of exalting your preſent happineſs, and of tranſmitting your fame and reputation to poſterity, I moſt earneſtly recommend you, neither yourſelves to tranſgreſs, nor to countenance other people in the violation of thoſe written laws and inſtitutions which I have delivered to you by the eſpecial direction of God; and further, I am to inſtruct you that you muſt conſider yourſelves as being under an indiſpenſable obligation to make the wiſdom and righteouſneſs of thoſe ſacred laws the ſubject of your daily ſtudy and contemplation.

To ſee you eſtabliſhed in peace and happineſs, is the whole I have to wiſh for in this world; and that deſireable end being obtained, I ſhall chearfully reſign my life to that Almighty and beneficent being from whom I received it. All that it is in my power to do in your behalf, is to recommend an exact obſervance of thoſe precepts of prudence and piety which I have communicated to you, by the order of God, for the proper regulation of your lives, together with a due conformity to the orders of your ſuperiors, that will be eſpecially appointed to provide for and promote your welfare and happineſs. While you worſhip him with pure ſincerity and ardent zeal, that God, under whoſe government you have hitherto acted, and to whoſe benevolence you are indebted for all the benefits that have been conferred upon you, through my interpoſition, will never abandon you: on the contrary, he will conſtantly watch over, and protect you, and, with unremitting care and attention, provide for you, in every exigency to which it is poſſible you can be expoſed.

After my departure, you will not want excellent monitors; for Eleazar, Joſhua, and the other principal men of the different tribes, will, on all occaſions, be ready to afford you ſuch advice as will be neceſſary for the proper regulation of your conduct. It will become you carefully to avoid every appearance of a ſtubborn or refractory behaviour towards theſe people, to whom you are required to comport yourſelves with reſpect and reverence.

Be careful leſt a paſſion for as extending your liberties ſhould ſeduce you to ſuch mutinous proceedings as have hitherto occurred. Let me prevail upon you to avoid this indiſcretion, to which you have, on various occaſions, proved yourſelves to be unfortunately addicted; and reſt aſſured that your prudence in this reſpect will be amply rewarded. Heaven defend, that you ſhould ever betray ſo blameable an impetuoſity of anger againſt any of my ſucceſſors, as you have frequently manifeſted towards me. You are ſenſible that my life has been often expoſed to greater danger from your unfounded prejudices, than from the malice of our moſt inveterate enemies. My motive in recalling theſe tranſactions to your memory, is not to reproach you therewith: when they occurred, you muſt acknowledge, that I was not tranſported to any violence of anger againſt you; and now that I am about to take an eternal farewel of you, I would not diſtreſs you, by reminding you of your miſconduct, if I did not conceive it neceſſary that you ſhould be admoniſhed againſt falling into ſimilar indiſcretions. Be careful, that when you ſucceed to the wealth and plenty of the land of Canaan, the enjoyment of thoſe bleſſings does not tempt you to the indulging of luxury and indolence, and to behave with irreverence towards God, and diſreſpect to your ſuperiors; for if you ſhould ſo degenerate, inſtead of a friend and protector, you will find in the Almighty an incenſed avenger of your wickedneſs, through whoſe diſpleaſure you will be expelled from the promiſed country, and conſigned to wander over the face of the earth, being diſtinguiſhed as the moſt contemptible of the whole human race.

To guard againſt the danger of an apoſtaſy from the faith you profeſs, whenever you obtain a victory, do not give quarter to your enemies, in order that you may be the leſs liable to be ſeduced into idolatry by a correſpondence with the people of other nations, who might corrupt your principles, and ſeduce you to trangreſs the laws and religion of your anceſtors. Let fire and ſword be vigorouſly employed in the deſtruction of the idolatrous groves and temples, even, if it were poſſible, to the annihilation of the very memory of their exiſtence.

Further to aſſiſt you in the right underſtanding and regular diſcharge of your duties, by the expreſs command of God, I have writen a body of Laws, preſcribing proper rules for the adiminiſtration of public affairs, and likewiſe for the management of your private and domeſtic concerns. Your ſtrict obſervance of theſe rules and ordinances cannot fail to render you the moſt proſperous and happy people in the univerſe."

Moſes deliv
to the He
brews a book
written la
and precep
for the reg
ation of the
public and
private affai
Deut. xx
24.

Upon the concluſion of his diſcourſe Moſes delivered to the people a book of laws and precepts in writing, for inſtructing them in the management of their public and domeſtic affairs. Finding that Moſes was on the point of being eternally ſeparated from them, they were exceedingly afflicted, deſpairing of again having a governor ſo highly in the favour of the Almighty, and in every other reſpect ſo admirably qualified to advance their proſperity and happineſs. The recollection of the ſeverities and outrages they had been guilty of in the deſart, ruſhed upon the minds of the people, and plunged them into the moſt unbounded ſorrow. Oppreſſed by ſhame and the conſciouſneſs of guilt, they expreſſed their contrition and the poignancy of their grief in violent exclamations of ſorrow. Obſerving the multitude tranſported to ſuch exceſs of grief, Moſes interpoſed his authority, and prevailed upon them to moderate their paſſions. He then again ſolemnly exhorted them to the conſtant ſtudy and obſervance of the laws he had delivered to them, and diſmiſſed the aſſembly. We ſhall now proceed to give an abſtract of the written laws delivered to the Hebrews.

Subſtance of the laws delivered by Moſes to the Hebrews.

In the land of Canaan, let one holy city be erected, upon that ſpot which, on account of its fertility and beautiful ſituation, God ſhall, by the agency of his prophet, appoint for that purpoſe. In this holy city let there be one temple erected, and in that temple one altar, to be made of unhewn ſtones from the quarry, they being varniſhed, after being put together, to give them a more agreeable appearance. The aſcent to the temple, and the altar muſt not be by ſtairs, or ſteps, but by a gradual riſing of the ground. In the other cities, there muſt be neither temples nor altars built, the Hebrews being one united people, and worſhipping but one God.

He who ſhall blaſpheme the holy name of God, ſhall be ſtoned to death; his body ſhall be publicly expoſed during one day upon a gibbet; and then be thrown into the earth with contempt and infamy.

Three times in every year, let the whole nation of Hebrews repair from all quarters to the holy city, to offer up thankſgivings to God for bleſſings already received, and to implore a continuance of his mercies. By the freedom and chearfulneſs of a virtuous converſation, friendly diſpoſitions are created, and ſocial love is encouraged: but without ſuch meetings and interviews, the advantages of a mutual communication of ſentiments and ideas would be loſt, as would alſo be many opportunities of conferring and receiving benefits.

Excluſive of the portion aſſigned to the prieſts and Levites, let one tenth of what the fruits of the earth ſhall produce by ſale in the markets, be expended in ſacrifices and feſtivals in the holy city; for it is but reaſonable, that we ſhould dedicate part of the fruits of the earth to that Almighty Being to whom we are indebted for all our poſſeſſions.

The hire of a harlot is forbidden to be offered up in ſacrifice, for the Lord holds in abomination whatever is obtained by the ſin of proſtitution. If a dog or bitch ſhall be let for hire for coupling, in order to preſerve the breed of hounds or ſhepherd's dogs, the gratuity received for the uſe of the animal muſt not be offered up as a ſacrifice. Let no man ſpeak ill of the Gods of other nations, nor rifle their temples, nor take therefrom any article dedicated to divine worſhip.

Let no Hebrew, unleſs he be a prieſt, wear a garment formed of a mixture of wool and linen; for to the * prieſthood alone thoſe veſtments are aſſigned.

In every ſeventh year, upon the celebration of the feaſt of the tabernacles, let the prieſt read from the pulpit, ſo audibly as to be heard by the whole congregation, the book of the law; and on this occaſion not only women and children, but even ſlaves, and in ſhort, people of all deſcriptions, are to be admitted into the temple; for when the law is once impreſſed upon the minds of the multitude, it will never be eraſed from their memories: this knowledge being communicated to them, they cannot have recourſe to the plea of ignorance in excuſe of any improper action.

Let eſpecial care be taken for inſtructing children, at an early time of life, in the knowledge of the law. Let them be conſtantly in the morning and the evening, reminded of the goodneſs of the Almighty, who delivered their forefathers from the Egyptian bondage, and extended to them innumerable other mercies and bounties; for, to return thanks to God for former bleſſings is a duty as indiſpenſable, as to implore him to beſtow new ones. For the inſtruction of children, let ſome of the principal inſtances of the power and goodneſs of God be written upon the doors of their habitations, and let them wear inſcriptions of the ſame kind upon their heads, about their arms, and on different parts of their bodies, ſo that memorials of the Almighty providence may be continually preſented to their obſervation.

In every city, let a council of ſeven magiſtrates be eſtabliſhed. They muſt be men of exemplary righteouſneſs and virtue; and for inſtructing each of theſe claſſes of rulers in the proper diſcharge of their public duty, let two of the Levites be appointed. The dignity of the ſeat of juſtice muſt be rigidly maintained: therefore, let no man preſume to utter an indecent or intemperate expreſſion in preſence of the court; for reſpect and reverence towards political governors will gradually habituate the people to a love of common juſtice, and a pious awe towards God, of our duty and infinite obligations to whom we cannot be forgetful, while we yield reſpect and reverence to his miniſters. From the deciſion of the judge, there muſt be no appeal, except in caſes of manifeſt injuſtice, or corruption. Juſtice muſt be adminiſtered without regard to power, interſt, or affection. It is a reproach to the power and goodneſs of Heaven, to be more fearful of diſpleaſing a man of wealth, power, and authority, than offering an offence to God. If it ſhall hap-

---

* Bochart, in his Hierozoic, repreſents this as an error, lib. ii. c. 45. p. 491. Edit. London.

pen, that, either from not being in poſſeſſion of facts, or from their being miſrepreſented, the judges ſhall be incompetent to decide upon any queſtion before them, let the caſe be removed to the holy city, that the controverſy may be brought to an iſſue by the determination of the high prieſt, the prophet, and the ſenate.

Let no evidence operate to conviction, unleſs it be adduced by two or more witneſſes, who are men of known probity and unblemiſhed reputation.

The natural levity of women, and their propenſity to talk much, and at random, are imperfections whereby they are declared to be diſqualified for giving evidence in courts of judicature.

The ſervile condition of a ſlave may naturally be expected to debaſe his mind: and probably by the terror of threats, or the hope of promiſed reward, he may be wrought upon to give falſe teſtimony: therefore he is not to be admitted as a competent witneſs.

A man convicted of ſwearing falſly ſhall be liable to the ſame puniſhment that would have been inflicted upon the accuſed party, if the accuſation alledged againſt him had been ſubſtantiated.

If a man ſhall be found dead in a field, or in the public road, and the perſon who occaſioned his death cannot be diſcovered, let a ſtrict enquiry be made after the author of the homicide, and public rewards be offered by proclamation for bringing him to juſtice. If the enquiry as to how the man came by his death ſhall prove fruitleſs, let the magiſtracy, and the neighbouring townſhips aſſemble, and, by an exact meaſurement, aſcertain which town is neareſt the ſpot where the dead body was found; and then let the inhabitants of that place provide a heifer, and take it to a rough ſpot of ground being unfit for cultivation; the ſinews of the neck being cut, let the prieſts, Levites, and elders, waſh their hands with water over the head of the heifer, and make a public proteſtation, that they know nothing, either directly or indirectly of the commiſſion of the homicide. This ceremony is to be concluded with prayers to God to preſerve that place in future from the guilt of blood

With reſpect to political government, the ariſtocratical form is that which I would recommend, in preference to any other. Let not the Hebrews change the political inſtitutions under which they now live; for if they do, it will moſt certainly be to their diſadvantage. It is ſufficient that they have God for their king and ſupreme governor, and that the laws he has eſtabliſhed fully point out to them in what manner they are to act in all ſituations and circumſtances of life.

If, however, you ſhould become fond of a monarchical government, be careful that you ſelect your king from your own ſtock and lineage. He muſt be a man eminent for piety and other virtues; one who will exerciſe authority in ſtrict conformity with the command of God, and conſiſtently with the laws, rather than independently thereof purſue the ſuggeſtions of his own mind; one, who in all caſes relating to the public, will conſult the high-prieſt and the elders, and not gratify his ſenſuality with a number of wives, and delight in the pomp and magnificence of his ſtation, to the neglect of his public duties, and the injury of the people under his government, for the ſovereign who ſhould ſo indulge his intemperate paſſions, would be likely to encroach upon your liberties, in order that he might have the leſs obſtruction in the purſuit of his own pleaſures.

Land marks, or boundaries, ſeparating the poſſeſſions of different perſons, are on no conſideration to be moved; for they are the beſt ſecurity for a permanent peace, and unanimity. Let them be preſerved from decay, and be conſidered as ſacred as if they had been placed by providence. By breaking in upon the boundaries of land, occaſions are afforded for contentions, tumults and wars. The firſt fruits of trees which bear before the fourth year from the time of being planted, are neither to be offered in ſacrifice to God, nor to be eaten by man; for the fruit that is produced before the natural ſeaſon, is rather to be conſidered as an abortion, than as being in that ſtate ſufficiently perfect for uſe. But when arrived at maturity, let all the fruit of the fourth year be gathered, and conveyed into the holy city, to be there employed, together with the tenth of other fruits, in entertaining the friends and acquaintances of the owner, and likewiſe widows and orphans. The produce of the fifth year, the the proprietor is allowed to apply entirely to his own uſe.

Let not the ſoil planted with vines be ſowed with grain; for it is ſufficient that the earth yield nouriſhment for the ſupport of thoſe plants; and if too much encumbered its vegetative powers would be weakened.

Let the earth be plowed with * oxen alone; it being prohibited that beaſts of ſe-

---

* "Thou ſhalt not plough with an ox and an aſs together." Deut. XXII. 10. This law is ſuppoſed to have reſpect to ſome idolatrous cuſtom of the Gentiles, who were taught to believe that their fields would be more fruitful by being thus ploughed. It is not likely that men would have yoked together animals ſo different in their tempers and motions, unleſs they were induced thereto by ſome ſuperſtitious notions.

veral kinds ſhould draw in the ſame yoke.

In ſowing the earth let not the ſeeds be mixed, not even two or three together; for ſuch confuſion and diverſity are unnatural.

Let not the male of one ſpecies of the brute creation couple with the female of another, leſt that example ſhould ſeem to give countenance to impure and unnatural mixtures and connections in the human race; for trivial beginnings have led to acts of the fouleſt extravagance; and the law muſt not be violated in matters apparently of ſmall moment, ſince very important conſequences may reſult therefrom.

Let not thoſe employed in the occupation of huſbandry remove the whole crop from the land; they are commanded to leave an ample allowance of gleanings to relieve the diſtreſſes of the poor. At the ſeaſon of the vintage, an allowance of grapes muſt be preſerved for the poor, who alſo ſhall be intitled to a part of the fruit, when you gather your olives. The man who compaſſionates and alleviates the misfortunes of the indigent, will by the bounty of God, be more than compenſated for his charity; for his land will be bleſſed with abundant produce. When the ox treads out the corn, he is not to be muzzled; for it would not be reaſonable to reſtrain any creature from partaking of the produce of his own labour.

If he is deſirous of eating of fruit that has attained maturity, let not that privilege be denied to any traveller: allow him the liberty of gathering and eating what portion he may deſire: but he is not permited to carry any part thereof away with him.

In conveying grapes to the preſs, let no man refuſe a bunch of them to a traveller, that he may caſually meet upon the road. To withhold ſo ſmall a portion of the bounties the Almighty has gratuitouſly beſtowed, would be an act of injuſtice; therefore, if modeſty reſtrains a traveller from requeſting the means of refreſhment, let him be entreated to ſupply his neceſſities. If he be an Iſraelite, he is to be conſidered as a partner in what you poſſeſs; and if a ſtranger, a principle of hoſpitality ſhould prompt you to urge him to participate in the bounties of Heaven.

Whoever ſhall preſume to tranſgreſs the rules here preſcribed, ſhall be puniſhed with ſtripes, they not exceeding forty in number, to be inflicted by the common executioner; a puniſhment not too degrading to the man, who can condeſcend to ſacrifice and debaſe the dignity of his character from motives of avarice. It is incumbent on a people who ſuſtained ſuch hardſhips during their bondage under their Egyptian oppreſſors, that they ſhould exerciſe compaſſion and tenderneſs towards their fellow creatures, by relieving their neceſſities in the proportion that their circumſtances will admit.

Excluſive of the two yearly tenths to be paid, as before ſtipulated, the one to the Levites, and the other for defraying the expences of the holy feſtivals, the third of the produce of every third year is appointed to be applied to the relief of indigent widows and orphans.

After thankſgivings to God for the produce of his lands, let every man carry his firſt fruits to the temple, and having offered up ſacrifices, according to the preſcriptions of the law, preſent them to the prieſts. This being done, previous to his departure, let him return thanks to God before the door of the temple, for having redeemed the Iſraelites from their grievous ſlavery in Egypt, and given them poſſeſſion of a fruitful and pleaſant country; and let him make public declaration, that he has contributed his tenths for the uſe of the Levites, and for the holy feſtivals, in purſuance of the directions of the law. Then let him pray to the Almighty, both for himſelf and the whole community of the Hebrews, imploring him to grant a continuance of his bounties and mercies to them, and, in his infinite power and benevolence, to vouchſafe them an augmentation of thoſe bleſſings.

Being arrived at years of maturity, let the men ſelect for their wives ſuch virgins as are well educated, and deſcended from virtuous parents. But let not that man who declines to eſpouſe a virgin preſume to ſeduce the wife of another man.

It is not permitted that a freeman ſhall eſpouſe a bond-woman: if he contracts ſuch an alliance, the plea of love is not to be admitted in his defence; for a man, who cannot controul and ſubdue the intemperance of his paſſions, forfeits his dignity, and degrades his character.

It is forbidden by the law for a man to contract marriage with a harlot or proſtitute; for a nuptial ſacrifice from an unclean perſon will not be acceptable to God. From marriages formed merely with views to ſenſual gratifications, a vicious offspring is generally produced.

A man who ſuppoſes he has married a virgin, but afterwards has reaſon to believe himſelf deceived in that opinion, is allowed to bring the queſtion to a trial, and adduce evidence in ſupport of his complaint. On the other ſide, the father, the brother, and the next of kin, may appear in juſtification of the woman. If ſhe be declared innocent of the charge, the huſband

band ſhall be compelled to live in wedlock with her, and the marriage can never be diſſolved, unleſs ſubſequent proofs of incontinency, too ſtrongly inconteſtible to admit of a doubt, ſhall be produced. Whoever ſhall falſely and maliciouſly accuſe a woman of infidelity to the marriage bed, ſhall receive the corporal puniſhment of nine-and-thirty ſtripes, and pay a fine of fifty ſickles to the father of the woman. If it ſhall be proved, that ſhe had forfeited her chaſtity, previous to her marriage, ſhe ſhall be ſtoned to death for her incontinency, if ſhe be a perſon in an inferior ſtation of life, but if ſhe be deſcended of an illuſtrious family, ſhe ſhall be burnt alive.

If a man have two wives, and a greater affection for the one than the other, whether on account of her ſuperior beauty, or any other cauſe, and he ſhall be prevailed upon by the favourite wife to demand the right of primogeniture in favour of her younger ſon, to the prejudice of an elder ſon by another wife, let not the claim be admitted; for ſeniority of birth gives the right to a double portion. It is not conſiſtent with juſtice, that the eldeſt ſon ſhould be deprived of his birth-right, through the partiality of his father to the mother of another of his ſons.

If a man debauch a virgin contracted in marriage to another, both parties ſhall be deemed guilty, and ſuffer death accordingly; the man for corrupting the woman, and the woman for yielding to his ſeductive practices. But if a man ſhall forcibly ſubdue the chaſtity of a woman, the puniſhment ſhall be inflicted upon him alone.

A man who ſhall ſeduce a virgin, who is not under a contract of marriage with another he ſhall himſelf eſpouſe her, unleſs the father refuſes his conſent, in which caſe let a compromiſe be effected by the ſeducer paying fifty ſhekels to the father.

A man being diſpoſed, from whatever cauſe, to be ſeparated from his wife, let him ſign an engagement, that he will never have further intercourſe with her, whereby ſhe will have authority to marry another man; but without that formality of a divorce, ſhe cannot marry another huſband. If a divorced woman take a ſecond huſband, and upon his deceaſe, ſhe is inclined to return to the former huſband, he is not permitted to receive her.

If a huſband dies, leaving a wife without children, let the brother of the deceaſed eſpouſe the widow, and if ſhe ſhall bear a ſon to the ſecond huſband, he ſhall be called by the family name, and inherit the eſtate: for it will prove beneficial to the public that names of families ſhall be preſerved, and that poſſeſſions ſhall be kept entire, rather than be ſeparated; and further, the ſociety of ſo near a relation to her former huſband, will be a comfort and relief to the woman. If the brother ſhall refuſe to marry her, let the woman exhibit the caſe before the ſenate, ſtating, that, whereas ſhe had offered to remain in the family, that ſhe might increaſe it by bringing forth children, ſhe had received a repulſe from the brother of her deceaſed huſband, whoſe memory was thereby diſhonoured. The man then departs from the court, being ſtigmatized with infamy during the remainder of his life; and the widow is at liberty to contract a ſecond marriage wherever her choice may direct her.

A man taking a female captive, whether a maid, wife, or widow, may eſpouſe her, on condition, that they refrain from having intercourſe together as man and wife, until the priſoner ſhall have ſhaved her head, and have alſo conformed to the uſual cuſtom of mourning, for the ſpace of thirty days, for the loſs of thoſe of her relations and friends, who had fallen in the battle. If after having eſpouſed a captive, the huſband withdraw his affections from her, and deſire a ſeparation, he ſhall not be allowed to reduce her again to a ſtate of ſlavery.

If children ſhould behave undutifully towards their parents, let them be admoniſhed in language to the following effect: "Notwithſtanding your irreverent behaviour, you know, children, that no endeavours have been omitted to educate you in ſuch a manner as might render you worthy, and give you poſſeſſion of all the bleſſings of life. But how ungrateful has been your return for our tenderneſs! However, the frailties of youth, if not carried to exceſs, are pardonable. You have acted indiſcreetly; therefore acknowledge your fault, and reſolve not to give cauſe for future complaint. Perhaps you do not recollect, that God is diſpleaſed at your perverſe behaviour to thoſe, from whom you have received your being, and that your heavenly Father, conſiders the offences committed againſt your earthly parents, as being offered to himſelf, under the analogy of that common appellation, he being the creator and father of all mankind."

To have the ſeverities of the law inflicted upon children, would not be conſiſtent either with the honour or the happineſs of parents; and therefore perſuaſion is recommended in preference to coercive means. But if parental authority and advice prove of ſo little effect, that they perſevere in their rebellious conduct, let them be ſubject to the penalties of the law, which declares, that they ſhall be taken out of the city, and be there ſtoned to death, after which their bodies are to be expoſed during one day, as a public ſpectacle, and at night to be buried.

Public enemies ſhall be allowed the ceremony of burial; for earth muſt be allowed for covering the bodies of the dead; the law preſcribes in what manner offences ſhall be puniſhed, and it would be a crime of great magnitude to proceed to greater extremities than the law allows.

It is prohibited by the law, that one Hebrew ſhall lend to another either meat or drink upon uſury. The conſciouſneſs of having performed a friendly action, will ever be found more than ſufficient to compenſate the author of it; for thoſe who exerciſe charity may reſt aſſured, that they will be amply rewarded by the Almighty. Let thoſe who borrow either money, or the fruits of the earth, whether wet or dry, chearfully return the amount of the ſame, as ſoon as they ſhall be in a condition ſo to do, which will be only depoſiting in the hands of another what you may, on a future occaſion, procure for your own uſe and convenience.

If a debtor ſhall be ſo deſtitute of a principle of honeſty as to refuſe diſcharging an obligation he has contracted, the ereditor muſt not enter his houſe, in order to obtain a pledge or ſecurity for his claim, but at the door of the habitation he is permitted to make a demand of the pledge, which the debtor is then to deliver to him: and no oppoſition to the award of a judge in favour of a creditor muſt be permitted. Any article depoſited with a creditor by way of pledge or pawn, may be retained by him till he receives ſatisfaction, provided it be not eſſential to the comfort and convenience of the owner: but if he cannot conveniently ſpare it, let it be returned before the ſetting of the ſun, eſpecially if it be a garment, leſt he ſhould have occaſion for it, to defend him from the cold at night.

A mill is not to be received in pawn, nor any article requiſite to working it, leſt the poor ſhould be deprived of the means of a livelihood.

Let death be the puniſhment inflicted upon him who ſeduces away, or ſteals a man; and he who ſteals gold or ſilver, ſhall be compelled to make double reſtitution.

The man who ſhall detect another in the commiſſion of robbery, or in breaking into a dwelling, and ſhall put him to death upon the ſpot, ſhall not be liable to any puniſhment.

A man who ſhall ſteal a labouring beaſt, ſhall pay to the owner thereof four times its value, except it be an ox, in which caſe the reſtitution ſhall be five fold in value. If the party accuſed be not in circumſtances to make the compenſation, he ſhall become the ſlave of the perſon he has injured.

In caſe of one Hebrew being ſold to another, he ſhall remain in ſervitude ſix years: but on the ſeventh he ſhall be reſtored to freedom: but if he have children in his maſter's houſe by any of the female fellow-ſervants, and ſhall wiſh to continue in his ſituation after the expiration of the ſix years, he together with his wife and children, ſhall be intitled to freedom on the year of Jubilee, which is every fiftieth year.

If a man finds gold or ſilver in the fields, road, or elſewhere, let him endeavour, by means of the common crier, to diſcover to whom it belongs, in order that it may be reſtored; for it would be contrary both to juſtice and humanity to make advantage of the misfortunes of another man.

If cattle go aſtray, let endeavours be uſed for diſcovering the owner, the finder keeping them to himſelf till they are claimed by the right proprietor, the party having poſſeſſion thereof ſolemnly calling God to witneſs, that he does not covet the goods of another man: upon being demanded by the right owners, they muſt be reſtored.

A man obſerving his neighbour's beaſt to be faſt in the mud, is enjoined to exert himſelf for releaſing the animal, as much as he naturally would do, were the creature his own property.

He who ſees a traveller at a loſs in diſcovering his way, muſt give him the beſt direction in his power for enabling him to purſue his journey; for it is barbarous either to ſport with ignorance, or obſtruct the buſineſs of another man.

Speak not ill of abſent people, nor of thoſe who are afflicted with deafneſs.

If upon a ſudden diſagreement, without pre-conceived malice, one man ſtrike another, but not with a ſword, or other inſtrument of death, let immediate juſtice be done upon the aggreſſor, by giving him as many blows as he ſtruck the other. If the man who was aſſaulted, continue ill for ſeveral days, and then die, no action ſhall, in this caſe, lie for murder: but if he recovers, the whole expence of his cure ſhall be defrayed by the party who aſſailed him.

If a man ſhall kick or ſtrike a pregnant woman, ſo as to occaſion a miſcarriage, the judge ſhall condemn him to pay a ſum of money, for the loſs of a ſubject, and likewiſe another ſum, by way of fine, to the huſband; but if ſhe dies in conſequence of the aſſault, the man muſt be put to death; for life muſt anſwer for life.

If a preparation of any mortal or dangerous poiſon ſhall be found in the poſſeſſion of an Iſraelite, and it ſhall appear, that his intention was to adminiſter it to any one, his murderous deſign ſhall be puniſhed with death.

If a man ſtrikes out the eye of another, he ſhall forfeit one of his own, or compound with the complainant by paying him a ſum of money; for if he thinks fit to moderate the rigour of the penalty for an injury he has received, the law permits a man ſo far to execute the office of a judge.

If an ox be of a vicious and miſchievous temper, and addicted to goring people, he is to be put to death. If an ox kill any perſon, let the creature be immediately ſtoned to death, and no man muſt preſume to eat of his fleſh: but if it ſhall appear, that the owner had been informed of the fierce and vicious nature of the beaſt and had diſregarded the caution, he ſhall himſelf ſuffer death, for not purſuing proper means for preventing the death of another man. In caſe of an ox killing a man or a woman ſervant, the beaſt ſhall be ſtoned to death, and the owner ſhall pay a fine of thirty ſhekels to the maſter of the deceaſed ſlave. If one ox kill another, the living and the dead animal muſt be ſold, the produce of them be divided between the two proprietors.

If a man digs a well or a pit, he muſt cover it with boards, and caſt up a mound or bank about it, not by way of engroſſing the water to himſelf, but to give notice of the danger, and caution man and beaſt againſt falling into it. If through the want of a proper fence, or covering, a beaſt ſhall fall into a well or pit, and be loſt, the owner of the ground where the accident happened ſhall make ſatisfaction to the full value of the beaſt.

Should a man receive a depoſitum, or ſomewhat in truſt, for the uſe of another, he is commanded to preſerve it as a thing ſacred. In caſe of the depoſitum being loſt, let the truſtee apply to the ſeven judges, and, in the holy name of God, make oath, that he neither directly nor indirectly applied any part of it to his own uſe, nor was in any reſpect concerned in embezzling the property; and he ſhall thereby be exonerated from the charge of violating his truſt. But if it ſhall afterwards appear that he converted the ſmalleſt particle of the property to his own uſe, he ſhall be compelled to make reſtitution to the full amount of whatever was entruſted to his care.

The moſt rigid punctuality muſt be obſerved in paying the labourer his hire. He muſt not be defrauded of the ſmalleſt portion of what is due to him, and the payment thereof muſt not be delayed: but on the ſame day, when he has concluded his labour, let him receive his wages.

Puniſhment is not to be inflicted upon children for the crimes of their fathers: on the contrary, if they are virtuous, they are intitled to compaſſion on account of the misfortune of being deſcended from unworthy parents. Inſtead of being deſpiſed on account of the iniquities of others, they are intitled to eſteem and reſpect, on the ſcore of their own good qualifications. Nor is the lewdneſs of children, in all caſes, to be imputed to parents; for there are ſome ſo naturally untractable, that all the excellency of parental example, and the moſt ſalutary advice and correction, will fail of the deſired effect.

There is a claſs of people, who, from an unnatural affectation, make themſelves eunuchs, thereby diſappointing the intention of nature in the intercourſe between the ſexes. This crime is of very great magnitude, it being contrary to one of the principal ends of the human creation; namely, that of having poſterity. Theſe men are to be avoided, as monſters in iniquity. Let no creature, whether of the human or brute creation, be caſtrated, the practice being contrary to the inſtitutions of nature.

By the laws I have ſtated you are to regulate your conduct in times of peace; and by the bleſſings of the Almighty, I truſt, that thoſe inſtitutions will be continued unchanged and ſacred to you and your poſterity for ever. But ſince all human affairs are uncertain, and difficulties and troubles may naturally be expected to occur, I ſhall endeavour, in the beſt manner I can, and as conciſely as the nature of the caſe will admit, to prepare you for encountering, and thereby enabling you to obviate thoſe inconveniencies to which you may peradventure be expoſed.

I moſt anxiouſly wiſh you may quietly continue in poſſeſſion of the land which the Almighty has been graciouſly pleaſed to appoint for your reſidence; and that you may in peace and plenty, enjoy the fruits of your induſtry, patience and perſeverance. It is my advice, that by all reaſonable means, you endeavour to avoid contentions and wars with ſtrangers, and that you be ſtill more particularly attentive in preventing all domeſtic feuds and animoſities; for inteſtine broils and diſcords might prove deſtructive of the laws, religion, cuſtoms, and manners of your forefathers: and remember, that you are under an indiſpenſable obligation to preſerve theſe laws pure and inviolate, ſince they have received the ſanction and authority of Heaven. Be careful that in no inſtance whatever you tranſgreſs theſe ſacred inſtitutions.

Should you hereafter be unavoidably engaged in hoſtilities, you will act wiſely in diſpatching heralds and ambaſſadors with memorials to your adverſaries, on the ſubject of the cauſe of controverſy; for it is proper, that expoſtulation ſhould precede the commencement of actual hoſtilities. You may repreſent, that your object is not to promote your private advantage, either by the acquiſition of booty, or by making captives of your enemies; that you are averſe to proceeding to extremities; and are diſpoſed to engage in a pacific treaty upon fair and equitable terms, notwithſtanding you may have a ſuperior force in cavalry and infantry, a greater ſupply of military ſtores and proviſions, and that you have beſides an infinitely ſtronger aſſurance of ſucceſs than your adverſary, ſince you are confident that God will fight your battles. If, after ſuch explanation, your enemy ſhall refer the iſſue of the controverſy to the chance of war, lead forth your army againſt him with order and regularity, recommending your troops to the favour and protection of God, and next under him, giving the command and management of them to that man who ſhall have moſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his intrepidity in arms, and wiſdom in council. Avoid a multiplicity of adviſers, leſt a diſagreement in opinion ſhould prove injurious, by impeding the celerity with which it may be neceſſary to act in caſes of emergency. Let particular care and attention be employed in forming your armies: for the diſpoſition of their minds muſt be conſidered, as well as their bodily ſtrength and activity: they muſt be reſolute as well as robuſt; for the leaſt taint of puſillanimity may infect the whole army with cowardice.

Thoſe are not to be compelled to ſerve in the militia, who are the proprietors of newly erected houſes, not having inhabited them twelve months. The planters of vineyards, who have not taſted the produce of their vines, and likewiſe men lately married, who have not taken their wives home, are not to be liable to ſervice in the militia.

The latter, while their duty would require their attendance in defence of their country, might be induced to employ their time in the company of their wives.

Let good order and ſtrict diſcipline be obſerved in the camp, where neither licentiouſneſs, nor cruel, nor harſh proceedings muſt be countenanced. If, when a place is beſieged, you have occaſion for timber, for the purpoſe of conſtructing implements for war, or other articles for military uſe, do not cut down fruit trees, ſince they were intended by nature for a different uſe.

Upon obtaining a conqueſt over your enemies, allow not quarter to thoſe who had ſhewn a perverſe obſtinacy in maintaining the war againſt you: but ſhew compaſſion to the reſt, excepting they be natives of the land of Canaan, they being a people to effect the entire extirpation of whom you are to exert your utmoſt endeavours.

Men are forbidden to appear in a dreſs that is deſcriptive of a female, and no woman is permitted to aſſume the apparel of the other ſex, eſpecially during a military action.

The above is the ſubſtance of the laws which Moſes delivered for the government of the Hebrew nation; and in addition thereto, he communicated to them ſeveral ordinances (of which we ſhall particularly ſpeak in a ſeparate tract) that had been written by him about forty years before.

For ſeveral ſucceſſive days after delivering the above excellent diſcourſe, Moſes attended public aſſemblies of the people, appealing to Heaven to ſhower down bleſſings upon thoſe who conformed to the divine laws, and aſſuring the multitude, that affliction and miſery would infallibly be the portion of thoſe who ſhould preſume to tranſgreſs the commands of God. After this, Moſes recited a divine ſong or canticle, in hexameter verſe, containing a pious diſcourſe on the ſubject of future occurrences, and mentioning the preciſe order in which they would happen. Theſe predictions have been ſince fully ratified. The whole diſcourſe he left in writing, with orders, that it ſhould be kept in the oratory. He delivered his books to the prieſts, and likewiſe the ark, containing the ten commandments, written upon two tables; at the ſame time, recommending it to the people, that when they ſhould be in poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan, and be ſettled in there plantations there, they ſhould avenge themſelves upon the Amalekites, for the indignities received from them in the deſart.

A prophetical hymn delivered by Moſes. Duet. xxxiii. xxxiv.

Moſes commanded, that when the Hebrews ſhould be eſtabliſhed in Canaan, and have put all the inhabitants of that country to the ſword, they ſhould erect an altar to the eaſtward, at a ſmall diſtance from Sichem, between the two mountains, Garizim, on the right hand, and Gebal, on the left, ſo dividing the army into twice ſix tribes, the ſeveral diviſions were to be diſpoſed upon the two mountains, together with the prieſts and Levites. They were to offer up prayers to God alternately, the people upon Garizim taking the lead; and the tribes upon Mount Gabel, at every cloſe, returning acclamations, thereby ſignifying there approbation of what the others had done. And they afterwards, in the ſame manner, uttered the moſt dreadful maledictions upon thoſe who ſhould preſume to tranſgreſs the commands of God; and theſe were confirmed and ratified in the ſame manner that had been obſerved upon invoking the benedictions. Theſe bleſſings and imprecations were, at the ſame time, recorded in writing, in order that the memory of them might be perpetuated. Moſes alſo cauſed them to be engraven on each ſide of the altar, while the people were employed in offering up ſacrifices and burnt offerings: but the act of recording the inſcriptions upon the altar, was declared to be unwarrantable on future occaſions, and was prohibited from being received as a precedent. Thoſe ordinances and inſtitutions which we have recited, as being delivered by Moſes, are to this day obſerved by the Hebrews with religious punctuality. The day after delivering the above laws, the whole multitude aſſembled, neither women, children, nor even the meaneſt ſlave being excluded; and Moſes bound them under the ſolemn obligation of an oath, that no conſiderations whatever ſhould prevail with them to neglect a rigid adherence to the precepts he had delivered to them. The oath adminiſtered on this occaſion imported, that if any ſingle perſon, however affectionately beloved, or nearly allied, or any body of men, ſhould attempt an innovation of the laws, they would unite, as one man, in puniſhing ſuch diſobedience; that they would execute vengeance upon the authors of ſuch impious contumacy, even to erazing their habitations and cities ſo compleatly, as, if it were poſſible for them to accompliſh it, not to leave one ſtone upon another; but, if inſuperable difficulties ſhould prevent them from puniſhing the contemners of the commands of God, they would, at leaſt, make public proclamation againſt, and utterly deny their aſſent to ſuch atrocious iniquity.

Moſes alſo inſtructed the multitude in the manner they ſhould act, in regard to offering up ſacrifices, and by what rules they ſhould regulate their conduct, in all great undertakings and enterpriſes; and alſo by what means they were to learn, whether the Almighty approved of their conduct; informing them, that they would gain this knowledge, by obſerving the jewels upon Aaron's breaſt-plate, of the miraculous variations in the appearance of which we have already ſpoken.

The predictions of Joſhua. Deut. xxxiv. 9.

While Moſes was yet living, the ſpirit of prophecy was communicated to Joſhua, who predicted to the multitude in what manner he ſhould be concerned in promoting their welfare, both in foreign wars, and in the adminiſtration of the laws at home; by his diſcourſes preparing them for the reception of a new ſyſtem of diſcipline. He aſſured the multitude, that what he had ſaid to them was the effect of a divine impulſe, and that, if they ſhould ever act in diſobedience to the religion of their country, they would be afflicted with the moſt dreadful calamities; that their land would be over-run with foreigners, their cities be plundered, their temple laid in ruins, and themſelves ſold for ſlaves to people who would exerciſe towards them the moſt unrelenting cruelty of oppreſſion; he added, that God would be pleaſed to reſtore to them their cities and their holy temple; but yet, that a repetition of their iniquities would, at different periods, put them in the condition of a ruined people.

Moſes now addreſſed himſelf to Joſhua, giving him a commiſſion to lead the Hebrew army againſt the Canaanites, and recommending him to repoſe a firm reliance on God for rendering him victorious in the undertaking, at the ſame time pronouncing various particulars of the future condition of his countrymen, and imploring the Almighty to make them a righteous, powerful and happy people. This wiſe and pious man, and truly admirable legiſlator, then took a laſt farewell of the multitude in words to the following effect:

"It being the pleaſure of Almighty God to call me to my anceſtors, and to appoint this as the laſt day of my mortal exiſtence, it is expedient that I ſhould now in your preſence, return my grateful acknowledgements for the fatherly care and providence he has extended to you; not only in reſcuing you from the moſt deplorable calamities, but in graciouſly beſtowing upon you innumerable bleſſings. I muſt likewiſe pay my moſt ſincere thanks for his unbounded goodneſs to myſelf, in aſſiſting my endeavours for promoting your happineſs, wherein I acted in a ſubſervient and miniſterial capacity, God himſelf being the ſole author and cauſe of every bleſſing you enjoy. Praiſed be his holy name, for his infinite mercy and tenderneſs to his people; and, as a dying man, I conſider it to be my duty to recommend you to his further care and protection. It is alſo a duty incumbent on me, to remind you of the honour and veneration due to that Almighty Being, who alone is to be the object of your worſhip and religious adoration. It is my dying requeſt, that you will venerate the laws that God has been pleaſed to preſcribe to you, as the moſt ſacred and ineſtimable of all his bounties; for ſhould you tranſgreſs thoſe inſtitutions, you will be juſtly expoſed to the in-

indignation of their divine author, and inſtead of receiving the bounties he has in ſtore for you, miſery and affliction will inevitably overtake you."

The dying addreſs of Moſes was accompanied with a great number of benedictions in behalf of the whole people, and likewiſe many prophecies, which, in their proper time, were fully verified. Men, women, and children joined in the moſt poignant expreſſions of grief for ſo irreparable a loſs as they were about to experience. After the departure of this wiſe and good man, the young people with extreme ſorry reflected, that no one would remain ſo perfectly qualified to advance their future welfare and happineſs: and the aged called to their memory the ſeverity and ingratitude of their behaviour towards him on former occaſions, reproaching themſelves for their want of proper reſpect to a man of ſuch exemplary righteouſneſs and virtue, till now that he was on the point of being for ever ſeparated from them. But the ſolemnity of the ſcene was heightened by no circumſtance ſo much as by the conduct of the good and great man whoſe death was approaching; after expreſſing a perfect reſignation to the will of God, and the law of nature, and his conſolatory counſels to the people, ſuch was his affection for them, that upon taking his laſt farewell, he could not reſtrain his feelings, but yielding to the infirmity of human nature, he joined in the general lamentations.

While proceeding towards his laſt retreat, he gave a ſignal, by the waving of his hand, for thoſe of the weeping multitude that were at ſome diſtance, to ſtop, at the ſame time, requeſting ſuch as were near him, not to diſturb the peace of his dying moments with unreaſonable and ineffectual importunities. The people obeyed; but their ſtreaming eyes were bent upon him as long as he remained in view. Accompanied only by Eleazar, the high-prieſt, Joſhua, his ſucceſſor, and the elders, Moſes proceeded forward: and on his arrival at Abarim, he aſcended a high mountain oppoſite Jericho. Having taken a view of the fruitful country of Canaan, he diſmiſſed the elders, or ſenators, and having taken an eternal farewell of Eleazar and Joſhua, while he was yet diſcourſing with them, he was envelopped in a cloud, which tranſported him into a certain valley.

Moſes taken away in a cloud

The holy ſcriptures ſay that Moſes died, leſt, on account of his eminently ſuperior endowments, people ſhould imagine him to be ſtill living in the glorious manſions of his Heavenly father. Moſes was a hundred and twenty years of age; and a third part of the time he lived, excepting one month, he was inveſted with the command and government of the Hebrew nation. His death took place in the laſt month of the year, and on the firſt day of that month, which is called Dyſtrus by the Macedonians, and Adar by the Hebrews.

Moſes was a man excelling all others in wiſdom; and his admirable qualities he ſtudiouſly applied to the beſt purpoſes: as an orator, he ſurpaſſed all his cotemporaries in the ſkill of moving the affections of his auditors; ſo abſolute a controul had he over his paſſions, that he appeared to be a ſtranger to their effect, and to know them only by name, or by having obſerved their operations upon other people. Conſidering him in a military capacity, it may be truly ſaid, that a greater general has not been known; and as a prophet, he confeſſedly had no equal. On occaſion of the death of Moſes, the Hebrews mourned thirty days; and the loſs of this illuſtrious man was the cauſe of the moſt ſevere affliction ever experienced by that people. The memory of this holy man will ever be held in the higheſt veneration; his writing having as ſplendidly diſtinguiſhed his character to poſterity, as the conduct of his whole life did to his cotemporaries.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS,

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK V.

From the Year of the World 2493 *to* 2850.

CHAPTER I.

Joſhua ſucceeds Moſes, as commander of the Hebrews. He diſpatches ſpies to Jericho; aſſembles the tribes, and reminds them of their promiſes. At the head of fifty thouſand men, Joſhua proceeds from Abila to the banks of the river Jordan. The Hebrews by a miracle paſs the Jordan. Joſhua offers up ſacrifice, and at the ſame time the feaſt of the paſſover is celebrated. The prieſts on ſix ſucceſſive days, carry the ark round Jericho. On the ſeventh day, the walls of the city fall, and the Iſraelites effect an entrance, commit great ſlaughter and obtain a vaſt booty. The Hebrews are repulſed. Joſhua's prayer and appeal to heaven. Achar is convicted of ſacrilege, and puniſhed with death. Joſhua takes the city of Ain, where a great booty is gained. The Gibeonites, being alarmed at the conqueſt of Jericho and Ain, ſend deputies to treat with Joſhua, who forms a league with them. The king of Jeruſalem declares war againſt the Gibeonites, who are relieved by Joſhua. A dreadful tempeſt. The ſun ſtands ſtill. Five kings being taken priſoners by Joſhua, they are put to death. A confederacy of the Canaanites againſt Joſhua. After a terrible battle, the Canaanites are ſubdued, and their kings put to death. Joſhua marches from Gilgal to Siloe, where he places the holy tabernacle. Commiſſioners appointed to ſurvey the country of Canaan. The diviſion of the land among the tribes. Joſhua's addreſs to the Hebrews. The death of Joſhua. His character. Eleazar, the high-prieſt dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſon Phinees. The war purſued againſt the Canaanites.

AFTER the ceremony of mourning for the loſs of Moſes, Joſhua iſſued an order for the Hebrews to be in readineſs to march; and diſpatched ſpies to make obſervations upon the defenſive ſtate of the country, and diſcover how the inhabitants ſtood affected. He then commanded his people to ſtrike their tents, deſigning to avail himſelf of the firſt opportunity of paſſing the river Jordan. Upon this occaſion, he convened the princes of the tribes of Reubel, Gad, and Menaſſes, of which latter tribe one half had been permitted to ſettle in the country of the Amorites, that being one ſeventh part of the land of Canaan. He reminded theſe chiefs of the promiſes under which they had bound themſelves to Moſes, and exhorted them to fulfil thoſe engagements, as the beſt means of promoting the common welfare of the Hebrew nation; adding, that to conform with chearfulneſs and alacrity, to the directions of their great and glorious leader, who with his dying breath had expreſſed the moſt tender regard for them, was an obligation which they were particularly bound to diſcharge. Theſe princes led up their forces with the utmoſt willingneſs; and at the head of fifty thouſand men, Joſhua marched from Abila towards the banks of the Jordan, being a ſpace of about ſixty furlongs.

Immediately after the army had formed their encampment, the ſpies arrived, and delivered to Joſhua an account of the ſtate of Jericho. They reported, that they had travelled into the country under the aſſumed character of diſintereſted ſtrangers, and had, during whole day, made every enquiry they deemed neceſſary, without being ſuſpected of any other motive than perſonal curioſity; that they had examined the walls, gates, and ramparts of the place, obſerving where it was moſt acceſſible, and where the inhabitants would be moſt capable of reſiſting the aſſaults of an enemy. They ſaid, however, that in the evening they reſorted to an inn, near the walls of the city, and after refreſhing themſelves, were in converſation on the ſubject of their return, when they were informed, that, while he was at ſupper, information had been given to the king, that certain ſpies from the Hebrew camp were then concealed in the houſe of Rachab* and that he had iſſued orders for their being immediately ſecured, and put to the torture, as a means of diſcovering the deſigns they had in view.

Upon learning that her houſe was to be ſearched, Rachab concealed the ſtrangers under a quantity of flax that was lying to dry upon the wall; and upon the arrival of the king's meſſengers, ſhe informed them, that ſome perſons anſwering the deſcription they gave, had been her gueſts that evening; that they came to her houſe about ſun-ſet, and, after taking the refreſhment of a ſupper, departed; adding, that ſince they were ſuſpected to be enemies to the king, they might ſoon be ſecured, ſince they could not have proceeded to any conſiderable diſtance. There was ſuch an appearance of ſincerity in the converſation and looks of the woman, that the officers declined ſearching the houſe, and haſtened towards the river Jordan, in ſearch of the ſuſpected parties; but, notwithſtanding they employed the utmoſt vigilance in their enquiry, it proved ineffectual. Immediately after the departure of the officers, Rachab, called her gueſts from their retreat, and, after mentioning that for their preſervation ſhe had greatly endangered the lives of her whole family, requeſted, when the Hebrew army ſhould arrive to make a conqueſt of the place (which ſhe had been informed by a revelation from God would ſoon happen), that in gratitude for the protection ſhe had afforded them, neither herſelf, nor any part of her family might be treated as enemies. Hereupon, they aſſured her under the ſolemnity of an oath, that her kindneſs ſhould be amply rewarded, and directed her, when the city ſhould be beſieged, to retire with her friends, into her own houſe, hanging out a ſcarlet cloth before the door, that the Hebrews might thereby diſtinguiſh it from the habitations of other people. They told her, that the general ſhould be apprized of the meaning of the ſignal, and that he would doubtleſs iſſue an order for the ſafety and protection of the perſons and property that ſhould be found in her houſe; adding, however, that if any perſon taken under her protection, ſhould be ſlain in the actual commiſſion of hoſtilities, they ſhould conſider themſelves as being exonerated from the obligation of their oath. After this, they departed, Rachab having provided them with a rope, for the purpoſe of lowering themſelves from the wall. Theſe circumſtances being related to Joſhua, he conſulted Eleazer, the high-prieſt, and the elders on the ſubject, and their determination was, that the oath the ſpies had taken was binding, and therefore they ratified the obligation.

The Hebrews encamp on the banks of the Jordan. Joſh. III.

The Hebrew army, being on the march to Jericho, now encamped on the banks of the Jordan. The waters being out, the natural rapidity of the current was greatly encreaſed; and being deſtitute of all means of building either boats or a bridge, the general was ſomewhat diſcouraged; but it was the pleaſure of the Almighty, to inform him in a viſion, that, notwithſtanding the obſtacles that appeared invincible, he ſhould ſucceed in the enterprize; for the river ſhould be made fordable to the army under his Command.

The miraculous paſſage of the Hebrew army. ibid.

Having waited two day in anxious expectation of the promiſed miracle, the whole Hebrew army was enabled to paſs the river. The prieſt went firſt with the ark; they were followed by the Levites with the tabernacle and the holy veſſels and utenſils; the next in the proceſſion were the ſoldiery, arranged according to the order of the ſeveral tribes, the women and children being in the middle, the better to ſecure them from the impetuoſity of the current.

When the prieſts approached the river, it was obſerved, that the violence of the current gradually ſubſided, till the bottom at length became as dry and firm as a pavement. In ſhort, the whole multitude paſſed to the oppoſite banks without the ſmalleſt inconvenience, where they found the country preciſely correſponding with the deſcription that had been communicated to them by divine revelation.

---

* Script, Rahab.

In effecting this paſſage, the prieſts continued in the middle of the channel till the reſt of the poeple had gained the oppoſite banks, and then they followed. When the whole body of people had compleated their paſſage, the waters immediately returned to the former channel, and all things exhibited the preciſe appearance they had before the miracle was wrought.

Proceeding forward about fifty furlongs, the Hebrew army encamped within ten furlongs of the city of Jericho. It was in this place that Joſhua erected an altar with the twelve ſtones which, by the prophet's direction, twelve princes of the ſeveral tribes had brought with them from the bed of the river, intending it as a memorial to future generations of the miraculous manner in which the current of the river had been ſtopped, for the purpoſe of affording a paſſage to the Hebrew army. Upon this altar Joſhua offered up ſacrifice, and at the ſame time celebrated the feaſt of the paſſover, on which occaſion the abundance of all the neceſſaries of life life was as remarkable as the diſtreſſes of the Hebrews had been for a long ſeries of years in the deſart: but at this time the manna, on which the Iſraelites had ſubſiſted forty years in the wilderneſs, failed them.

The manna fails the Hebrews.

At this time the harveſt of the Canaanites was ripe upon the ground, and in the paſtures were immenſe numbers of cattle, of which the Hebrews applied to their own uſe whatever portion they deſired; and as the enemy attempted not to interrupt them, Joſhua imagined it would be a matter of great difficulty to draw them out of their ſtrong holds, by any provocations or affronts that he could offer them; and therefore he came to the determination of beſieging the city.

On the firſt day after the feſtival of the paſſover, the prieſts took up the ark, and placing it in the midſt of guard a of ſoldiers, marched forward with it, being preceeded by ſeven other prieſts, each ſounding a horn, by way of animating the courage of the troops; and they were followed by the elders of the different tribes. Thus they paraded round the walls of the city on ſix ſucceſſive days, after that ceremony returning to their camp. On the following day Joſhua aſſembled all the people, and informed them that before night, the town ſhould be ſurrendered to them, without their being expoſed to trouble or difficulty, for without any human force being employed, the walls ſhould fall down, and leave the place defenceleſs. He then commanded his people to deſtroy every living creature that ſhould be found among the enemy, excepting only Rachab and her family, who were to be ſpared, in conſideration of the oath taken by the ſpies; and he commanded, that neither the fatigue attending the ſlaughter, the opportunity of gaining booty, compaſſion towards the enemy, nor any other conſideration whatever, ſhould prevail upon them to neglect putting a ſingle inhabitant to the ſword. He further ordered, that all the gold and ſilver taken from the enemy ſhould be laid up in one heap, preparatory to being dedicated to the Almighty, as the firſt fruits of the victory obtained over the city of Jericho.

Having iſſued the above orders, Joſhua led the people towards the city, and marched * ſeven times round the walls thereof, as before, with the prieſts, the ſenate and the ſoldiers. On the ſeventh time of going round the place, they made a ſtop, when the walls inſtantly fell down, without any engine, or human force, or art being employed againſt them. This miraculous event threw the inhabitants into ſuch terror and conſternation, as utterly to diſqualify them for attempting any reſiſtance, ſo that the Hebrews, without oppoſition from the miſerable inhabitants, committed upon them a general ſlaughter, not ſparing either women or children. After this, the city was entirely burnt, and the circumjacent country compleatly devaſtated, Rachab and her family alone eſcaping the common deſtruction, they being reſcued by the ſpies, in conſideration of the protection they had received.

The walls o Jericho fall down. Joſh. vi. 20.

Rachab and her friends preſerved.

Rachab being conducted into the preſence of Joſhua, he made ſuitable acknowledgments to her for the ſervices ſhe had yielded to his deputies, at the ſame time promiſing that her conduct ſhould receive an adequate reward. This promiſe Joſhua in a ſhort time fulfilled, by beſtowing upon Rachab a conſiderable property in land; and on all future occaſions he manifeſted great eſteem and reſpect

---

* And it came to paſs on the ſeventh day, that they roſe early about the dawning of the day, and compaſſed the city after the ſame manner ſeven times: only on that day they compaſſed the city ſeven times." Joſh. VI. 15. The walking round the walls for ſeven days ſucceſſively, ſeems ſo improbable a means of taking a city, and was ſo likely to expoſe them to the deriſion and aſſaults of their enemies, that their preforming the ceremony ſo exactly in obedience to the divine command, is a proof that they repoſed an entire faith in the promiſe of God.

for this woman. A prophetical curſe was pronounced upon the place, purporting that the city ſhould never be again built upon, that whoever ſhould preſume to lay the [*] firſt ſtone of a new foundation, ſhould loſe his eldeſt ſon, and that the death of his youngeſt ſhould be a puniſhment upon the man who ſhould compleat the work. It will appear hereafter, that the above prophetic malediction took effect. An immenſe booty in gold, ſilver, and braſs was found in Jericho, but Joſhua commanded, that no perſon whatever ſhould apply the ſmalleſt particle thereof to his own uſe, delivering the whole that was collected into the cuſtody of the prieſts, in order to be depoſited in their treaſury.

Preſently afterwards a diſcovery was made, that a man named [†] Achar, the ſon of Zebedee, of the tribe of Judah, had ſecreted a rich cloak of cloth intermixed with gold, that had belonged to the king, and likewiſe a huge maſs of gold, weighing two hundred [‡] ſhekels. To elude a diſcovery, Achar dug a hole in the ground under his tent, and there depoſited the ſpoil, imagining that while his fellow-ſoldiers remained ignorant of the circumſtance, he ſhould be perfectly ſecure from diſcovery. The Hebrew army now encamped at a place which received the name of Galgala[§], a word importing liberty; for, having paſſed the river, the people conſidered themſelves as being in a ſtate of perfect ſecurity.

A few days after the deſtruction of Jericho, Joſhua diſpatched an army of three thouſand men againſt the city of Ain[‖], a place ſituated a little higher up the country. An engagement taking place, the Iſraelites were repulſed with the loſs of ſix-and-thirty men. This diſcomfiture proved extremely afflicting to the Iſraelites who conſidered the event as being ominous of future diſappointments and miſfortunes. They had flattered themſelves in the opinion, that the difficulties of the war were at an end, and that but very little more trouble would be neceſſary for rendering themſelves abſolute maſters of the whole land of Canaan. The ſpirits of the army was entirely depreſſed by their late diſaſter; and clothing themſelves in ſackcloth, the whole community of the Hebrews, employed the day on which intelligence of the defeat of their army was received, in faſting, mourning, and prayer; ſo grievouſly were they affected by this unexpected change in their fortune. Finding his people driven almoſt to a ſtate of deſperation, Joſhua proſtrated himſelf with his face to the earth, and pronounced the following ejaculatory prayer.

"Almighty God! thou knoweſt it was not ambition that prompted us to make war againſt the people that have proved too powerful for us We engaged in the war merely through deference and reſpect to thy righteous ſervant Moſes, who aſſured us, that it had been thy gracious pleaſure to promiſe us poſſeſſion of this country, and that we ſhould prove victorious over our enemies; and to convince the people, that in the propoſed enterpriſe, they would act under thy immediate authority, he had recourſe to ſigns and miracles, the power of producing which could only be communicated from Heaven. But how mortifying a change has happened in our ſituation, both in the loſs of our friends, and in the overthrow we have experienced from our enemies![¶] Hence it might ſeem either that the predictions of Moſes did not proceed from divine inſpiration, or that the promiſes thou wert pleaſed to make, are not to be fulfilled. This calamitous beginning of the war, may be expected to make us dread the conſequences that may ariſe in its progreſs. But thou, O Lord! who alone art able to afford us relief, aſſiſt and preſerve us in our preſent affliction; vouchſafe, in they infinite goodneſs, to yield us comfort, to defend us from entertaining deſpair of future ſucceſs, and render us victorious over our enemies."

---

[*] We read 1 Kings XVI. 34, that "In his Days (Ahab's) did Hiel the Bethelite build Jericho: he laid the foundation thereof in Abiram his firſt born, and ſet up the gates thereof in his youngeſt ſon Segub, according to the word of the Lord, which he ſpake by Joſhua the ſon of Nun." Thus we find, that his eldeſt ſon died when he laid the firſt ſtone, and that when it was finiſhed the death of his youngeſt ſon took place. The ſentence being pronounced more than four hundred and forty years before, and now preciſely occurring in all its circumſtances, ſhould be conſiſidered as inconteſtibly proving the immutability of God.

[†] Scrip. Archan, the ſon of Zerah.

[‡] According to Dr. Arbuthnot, a ſhekel reduced to Engliſh troy, weighs nine penny weights two grains, and four ſevenths; two hundred ſhekels therefore muſt weigh ſeven pounds, ſeven ounces, one penny weight, and ten grains; or ninety one ounces, one penny weight, and ten grains, which, reckoning gold at four pound the ounce, amounts to three hundred ſixty four pound, five ſhillings, and eight pence of our money, or thereabouts. The ſhekel of gold, which was alſo a particular coin among the Jews, according to the beſt authors, was worth one pound, ſixteen ſhillings, and ſix pence of our money, two hundred of which amount exactly to three hundred and ſixty five pounds, which comes very near the above ſaid ſum.

We think it not improper here to obſerve, that there is great diſagreement among learned men, about the value of the Jewiſh ſhekel of ſilver. Some ſay it was worth but two ſhillings and a penny, ſome two ſhilling, and three pence farthing, and half farthing; others two ſhillings and ſix pence in our money. But as Joſephus, more than once avers it was equivalent to the Attick Tetradachm ſeveral of which we having lately had the opportunity of ſeeing and weighing and finding them generally ſomething heavier than our half-crown which in general are found to be ſomewhat heavier than our half crown, the value of the Jewiſh ſhekel of ſilver may be fixed at two ſhillings and ſeven pence.

[§] Script. Gilgal.

[‖] Script. Ai.

[¶] Here is an inſtance of the frailty of human nature, proving that the beſt men are apt to forego their truſt in God, and on any reverſe of fortune, to think of him and his actions according to the weakneſs of their own nature. Becauſe three thouſand men had fled from before Ain Joſhua ſeems to have concluded. that all the promiſes of God were to prove ineffectual; not conſidering the power wiſdom, and unchangeable truth of the divine being.

Upon the concluſion of this appeal, the Almighty was pleaſed to command Joſhua to riſe, and purify the army from a pollution whereby it was defiled; for the commiſſion of a ſacrilegious fraud had been the cauſe of their late defeat. The oracle commanded Joſhua to cauſe lots to be drawn for the purpoſe of diſcovering the guilty party; adding, that when pnniſhment ſhould have been inflicted upon him, the Hebrews ſhould prove victorious.

Joſhua made a report of the commands he had received to the people, and then requeſting the attendance of Eleazar, and the princes, he put the different tribes to the teſt of the lot, which fell upon the tribe of Judah. Lots being then caſt for diſcovering to what family the offender belonged, the lot fell upon the family of Zacharias. The matter being now brought to perſonal examination, the lot in this inſtance fell upon Achar, who was immediately taken into cuſtody; and knowing that all attempts to elude Divine juſtice muſt fail of ſucceſs, he acknowledged himſelf guilty of the ſacrilegious theft, and delivered up the property in the preſence of the people. Hereupon, he was immediately ſtoned to death, and his body was diſgracefully buried by night, like that of a common malefactor.

The people being thus purified, Joſhua led the army towards the city of Ain, and having ſtationed his ambuſhes, he early next morning marched the main body of the army within ſight of the enemy, who being elated with their former ſucceſs, no ſooner perceived the Iſraelites, than they boldly advanced to give them battle. As the Ainites advanced, the Hebrews retreated, thereby having an appearance of fear; and by that manœuvre the people were drawn out of the city. Upon a ſignal given by Joſhua, his army ſuddenly ſtopped, and, almoſt at the ſame inſtant, the ambuſh entered the town, with little oppoſition; for the inhabitants were not prepared to oppoſe them, having crouded together upon the walls of the town, from a curioſity to ſee the engagement; and judging from the appearance of things, that their army could not fail of ſucceſs, they did not ſuppoſe it neceſſary to take any meaſures for the ſecurity of the town, which they entertained not the leaſt ſuſpicion would be attacked by ſurpriſe.

The Ainit
routed, Jo
VIII. 20.

The armies meeting, the Ainites were routed with terrible ſlaughter, and the ſurvivors retreated towards their city for ſanctuary, expecting to find the place in the ſame condition in which they had left it: but when they found the town in poſſeſſion of the enemy, their habitations either burnt or plundered, and their wives and children either ſlain or made captives, the miſerable remainder of the vanquiſhed army fled into the fields and woods for refuge.

The booty obtained in conſequence of this victory was ſurpriſingly great, conſiſting of a great number of women, children, and ſlaves, plate and furniture to a prodigious amount, vaſt flocks and herds of cattle, and immenſe ſums in current money. The country was aſtoniſhingly rich, and the whole of the ſpoil was divided among the Hebrew army, which was then encamped at Galgala.

Upon receiving intelligence of the fate of Jericho and Ain, the Gibeonites, who were near neighbours to Jeruſalem, became greatly apprehenſive for their own ſafety: but entertaining a perſuaſion, that the people of Canaan were to be extirpated, they ſuppoſed, that direct and open application to the Hebrews for favour would ſcarcely be attended with the deſired effect. However, they determined to invite their neighbours, the Chephirites, and the people of Kiriah-jearim, to join them in making propoſals to the Hebrews for concluding a pacific treaty. They repreſented to thoſe nations, that unleſs the meaſure were purſued, they would inevitably be involved in the approaching deſtruction, and therefore contended for the propriety of adopting the expedient they had ſuggeſted.

This advice being approved, an embaſſy compoſed of the men who were deemed to be the beſt qualified for executing the commiſſion, was diſpatched to Joſhua; they being inſtructed not to acknowledge themſelves as natives of Canaan: but, on the contrary to pretend that they were natives of a diſtant country, and held no intercourſe with thoſe people.

Repairing to Joſhua's encampment, they ſtated, that having heard much of the power and reputation of the Hebrews, their preſent buſineſs was to propoſe a treaty of alliance. They ſaid, it might appear from their apparel, that they had travelled from a great diſtance, for when they ſet out their clothes were new; but ſuch was the length of their journey, that they were now worn thread-bare. Now it is to be obſerved, that in order to give the greater appearance of plauſibility to their ſtratagem, and the better to inſure ſucceſs to their impoſture, they had clothed themſelves in coarſe and threadbare garments.

Appearing before the Hebrew council, the commiſſioners produced their credentials, and reported that they came from the Gibeonites, and the cities adjacent to that inhabited by them, being authoriſed to negotiate a treaty of alliance, on condition that the reſpective rights of the parties making this propoſition, ſhould be preſerved inviolate. They ſaid, they underſtood that, by the grace and favour of the Almighty, the land of Canaan was appointed to be the reſidence of the Hebrews, whom they would avail themſelves of that opportunity of congratulating on their good fortune.

The Hebrews and the Gibeonites contract a league. Joſh. ix. 15.

Taking it for granted, that the commiſſioners were not Canaanites, the Hebrew general contracted a league of friendſhip, and confederacy with them; and Joſhua, the high-prieſt, and the elders, adminiſtered to them an oath, as being friends and allies, and purporting, that neither party would ever do any thing contrary to the tenor of that obligation. Having thus obtained their point, the commiſſioners returned home.

Soon after the above alliance had been contracted, upon drawing his army towards that quarter of the promiſed land, which looks towards the plain, Joſhua diſcovered that the Gibeonites lived in the neighbourhood of Jeruſalem, and that they were of the ſame ſtock with the Canaanites. Hereupon, he ſent for ſome of the principal men to come to him; and on their arrival, he upbraided them with having acted by him in a manner inconſiſtent with the principles of honour and integrity. In excuſe of their conduct, they alledged, that the urgency of their ſituation, had driven them to the neceſſity of adopting the impoſture, having no other means of providing for their ſafety. Upon this, the high-prieſt and the elders were conſulted on the queſtion as to whether the treaty contracted under ſuch peculiar circumſtances would be binding upon the Hebrews; and the reſult of their deliberation was, that a treaty ſo formed and ratified under under the ſolemnity of an oath, muſt be conſidered as ſacred and inviolable; but they were of opinion, that the point might be in ſome degree modified, by ſetting the Gibeonites and their aſſociates apart for the exerciſe of ſervile employments; to which condition they were afterwards reduced, and thereby avoided a more calamitous fate, which muſt otherwiſe have inevitably befallen them.

The king of Jeruſalem makes war upon the Gibeonites, Joſ. x. 1.

Upon gaining information, that the Gibeonites had revolted, and formed an alliance with the Hebrews, the king of Jeruſalem was ſo highly incenſed, that he applied to four neighbouring kings, ſoliciting them to join him in a war againſt the people who had contracted an alliance contrary to their common intereſts. This propoſition being deliberated, the of other four ſovereigns came to the reſolution of conforming thereto; and accordingly the confederated armies encamped near a certain fountain, adjacent to the city which they were preparing to beſiege. Matters being thus circumſtanced, the Gibeonites applied to Joſhua for aſſiſtance; who, immediately upon the arrival of their meſſengers, by forced marches led his whole army to their ſuccour.

The courſe of the ſun ſtopped. ver. 10.

Upon this expedition the Hebrew army marched night and day, without interruption; and early in the morning after their arrival in the neighbourhood of the city, while the enemy were purſuing vigorous meaſures for beſieging the ſame, Joſhua furiouſly attacked, and compleatly routed them, after which he purſued them as far as the valley of Bethora. In no human action has the interpoſition of Heaven appeared more manifeſt, than in the circumſtances of this engagement; for excluſive of a violent tempeſt, accompanied with a fall of hail, the ſtones thereof being of ſurpriſing magnitude, dreadful peals of thunder and flaſhes of lightning, a more extraordinary and aſtoniſhing phenomenon took place than had ever before been obſerved;* the ſun ſtood ſtill in the firmament, in order, by ſo wonderful an alteration in the œconomy of nature, to give the Hebrews an opportunity of reaping the full advantage of this victory. The miracle of lengthening this day, beyond the natural meaſure, and of the progreſs of the ſun being ſtopped, is atteſted in the holy ſcriptures, as appears from the copies preſerved in the temple. The five confederated kings were purſued as far as the cave of Makkeda, where being found by Joſhua, they were taken, and put to death.

---

* "The battle of this day was attended with two great miracles: God was pleaſed by means of a ſtorm of hail, the ſtones being of amazing magnitude, to kill a greater number of the enemy than fell by the ſwords of the Iſraelites; and the other miracle was, that, at the word of Joſhua, the ſun and moon were obſerved to ſtand ſtill, nearly for a whole day, in order to afford the Hebrews a continuance of light for purſuing their conqueſt. Theſe wonderful events had a ſtrong alluſion to the circumſtances of the perſons, who had afforded occaſion for them. At this time different nations had tutelar deities, or objects of worſhip, to whom they committed the care of their country, imputing to their power all their ſucceſſes in war. The three principal deities worſhipped by the Canaanites, were the ſun, moon, and the Heavens, or the air. Therefore to ſhew them, that the deities they repoſed truſt in, were ſubſervient to the controul of the God of Iſrael, the Almighty occaſioned great hail ſtones to deſcend from the Heavens, or air, and then ſtopped the courſe of the thoſe two great luminaries the ſun and moon. And it came to paſs as they fled from before Iſrael, and were in the going down to Beth-heron, that the Lord caſt down great ſtones from Heaven upon them unto Azekah, and they died: they were more which died with hail ſtones, than they whom the children of Iſrael ſlew with the ſword. Then ſpake

After the victory over, and the death of the five kings that had made war againſt the Gibeonites, Joſhua returned to the mountainous part of Canaan, where he put a great number of the people to the ſword, and made booty of a large ſupply of cattle. He then led his army back to Gilgal.

A confederacy of the Canaanites againſt Joſhua. Joſ. xi. 1——6.

The ſplendid atchievements of the Hebrews were highly celebrated both among the neighbouring people, and thoſe inhabiting very diſtant parts; and, indeed, ſuch was the reputation of their arms, as to carry along with it terror and diſmay. But, notwithſtanding their great fame for martial exploits, the Canaanitiſh kings of Mount Libanus, and the neighbouring parts, thoſe of the plains, and the Philiſtines, were not deterred from entering into a confederacy againſt the growing power of the Iſraelites. Theſe ſovereigns joined their forces, and encamped at Berothe, a city in Galilee, in the neighbourhood of Cædeſa. The confederated army was computed to conſiſt of three hundred thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and two thouſand chariots. So formidable was the adverſe army as to drive the Iſraelites in general to a ſtate little ſhort of abſolute deſpair; and even Joſhua himſelf no longer preſerved his fortitude, apprehending that an encounter with ſo unequal a force would be attended with very little probability of ſucceſs. But it pleaſed the Almighty to reprove them for their diſtruſt of his promiſes, and to encourage them with freſh aſſurances of victory, commanding them to ham-ſtring the horſes, and burn the chariots of the enemy. This revelation cheared the deſponding ſpirits of the Hebrew general, who immediately led forth his army againſt the combined enemy, in the full confidence of proving victorous. In five days he came up with the confederated powers, and an obſtinate and bloody battle enſued, when an immenſe number of the enemy were ſlain, and among them all the kings. In ſhort, ſuch was the fury of the Hebrews, that after putting almoſt the whole number of the enemy to the ſword, they wreaked their vengeance upon their horſes and chariots of war. In fine, the fortune of this day made Joſhua abſolute maſter of the whole country. He took and plundered the towns, put the inhabitants to the ſword; and, in ſhort, acted in every reſpect as he thought proper, without the leaſt hinderance or moleſtation. Thus he laid the whole country waſte, putting all the inhabitants to death, except an inconſiderable number, who fled for ſafety into obſcure places, and ſtrong holds; theſe miſerable fugitives being all that remained of the Canaanites at the end of a war of five years.

From Gilgal Joſhua marched up the mountains towards Siloe, where he placed the holy taberncle, intending to wait for an opportumity of building a temple there, the place being delightfully ſituated, and in every reſpect extremely commodious for executing that deſign. From Siloe Joſhua led the people to Sichem, and there erected an altar, purſuant to the prophecy and appointment of Moſes. After this, he divided his army, ſtationing one half upon mount Garizim, and the other upon mount * Gibal, where he erected a third altar. Here the prieſts and Levites, after performing ſacrifice, denounced the maledictons, which we have already recapitulated and having engraven them upon the altar, the people returned to Siloe.

At the time of the departure of the Iſraelites from Egypt, the Canaanites had intelligence, that they would invade their country; and therefore they omitted no opportunity of erecting fortifications, and purſuing other means for their common ſafety. Thoſe who had eſcaped the rage of the Hebrews, had retired into places of ſtrength, where the advantages of nature being improved by art, they were in a manner, rendered impregnable. Theſe circumſtances being conſidered by Joſhua, he ſummoned a general aſſembly of the people to be held at Siloe. Having particularized the greateſt exploits and atchievements they had been enabled to perform through the aſſiſtance and favour of the Almighty, Joſhua repreſented, that their conqueſts were as yet by no means compleat; for

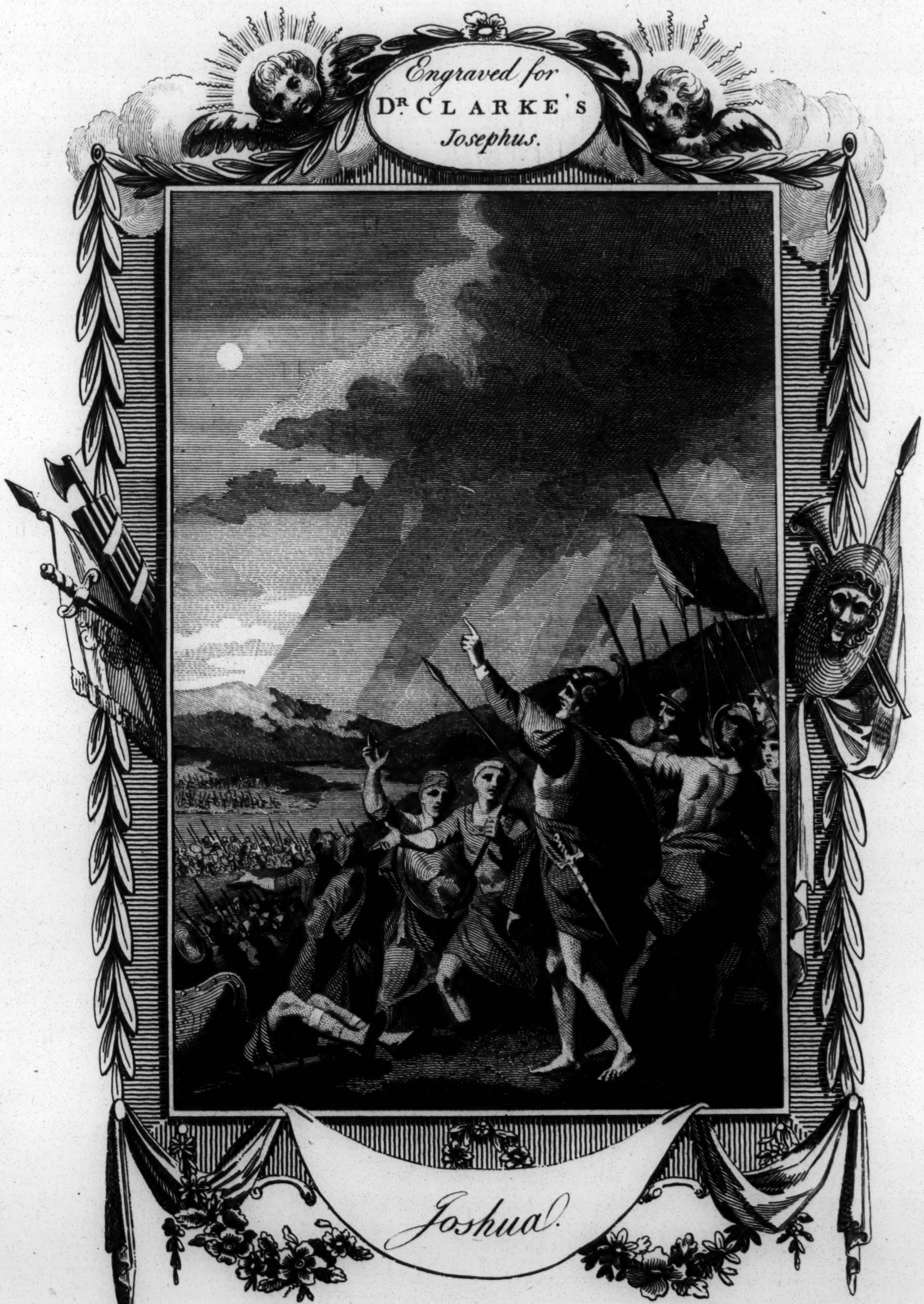
---

Joſhua to the Lord, in the day when the Lord delivered up the Amorites before the children of Iſrael, and he ſaid in the ſight of Iſrael, ſun, ſtand thou ſtill upon Gibeon; and thou moon, in the valley of Ajalon. And the ſun ſtood ſtill, and the moon ſtayed, until the people had avenged themſelves upon their enemies. Is not this written in the book of Joſhua? So the ſun ſtood ſtill in the midſt of Heaven, and haſted not to go down about a day." Joſh. x. 11, 12, 13.

* Scipt. Ebal.

thoſe

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

Joshua.

London, Published as the Act directs, by J. Walker, Nº 44 Paternoster Row, May 26, 1786.

thoſe of the Canaanites who had ſurvived the late war, were now in poſſeſſion of ſeveral cities ſtrongly fortified and defended by numerous armies; and therefore utterly to extirpate them muſt of neceſſity be a work of difficulty and time. He then ſaid, he conſidered it an adviſeable meaſure, to diſmiſs, with proper acknowledgements and expreſſions of reſpect, ſuch of their friends as had come from beyond the Jordan to ſhare in the common dangers and fatigues of the war, in order that they might return to their inheritance. In the next place Joſhua ſaid, he would recommend, that commiſſioners might be appointed to take an exact ſurvey of the country, and make a report of the ſame, with all poſſible expedition; recommending, that theſe commiſſioners ſhould be men of approved ſkill and integrity.

The people unanimouſly approved of Joſhua's propoſitions, who therefore appointed proper perſons to conduct the buſineſs of a general ſurvey, and at the ſame time, ſuch as were the beſt qualified, were appointed to aſſiſt in carrying the commiſſion into immediate effect.

Commiſſioners appointed to ſurvey the land of Canaan. Joſ. xviii.

Excluſive of a ſurvey by meaſurement, they were to make a comparative eſtimation of the value of land in different quarters; there being in Cannaan many large tracts of ground greatly more prolific than others, and yet prodigiouſly inferior in quality to the ſoil in the neighbourhood of Jeruſalem and Jericho. Though the country is not extenſive, and though a conſiderable part is mountainous, yet, with reſpect to the abundance and excellency of its productions, it is not ſurpaſſed in any part of the world. Ten men were employed to make the ſurvey and comparative valuation, one being ſelected from each of the tribes concerned in the propoſed partition of the ſoil. Having compleated their undertaking within the ſpace of ſeven months, the commiſſioners returned to Siloe, which was then the ſeat of the holy tabernacle, and made a report of the meaſurement and the comparative valuation of the different parts of the country.

Having received the report of the commiſſioners, Joſhua called to his aſſiſtance Eleazar, the high-prieſt, together with the elders and princes, and then made a partition of the whole land among the nine tribes, and the half tribe of Manaſſes, an equitable proportion being aſſigned to each.

A diſtribution
f the land of
Canaan. Joſ.
iii. xiv. xv.
iv. xvii.
viii. xix.

Upon putting the ſeveral diſtricts to the lot, the tribe of Judah had for its ſhare all the Upper Judea, reaching in length to Jeruſalem, and in breadth to the lake of Sodom, and compriſing the cities of Aſcalon and Gaza.

That part of Idumea which borders upon Egypt and Arabia fell to the lot of the tribe of Simeon.

The tract of country extending from the river Jordan to the ſea in length, and being in breadth from Jeruſalem to Bethel, became the portion of the tribe of Benjamin. This was the ſmalleſt lot: but it comprehended Jeruſalem and Jericho, and the richneſs of the ſoil made amends for the deficency of quantity.

The lot of the tribe of Ephraim extended in length from the Jordan to Gadaza, and in breadth from Bethel to the large plain.

The inheritance of the tribe of Manaſſes extended lengthways from the Jordan to the city of Dora, and in breadth as far as Bethſana, which is now known by the name of Scythopolis.

All that part of the country between the Jordan and Mount Carmel, and ſtretching in breadth to Mount [*] Itabyr, was the lot of the tribe of Iſſachar.

The lot of the tribe of Zabulon comprized the whole country bordering upon Mount Carmel and the ſea, and reaching as far as Genezareth.

The lot of the tribe of Aſſar conſiſted of the country behind Mount Carmel, oppoſite to Sidon, and including the city of Arce, otherwiſe Actipus.

The lot of the tribe of Nephthali, contained the Upper Galilee, and the country eaſtward of the city of Damaſcus, Mount Libanus, and the head of the river Jordan, which takes its riſe from that ſide of the Mount bordering upon the city of Arce, toward the north.

The lot of the tribe of Dan included the vallies towards the weſt, which are bounded by Azotus and Dora, together with the cities of Jamnia and Gittha, and the whole country from Aceron to the mountain, where commences the boundaries of the tribe of Judah.

In the above manner Joſhua made a partition of the ſix provinces of the Canaanites, which derived their names from ſo many of the ſons of Canaan. With regard to Amorrhæa, the ſeventh province, deriving its name alſo from one of the ſons of Canaan, Moſes had long before diſpoſed of it to the other two tribes and a half, as we have before mentioned: but the diſtricts of the Sidonians, the Aruceans, the Amatheans, and the Aritheans, were not comprized in the diviſion of the lands, they not being then inhabited.

The infirmities of age having rendered Joſhua incapable of diſcharging the duties of his public ſtation, and the perſons deputed to officiate for him having in various inſtances neglected the public welfare, he admoniſhed the different tribes reſpectſively not to tolerate any of the Canaanites to remain in the land which the Almighty had peculiarly aſſigned for the reſidence of the Hebrews; but, on the contrary, utterly to root out thoſe of the natives of the country that had ſurvived the war; reminding them, at the ſame time, that Moſes had ſolemnly exhorted them wholly to exterminate thoſe people, as the means of ſecuring their own perſonal liberties, and of defending their laws and religion from violation. He enjoined them to ſurrender up to the Levites the thirty-eight cities aſſigned them, being already in poſſeſſion of ten of them in Amorrhæa, or the land of the Amorites, on the other ſide of the river. Three of theſe were to be cities of privilege or refuge; namely, Hebron in the tribe of Judah; Sichem in the tribe of Ephraim; and in the tribe of Naphthali, ‡ Cedes, in the Upper Galilee. From their veneration of the laws of Moſes, the people readily acquieſced in all that Joſhua had ſaid.

---

[*] Or Tabor.

Joſhua now proceeded to a diſtribution of the booty obtained in the war, which in herds, flocks, money, plate, furniture, and other property, amounted to an immenſe value; ſo that every individual of the Iſraelites was enriched by his portion of the ſpoil.

Joſhua next aſſembled his auxiliaries who had come from beyond the Jordan, and had ſhared in the honour of the late conqueſts. Their number was computed at about fifty thouſand men, and when they had met, Joſhua addreſſed them to the following effect:

"It having been the pleaſure of Almighty God to give us poſſeſſion of this country, and to promiſe a continuance thereof to our poſterity; and ſince you have ſuſtained ſo great a portion of the dangers and difficulties attending the execution of the Divine will, it is but reaſonable that you ſhould participate in the comforts and bleſſings of a common peace; and to this end we think it expedient now to diſcharge you from any further ſervice at preſent, relying, that if occaſion ſhall require your future attendance, you will evince as ready and chearful a diſpoſition and as ardent a zeal, as you have already ſhewn, to contribute your exertions for promoting the public welfare. We are now to return you our moſt ſincere acknowledgments for all the toils you have ſuſtained, and all the difficulties you have encountered. Let us conſtantly bear in our memory, that next under God, we are indebted for all the advantages we now enjoy to the force of our reciprocal intereſts and obligations; and alſo, ſince Providence has been pleaſed to make us neceſſary to each other, permit me earneſtly to recommend, that, for our mutual benefit, our preſent ſituation may be improved into an indiſſoluble friendſhip and alliance. Great as your ſervices have been, you will admit that they are not unrewarded, at leaſt as far as an ineſtimable booty in gold, ſilver, and other articles of high value may be conſidered as yielding a compenſation for the fatigue, hardſhips and dangers you have ſuſtained; in addition hereto, you have attached us in a bond of friendſhip, which will ever diſpoſe us to yield you every good office in our power; for you have moſt religiouſly conformed to the laſt will of Moſes, and have omitted no endeavours that could inſure you our moſt perfect reſpect and eſteem. Therefore, you have now permiſſion to depart to your reſpective homes: but I earneſtly entreat, that no diſtance of ſituation may impair our mutual friendſhip: the interpoſition of rivers muſt not divide our affections; for on which ever of the banks we be ſtationed, we ſhould ſtill remember that we are all Hebrews, and deſcendants from a common ſtock. While we zealouſly adhere to the mode of worſhip which is preſcribed by the ordinances and laws of Moſes, the God of our forefathers will aſſuredly be our protector: but ſhould we apoſtatize from that religion, we muſt expect, as an inevitable conſequence, that the Almighty will abandon our Cauſe."

The departure of the auxiliary tribes.

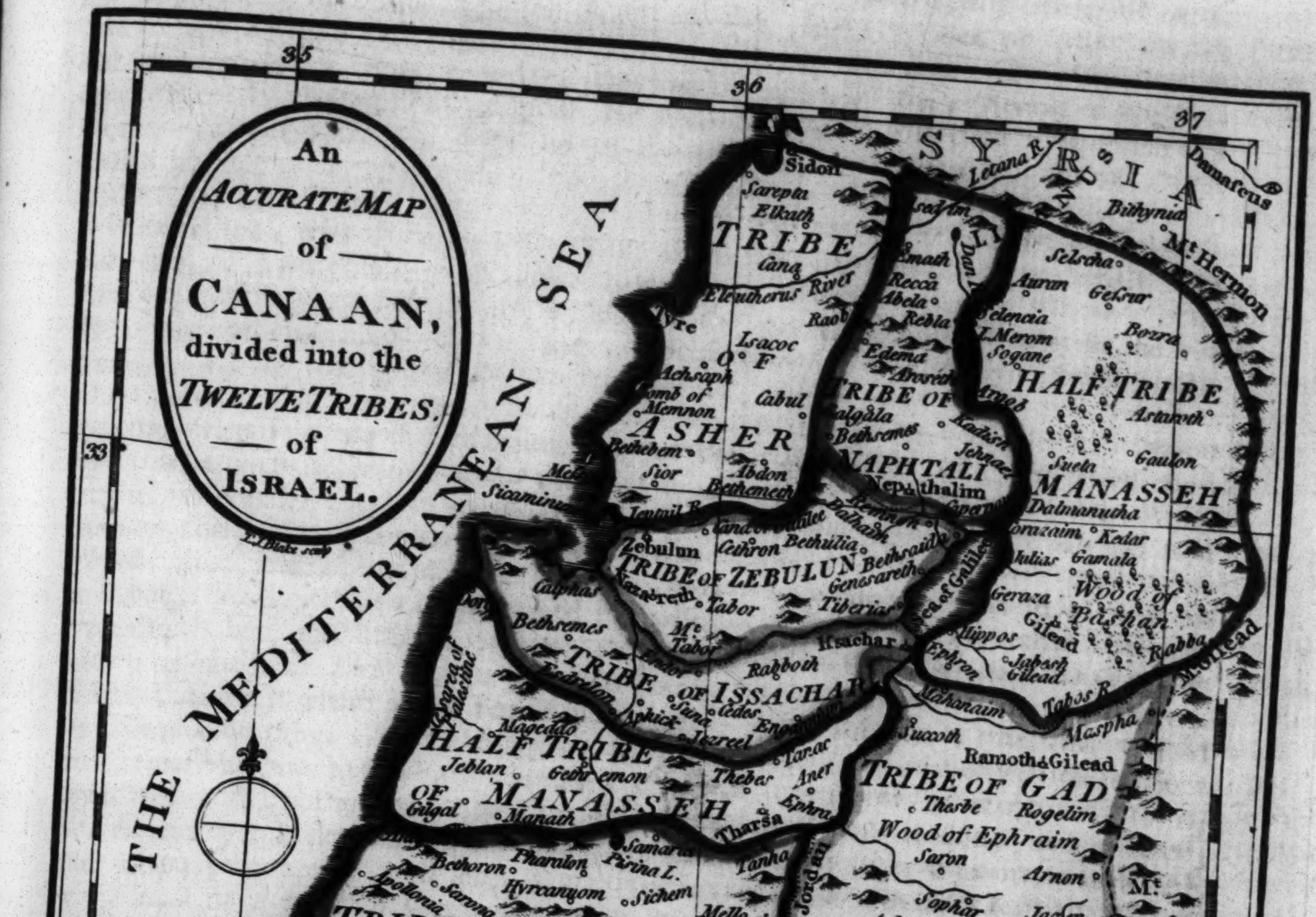
Having delivered the above addreſs, Joſhua diſtinctly took leave of the princes and the community of the auxiliary tribes, who then proceeded on their return to their inheritances, being accompanied a part of the way by the other Hebrews.

who erect an altar. Joſ. xxii.

No ſooner had the tribes of Reubel and Gad, and the half tribe of Manaſſes croſſed the river, than they erected an altar by the ſide of the ſtream, intending it as a memorial to poſterity of the friendſhip and alliance that had been ratified between the borderers on either ſide the Jordan. The conſtruction of this altar no ſooner came to the knowledge of the Hebrews on the other ſide the river, than they became violently enraged againſt their confederates, conſidering them as guilty of the moſt abominable apoſtaſy from the religion of their forefathers; and therefore they immediately had recourſe to their arms for vindicating the religion and worſhip of God. While the multitude were in this tranſport of rage, Joſhua, Eleazar and the elders, interpoſed their authority to appeaſe the paſſions of the headſtrong multitude, exhorting them to ſuſpend the exe-

---

‡ Or Cades.



An ACCURATE MAP of CANAAN, divided into the TWELVE TRIBES of ISRAEL.

T. Bowen sculp
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SYRIA
Damascus
Letana R.
Bithynia
Mt. Hermon
Sidon
Sarepta
Elkath
TRIBE OF ASHER
Cana
Eleutherus River
Tyre
Isacoc
Achsaph
Tomb of Memnon
Cabul
Bethebem
Sior
Abdon
Bethemeth
Sicaminum
Jentail R.
TRIBE OF NAPHTALI
Dan
Hamath
Recca
Abela
Rebla
Edema
Galgala
Bethsemes
Nephthalim
Selencia
L. Merom
Sogane
Kadish
HALF TRIBE MANASSEH
Selcha
Auran
Gessur
Bozra
Astaroth
Gaulon
Sueta
Dalmanutha
Corazaim
Kedar
Julias
Gamala
Wood of Bashan
Geraza
Gilead
Hippos
Jabesh Gilead
Ephron
Rabba
Mt. Gilead
Tabor R.
Mahanaim
Maspha
Zebulun
Cethron
TRIBE OF ZEBULUN
Bethsaida
Bethulia
Genesareth
Tiberias
Sea of Galilee
Nazareth
Tabor
Mt. Tabor
Caiphas
Dora
Bethsemes
Caesarea of Palestine
Rabboth
TRIBE OF ISSACHAR
Endor
Aphick
Sunem
Jezreel
Megiddo
HALF TRIBE OF MANASSEH
Jeblan
Gilgal
Manath
Thebes
Tharsa
Aner
Succoth
Ramoth Gilead
TRIBE OF GAD
Thesbe
Rogelim
Wood of Ephraim
Saron
Arnon
Sophar
Ashtaroth
Dabir
Jazer
Sea of Jazer
Mt. Arnon
Aroer
Dibon
Samaria
Sichem
Bethoron
Apollonia
Sarona
Hyrcanium
TRIBE OF EPHRAIM
Beser R.
Thamna
Rama
Najoth
Ephraim
Mello
River Jordan
Archelais
Joppa
Jamnia
Gath
Accaron
TRIBE OF DAN
Ajalon
Ascalon
Gaza
Ziglag
Harma
Gibeah
Bethel
Hai
Gilgal
TRIBE OF BENJAMIN
Jericho
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Bethany
Jasa
Eshbon
Barshabara
Mt. Pisgah
Livias
TRIBE OF REUBEN
Baalmeon
Kedemoth
Macharus
Arnon
Mattana
Wells
Midian
Helmon Deblathaim
Deblathaim
Dibongad
Majuma
Beersheba
Gerara
TRIBE OF SIMEON
Rhinocorura
Dabir
Jether
Bethsura
Hebron
Engaddi
Segor
TRIBE OF JUDAH
Holon
Jezreel
Ziph
Mt. Engaddi
Carmel
Goshen
Gelo
LAKE OF SODOM
Gomorrah
Mount Seir
Gabseel
Desart of Sin or Judea
EGYPT
EDOM
ARABIA PETRÆA
ARABIA DESERTA
British Miles
5
10
20
30
35
36
37
33
32
31
36 East from London

BRITISH MUSEUM

execution of ſo violent a deſign as they had formed, till they ſhould be convinced whether their brethren were really guilty of the crime imputed to them. This propoſition being unanimouſly approved, Phinees, the ſon of Eleazar the high-prieſt, and ten other eminent men were appointed to croſs the river, for the purpoſe of making enquiry into the cauſe of building the altar. The embaſſy accordingly departed, and immediately on their arrival on the other ſide the river, an aſſembly of the people was ſummoned; and Phinees addreſſed himſelf to the multitude in words to the following effect:

"Be aſſured that we have not raſhly and inconſiderately taken up arms to execute that degree of vengeance which we at preſent apprehend to be due to the enormity of your guilt. We entertain the hope, that our alliance by blood and the friendſhip we have contracted, will induce you to purſue ſuch a conduct as will render coereive means on our part unneceſſary. It is our moſt ſincere requeſt, that you will explain the motive and deſign whereby you were induced to erect this altar. If you have done it with a pious intention, we can have no cauſe of quarrel with you: but if you have impiouſly abandoned the religion of your, forefathers it will be a duty incumbent upon us to draw the ſword againſt you. We cannot yet believe that our friends and allies, who are ſo well accquainted with, and have hitherto ſo ſcrupulouſly obſerved, the laws of the Almighty through whoſe eſpecial grace and favour they have been ſo lately put into poſſeſſion of a plentiful country, would abandon the holy tabernacle, the ark, the altar, and the religion of their forefathers, to join with the Canaanites in the abominable impiety of idolatrous worſhip. But if you have been ſo miſled, let me ehxort you to an immediate and ſerious repentance whereby you will enſure to yourſelves the pardon of Heaven. But ſhould you obſtinately perſiſt in an impious apoſtaſy, no dangers or difficulties will be too great to deter us from defending our laws and religion from violation: we muſt employ the force of arms againſt you, and, without diſtinction between apoſtate Hebrews and profeſſed Canaanites, make thoſe of both deſcriptions the miſerable victims to a common deſtruction. Imagine not, becauſe, you are without our boundaries, and are ſeparated from us by a river, that you are not ſubject to the power and providence of God. If you find yourſelves incapable of reſiſting the temptation of the place you inhabit, immediately quit this fruitful country, and take your fortune in a new diviſion of lands. Let me recommend you to be prudent and temperate, and not to ſuffer yourſelves to be deluded by a wanton deſire of novelty. We earneſtly ſolicit your compliance for your own ſakes, and thoſe of your wives and children, and whatever elſe you hold moſt dear. Force us not into an unnatural war, the very idea of which ſtrikes us with horror: but ſuffer yourſelves to be overcome by the powers of reaſon, inſtead of putting your cauſe to the iſſue of a battle, in which the Almighty will moſt aſſuredly fight on our ſide."

Phinees having concluded his addreſs, the rulers of the aſſembly, on behalf both of themſelves, and the whole body of the people of whom they were the repreſentatives, delivered the following juſtificatory addreſs:

"Neither are we conſcious of a breach of the alliance we have contracted with you, nor of having deſerved reproach for that affectation of novelty which has been imputed to us We acknowledge but one God, who alone is worſhipped by the whole Hebrew nation. We know of but one altar dedicated to the ſervice of religion, that being the brazen altar before the tabernacle. With reſpect to the altar erected here, it was not intended for any religious purpoſe, but merely as a memorial to future times of our friendſhip and alliance; and rather to preſerve us in an invariable obſervance of the ancient forms of our religion, than to be introductory to a new mode of worſhip. We appeal to the Almighty, that in building this altar we were nor actuated by the impious motive imputed to us. We therefore requeſt, that you will in future entertain a more favourable opinion of your brethren, than to ſuppoſe us capable of ſo horrid an apoſtaſy as that we have been ſuſpected of; a ſin not to be expiated in the ſons of Abraham, but with the loſs of life."

A perfect reconciliation effected.

This explanation proving fully ſatisfactory, Phinees and his companions haſtened back, and related the reſult of their embaſſy to Joſhua, in preſence of the multitude. The difference being thus amicably terminated, was the cauſe of great rejoicings among the people; and on this occaſion ſacrifice was performed, and thankſgivings were offered up to God; after which Joſhua diſmiſſed the multitude to their reſpective habitations, taking up his own abode in the city of Sichem.

In the twentieth year after the above occurrences, when the infirmities of age had incapacitated Joſhua for a continuance in the diſcharge of his public duties, he ſummoned a meeting of the heads of the cities, the elders, and magiſtrates, as well as the common people to be held. He addreſſed them in a pious diſcourſe upon the infinite mercies and providences of God; reminding them, that through his goodneſs, they had been advanced from the moſt deplorable penury, ignominy and oppreſſion, to a ſtate of unexampled wealth and reputation. He enjoined them ſo to conduct themſelves towards the Almighty as would ſecure them an uninterrupted continuance of his favour and protection; obſerving, that they had no other means of preſervation, than by comporting themſelves in an exact obedience to the Divine commands. He concluded with enjoining them to pay reſpect to his laſt advice, for he was then preparing to take an eternal farewell of this world.

The death of Joſhua. Joſ. xxiv. 29.

Scarcely had Joſhua concluded his ſpeech when he departed this life; being then in the hundred and tenth year of his age. Of the time of Joſhua's life, forty years were paſſed under the diſcipline of Moſes, and twenty-five in the adminiſtration of public affairs, he being appointed, as we have before ſaid, the ſucceſſor of our excellent lawgiver. He was a man of great eloquence, and had a peculiar facility in expreſſing his ſentiments, which, on all occaſions, were finely imagined. He excelled in military ſkill, and his courage and fortitude were not to be appalled by events that would have utterly depreſſed the ſpirits, and have diſconcerted the deſigns of almoſt any other man. In peace he was not leſs eminent in council, than indefatigable and enterpriſing in war. In ſhort, he was a man in every reſpect qualified for great undertakings, as appears from the ſucceſs attending the Iſraelites, while they were ſubject to his command. The remains of Joſhua were buried at Thamma*, a city belonging to the tribe of Ephraim.

About the ſame time alſo died Eleazar, the high-prieſt; in conſequence of which, the pontificate deſcended to his ſon Phinees. The ſepulchre of Eleazar is ſtill to be ſeen in the city of Gabatha.

After the deceaſe of Joſhua and Eleazar, the people conſulted Phinees concerning the pleaſure of the Almighty on the ſubject of proſecuting the war againſt the Canaanites. The reply of Phinees was, that the war muſt be vigorouſly purſued, and that the management thereof ſhould be entruſted to the tribe of Judah, who engaged that of Simeon to aſſiſt in the undertaking; and they mutually agreed to exterminate the Canaanites from their reſpective tribes.

CHAP. II.

Adonibezec leads the Canaanites againſt the Hebrews, who defeat the enemy and commit great ſlaughter upon them. Jeruſalem beſieged. The ſiege raiſed, and Hebron taken by aſſault. Several of the Canaanitiſh cities taken. The tribes of Judah and Simeon apply themſelves to the arts of peace. The Benjamites make the people of Jeruſalem tributaries; and other tribes follow the example. Bethel betrayed to the Iſraelites. The Iſraelites relent towards the people of Canaan. A total diſſolution of order and government among the Hebrews. The hiſtory of a Levite and his wife. The abominable lewdneſs of the Gibeonites towards the woman, who dies through ſhame and confuſion. A dreadful civil war.

AT this time the Canaanites had a powerful army encamped at Bezec, waiting to give battle to the Hebrews. This force was under the command of Adonibezec, a word in Hebrew ſignifying the lord of Bezec. They were principally encouraged to hope for ſucceſs by the great loſs the Iſraelites had lately ſuſtained in the death of Joſhua, their general.

The Canaanites defeated. Jud. I. 5.

The tribes of Judah and Simeon attacked the enemy, and after an obſtinate conteſt obtained a compleat victory over them, ten thouſand being ſlain, and the ſurvivors being put to flight, Adonibezec, the leader of the Canaanites being taken priſoner, his fingers and toes were cut off; and this he acknowledged † to be a juſt judgment of God upon him, for having himſelf formerly treated no leſs than ſeventy-two kings in the ſame manner. After this puniſhment had been inflicted upon him, the conquerors took him to Jeruſalem, where he died and was buried.

Jeruſalem beſieged. 8.

Purſuing the advantage they had obtained over the enemy, the Hebrews ravaged the country, and reduced ſeveral towns. At length they laid ſiege to Jeruſalem, and made themſelves maſters of the lower town; putting all the people that came in their way to the ſword: but the city itſelf, which was ſituated upon an eminence, was ſo ſtrongly fortified, both by nature and art, that the aſſailants relinquiſhed all hopes of being able to conquer it. From Jeruſalem they marched to Hebron; which place they ſubdued by aſſault, refuſing quarter to the inhabitants, among whom a great ſlaughter was committed. Among the ſlain were the bodies of ſeveral of the race of giants, who in ſtature and countenance materially differed from other people. The bones of ſome of theſe extraordinary people are preſerved as curioſities to the preſent day.

---

* Script. Timnah.

† "And Adoni-bezec ſaid, threeſcore and ten kings having their thumbs and their great toes cut off, gathered their meat under my table; as I have done, ſo God hath requited me. And they brought him to Jeruſalem where he died." 1 Judg. I. 7 As we learn from the hiſtory of Joſhua, who found a great number of kings in Canaan, in each city was a perſon poſſeſſed of kingly power. We ſuppoſe that Adoni-bezec had ſubdued ſeventy of thoſe petty kings, who had ſucceſſively oppoſed, and been dethroned by him. According to his own confeſſion, his fate is to be conſidered as a puniſhment inflicted by the order of Providence for his arrogance and cruelties. He ſpeaks of God in the ſingular number, and therefore it is probable he became a convert to the true religion, and lived in Jeruſalem, which was then in poſſeſſion of the children of Judah, till he had perfected his repentance.

Being a place of conſideration, Hebron was given to the Levites, together with two thouſand cubits of circumjacent land. The remaining part of the territory belonging to that town was aſſigned, in purſuance of the appointment of Moſes, to Caleb, who was one of the ſpies ſent into Canaan, by Moſes, for the purpoſe of making a report of the ſtate of the country. Another portion of land was given to the ſons of Jethro, the Madianite, father-in-law to Moſes, in acknowledgement for their having abandoned their native country, to ſhare the hardſhips and dangers of the people of God, as well in the deſart, as in their wars.

The two tribes then conquered ſeveral of the Canaanitiſh cities ſituated upon the mountains, and then deſcended into the plains which ſtretch towards the ſea, and ſubdued other places, among which were Aſcalon and Azotus: but Gaza and Acaron, being well ſupplied with chariots of war, which made great havock in battle, maintained a brave defence, and had a better fortune than their neighbours.

Having prodigiouſly enriched themſelves with the ſpoils of the war, the enterpriſing tribes of Judah and Simeon, returned to their inheritances, and laying down their arms, applied themſelves to huſbandry, and the other arts of peace.

Jeruſalem falling to the lot of the Benjamites, they entered into treaty with the inhabitants of the place, and, at length, an agreement was formed according to which, in conſideration of receiving protection from the former, the latter were to become their tributaries. This treaty being concluded, both parties deemed themſelves ſecure, the one from outrage and violence, and the other from rebellion. The example of the Benjamites was followed by the other tribes, who upon condition of receiving taxes and tributes, conſented to let the Canaanites remain in peace.

Bethel betrayed to the Iſraelites. v. 24, 25.

The tribe of Ephraim had for a long time carred on a ſiege againſt Bethel, though without making any conſiderable progreſs towards reducing the place, which maintained a brave defence. At length one of the inhabitants, as he was conveying proviſions into the city, fell into the hands of the beſiegers, who entered into treaty with him for ſecretly favouring their admiſſion into the town, on condition that he and his relations and friends ſhould be preſerved. This agreement being mutually ratified on oath, the Ephraimites entered the place without obſtruction, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword, excepting only the man who had betrayed the city and his friends and relations.

The Iſraelites now beginning to relent towards the natives of Canaan, inſtead of purſuing the war for their extirpation, they formed the deſign of reaping advantage from their labour in cultivating the earth.

The Almighty in his diſpleaſure was pleaſed to ſignify to the Iſraelites, by a prophet, that for preſuming to act in contradiction to his will, in ſhewing an unſeaſonable tenderneſs to the Canaanites, they ſhould experience great hardſhips and cruelties from thoſe very people, who he had expreſly commanded them wholly to extirpate from the face of the earth. Though this remonſtrance from Heaven gave them ſome alarm, its impreſſion was not ſufficiently ſtrong to detach them from their paſſion for amaſſing riches, and the indulgence of that luxury which had enervated their minds, and unfitted them for military atchievements. The Hebrews had now degenerated into a total diſregard of their religious duties, and ſuch was their avarice and love of eaſe, that the gratifications they derived from the tribute and labour of the Canaanites, reſtrained them from proſecuting the war againſt thoſe people.

The authority of the elders were ſlighted, nothing of the former regularity was obſerved in the choice of the ſenators and other magiſtrates, and, in ſhort, neither the religious, civil, nor military inſtitutions were capable of reſtraining the intemperance of the headſtrong and refractory multitude. While matters were in this confuſion, a ſingular occurrence took place, which produced an inſurrection; and that was followed by a dreadful civil war.

Remarkable account relating to a Levite and his wife. Judg. xix.

A Levite of ordinary extraction, belonging to the lot of Ephraim, eſpouſed a woman of the city of Bethel, belonging to the tribe of Judah: ſhe was exceedingly beautiful, and her huſband had a moſt ardent affection for her: but greatly to his diſappointment and mortification, his kindneſs met with little or no return. Hence aroſe diſagreements and daily diſputes, inſomuch, that in the fourth month after her marriage, the woman abandoned her huſband's habitation, and returned to her parents. The huſband followed, and experienced a kind and hoſpitable reception from her friends, through whoſe interference a reconciliation was effected. On the fifth day, the huſband propoſed to return, but being detained by the perſuaſions of his wife's friends, it was late before they ſet out. They were attended only by one ſervant, and the woman rode on an aſs. Having proceeded about thirty furlongs, being then in the neighbourhood of Jeruſalem, the ſervant adviſed them to procure a lodging on the road, rather than expoſe themſelves to the danger of travelling in the night. The maſter, however, was averſe to taking up his abode among ſtrangers, the city being then in poſſeſſion of the Canaanites, but choſe rather to proceed twenty furlongs further, when accommodation might be had among his friends and allies. While they were purſuing their journey, they were met, near Gaba, by an ancient man of the tribe of Ephraim, who was returning from the country to his houſe in that town. The ſtranger aſked them, who they were, and what was the occaſion of their being abroad at ſo late an hour of the night. In reply, the huſband ſaid he was a Levite, and that he was conducting his wife from her father's habitation to his own houſe in the tribe of Ephraim. From a reſpect to one of his own tribe, and alſo from a principle of hoſpitality, the old man invited the travellers to refreſh and repoſe themſelves at his houſe; and they accordingly accompanied him home. Some young men in the town obſerving the woman to be remarkably beautiful, they followed her to the houſe, and demanded, that ſhe might be ſurrendered to them. The expoſtulations of the old man, could not divert the diſſolute and abandoned youths from their licentious purpoſe. He urged, that he was bound to protect his gueſt, as being a kinſwoman and the wife of a Levite, and repreſented, that if they proceeded to the commiſſion of the act they appeared to have in view, they would be guilty of the moſt heinous and unpardonable violation of all the laws of religion; honour, humanity and common juſtice. But the gravity of his reaſoning producing only contempt, ridicule and inſult, and the people of the houſe not being capable of any effectual reſiſtance, the old man, at length, offered to ſurrender to them his daughter in room of the ſtranger, conſidering that as an evil of the leſs magnitude; for thereby the reputation only of a private family would be ſacrificed; whereas, by giving up his gueſt, he would have become acceſſary to an affront upon, and a degradation of a whole community. However, arguments and perſuaſions had ſo little effect upon theſe execrably profligate and abandoned wretches, that they threatened to put the old man to inſtant death, if he any longer oppoſed their demand. In ſhort, they forcibly took the woman out of the houſe, and conveying her to their own quarters, paſſed the whole night with her in the moſt deteſtable lewdneſs. In the morning, they ſent her back; but her ſhame, grief and confuſion, on account of the barbarity and indignity ſhe had ſuſtained, were intolerable; and upon approaching her huſband, her feelings were ſo exquiſitely pungent, that ſhe fell to the ground and inſtantly expired. At firſt, the Levite imagined that his wife had fainted, in conſequence of fatigue and the want of ſleep, and therefore endeavoured to revive and comfort her, ſaying, the violence offered to her had not derogated from her unſpotted innocence and chaſtity. When he came to be undeceived, he behaved with great patience and preſence of mind, conſidering his miſerable ſituation. Placing the body of his wife upon the aſs ſhe had rode, he conveyed it home, where immediately upon his arrival, he divided it into twelve parts, one of which he ſent to each of the twelve tribes. The meſſenger diſpatched upon this occaſion, were inſtructed to inform the ſeveral tribes of the atrocious villany perpetrated by the Gibeonites. Having received the intelligence, the tribes agreed, that this act of barbarity ſurpaſſed all example; and ſo highly was their reſentment inflamed, that they immediately aſſembled in Siloe, before the holy tabernacle, reſolving to make a general aſſault upon Gaba.

The elders now appealed to the multitude, repreſenting the impropriety of making war againſt their allies, until a ſtrict enquiry ſhould have been made with regard to the truth of the accuſation exhibited againſt them; and obſerving, that the laws and cuſtoms of the Iſraelites would not permit them to proceed to extremities, even againſt ſtrangers, till proper means had been reſorted to for bringing a matter of controverſy to an amicable accommodation. They therefore, adviſed that meſſengers might be ſent to the Gibeonites, to demand a ſurrender of the criminals, ſaying, if they ſhould be given up, it would be proper to inflict upon them a puniſhment proportioned to the horrid enormity of their guilt: but, if the demand ſhould be refuſed, the people would be at liberty to execute juſtice, by having recourſe to the force of arms.

The meaſure propoſed by the elders being unanimouſly approved by the people, meſſengers were immediately diſpatched to the Gibeonites, with authority to demand that the authors of the horrid violence upon the Levite's wife might be ſurrendered to them, in order to be rendered amenable to the laws they had ſo groſsly violated. According to their inſtructions, the meſſengers ſaid, they demanded the perſons who had committed the offence, becauſe the Hebrews were averſe from involving the whole community of the Gibeonites in miſery, when juſtice might be ſatisfied with the puniſhment only of the guilty parties. However, the Gibeonites refuſed to give up the raviſhers, ſaying, they thought it not honourable to ſuffer themſelves to be prevailed upon by the apprehenſion of a war, to ſubmit to any rules dictated by other people; adding that they were neither ignorant of the art of war, nor contemptible in numbers, and that they were unanimouſly reſolved to defend themſelves from violence, or, to a man, periſh in the attempt.

The anſwer brought by the meſſengers, ſo exaſperated the Iſraelites, that they bound themſelves under an oath not to intermarry with the tribe of Benjamin, and determined to proſecute a fiercer war againſt them than had been maintained againſt the Canaanites, in order to puniſh them for having refuſed to deliver up to juſtice the authors of a moſt flagitious villany perpetrated in a place under their juriſdiction.

A war between the Iſraelites and the Benjamites. Judg. xx. 17.

In purſuance of this reſolution, the Iſraelites took the field, to the number of four hundred thouſand fighting men. The army of the Benjamites conſiſted of twenty-five thouſand and ſix hundred men, there being among them five hundred left-handed ſlingers of uncommon dexterity. An engagement taking place near Gaba, the Iſraelites were defeated, with the loſs of two-and-twenty thouſand men, and the ſlaughter would have been more terrible, had not the night prevented the victors from purſuing their advantage.

The next day another battle was fought, when the Iſraelites alſo were unſucceſsful, their ſlain on this occaſion amounting to eighteen thouſand. Being thus twice defeated, and by an inferior force, the Iſraelites were ſtruck with terror and diſmay; and removing their camp ſomewhat nearer to Bethel, they paſſed the following day in faſting and prayer, Phinees, the high-prieſt, fervently imploring the Almighty to ſtop the courſe of his high diſpleaſure, and make them victorious over their enemies.

The high-prieſt having ſignified to the multitude, that their prayers had proved acceptable to God, the army was divided into two bodies, one being drawn up to give battle to the enemy, and the other being ſtationed in ambuſhes near the city. Upon the firſt onſet, the Iſraelites retreated, and continuing to practice that manœuvre, the enemy were gradually drawn to a diſtance from the town. The ſuppoſed flight of the Iſraelites occaſioning the inhabitants of the city to imagine that victory was again decidedly in their favour, they came in great numbers out of the place, hoping to partake of the ſpoil. When the Benjamites were drawn within reach of the ambuſh, the Iſraelites faced about, and furiouſly charged the enemy, who were at the ſame time bravely attacked upon the rear by the ambuſh. In theſe deſperate circumſtances, the Benjamites retreated into a valley, where being ſurrounded by the adverſe army, about five-and-twenty thouſand were ſlain: in ſhort, the whole that eſcaped, was a ſelect body of ſix hundred men, who bravely cut a paſſage through the middle of the enemy, and gained a ſtation upon a neighbouring mountain.

Twenty-five thouſand of the Benjamites ſlain.

After the above victory, the Iſraelities burnt Gaba, ſparing neither men, women, nor male children: and ſeveral other of the cities belonging to the Benjamites ſhared the ſame fate. The Iſraelities alſo diſpatched an army of twelve thouſand men againſt Jabes,* a city of Gilead, in revenge for the people having refuſed to join them in the war againſt the Benjamites: and all the inhabitants of that place excepting only four hundred virgins, were put indiſcriminately to the ſword.

When the rage of the Iſraelites was appeaſed, they expreſſed regret on occaſion of the miſerable fate of their brethern, the Benjamites, and appointed a ſolemn faſt to be obſerved, though not by way of propitiation for the ſeverities they had exerciſed upon their countrymen, for they conſidered themſelves as fully juſtifiable in puniſhing an atrocious breach of the law.

Meſſengers were now diſpatched to invite the ſix hundred men who had reſolutely fought their way through the Iſraelitiſh army to return. Finding this party upon a rock called Rhoa, ſituated in the deſart, the meſſengers condoled with them on their own unfortunate circumſtances, and the loſs of their relations and friends, recommending them to ſubmit to their lot with becoming fortitude, and to return to the community, and thereby prevent the entire extirpation of their tribe, which muſt be the conſequence, if they continued in a ſtate of ſeparation from their countrymen. The meſſengers informed them, that their lands, cattle, and all their other property ſhould be faithfully reſtored. Theſe ſix hundred men acknowledged, that they had acted in ſupport of a bad cauſe, and that the puniſhment their tribe had ſuſtained was a righteous judgment upon them for having protected the authors of an unexampled act of wickedneſs. In compliance with the invitation of the meſſengers, they then agreed to return to the community.

---

* Script. Jabeſh-Gilead.

A difficulty now occurred, as to the means of providing the ſix hundred men with wives, the Iſraelites having bound themſelves under the ſolemnity of an oath not to intermarry their daughters with the tribe of Benjamin. Some contended, that the oath could not be binding, ſince it was raſhly made, while the parties were under the influence of the paſſion of reſentment: but the elders diſapproved of committing perjury, whatever expedients might be had recouſe to for apparently abating, in ſome degree, the henious complexion of that ſin. However, four hundred of the Benjamites were provided with wives in the ſame number of virgins that had been made captives on the taking of the city of Jabes; and one of the ſenators propoſed the following method for giving wives to the remaining two hundred: he obſerved, that a public feſtival was appointed to be held thrice a year in Siloe, when the wives and daughters of the Iſraelites were accuſtomed to make part of the company; recommending that, on the next occaſion of this kind the Benjamites might be permitted to ſeize as many of the virgins as they ſhould be able; adding, that if juſtice ſhould be demanded upon the authors of the violence, the complainants might be informed, that it was deemed neceſſary to the public welfare to tolerate the act, and that it would be wrong for the Iſraelites to purſue their reſentment any further againſt the Benjamites, ſince a ſufficient puniſhment had already been inflicted upon them.

The above propoſition being approved, upon the arrival of the feſtival, the two hundred Benjamites ſtationed themſelves in vineyards and ſecret places, and as the virgins came forth, ſeized and carried them to their own inheritance, each man being thus ſupplied with a wife. By this means the tribe of Benjamin was again eſtabliſhed in domeſtic happineſs; and in proceſs of time, became a flouriſhing community in population, wealth and power.

The affairs of the tribe of Dan were at this time in a very precarious ſitnation. The Iſraelites having neglected the practice of arms, and directed their attention wholly to agriculture, tillage, and other rural occupations, the Canaanites, availing themſelves of this degenerate change in their manners, entered into a formidable confederacy againſt them, hoping ſo to reduce their power as to render them incapable of any conſiderable annoyance in future. They trained up their people to martial diſcipline, raiſed powerful armies, and collected a great number of chariots of war. Aſcalon and Accaron eſpouſed the cauſe of the Canaanites, who alſo attached to their intereſts ſeveral cities in the plains, whereby the Danites were reduced to the neceſſity of retiring to the mountains for refuge. They were neither powerful enough to oppoſe the Canaanites in war, nor poſſeſſed of ſufficient land to afford them a maintenance in peace. Being thus circumſtanced, the Danites diſpatched five of their people into the inland part of the country, for the purpoſe of diſcovering a commodious ſpot, where they might eſtabliſh their reſidence. After about a day's journey from the great plain of Sidon, the meſſengers arrived in the neighbourhood of Mount Libanus and the ſource of the leſſer Jordan, where they found the country fruitful, and every way convenient for a ſettlement; whereupon they returned, and made a report to their tribe of the ſucceſs of their expedition. Having received the information of their five commiſſioners, the Danites immediately repaired to the ſpot, and erected a city there, calling it Dan, from one of the ſons of Jacob, after whom the whole tribe received its name.

The Danites ſettle near the head of the Jordan.

In the mean time, the Iſraelites abandoned themſelves to luxury and indolence, being wholly regardleſs of the concerns of religion, and holding the authority of government in utter contempt. In ſhort, without attempting reſiſtance, they ſuffered all their good principles to be carried away by the overbearing torrent of the Canaanitiſh corruptions.

CHAP. III.

The Iſraelites are ſubdued by Churſarth, king of the Aſſyrians, who keeps them in a wretched ſtate of ſubjection for the ſpace of eight years.

THE conduct of the Iſraelites being highly offenſive in the ſight of the Almighty, they appeared no longer to have a pro-a proſpect of attaining to that ſtate of happineſs of which they had been ſo long in purſuit. While they were thus neglectful of their religious duty, as well as every moral obligation, Churſarth*, the king of Aſſyria, declared war againſt them, killing great numbers of their people in battle, gaining poſſeſſion of many of their towns, ſome by the force of arms, and others by treaty, grievouſly oppreſſing the people, and ſubjecting them to the moſt mortifying hardſhips and indignities. In this miſerable ſtate of ſubjection they remained for the ſpace of eight years, when they were, at length, reſcued out of the power of their cruel oppreſſors in the manner that will be found explained in the following chapter.

CHAP. IV.

Kenaz propoſes a meaſure for redeeming the Hebrews from their oppreſſion, which is carried into execution with ſucceſs. The Hebrews give battle to and defeat the Aſſyrians. In gratitude for his ſervices, Kenaz is choſen governor of the Hebrews.

KENAZ, of the tribe of Judah, was a man of ſound underſtanding, and undaunted bravery, and he had likewiſe a peculiar addreſs and facility in tranſacting buſineſs. Animated by a ſecret impulſe from Heaven to attempt ſome great and heroic atchievement for relieving his countrymen from the preſent extremity of their diſtreſs, this generous deſign he communicated to ſome of his particular and confidential friends, whom he knew to be men of ſtrict honour and approved bravery, and well qualified for engaging in an enterprize for relieving their countrymen from their preſent calamitous ſituation.

The Aſſyrians defeated by the Hebrews. Judg. iii. 10.

Having ſeriouſly deliberated on the moſt effectual means for emancipating themſelves from the intolerable yoke of the Aſſyrian oppreſſion, the confederates came to the reſolution, that, in the firſt place, it would be expedient to ſurpriſe the king's guard, and put the garriſon to the ſword. Collecting as many of their friends as they judged neceſſary for this exploit, they attacked the royal guards, and the garriſon by ſurpriſe, and put them all to the ſword. The reputation of this exploit occaſioned great numbers of the Hebrews to join the confederacy, and in a ſhort time, Kenaz found himſelf in a condition to oppoſe the whole Aſſyrian army in a regular engagement. The armies meeting, a battle enſued, and the Aſſyrians being compleatly routed, to avoid being cut to pieces by the conquerors, they retreated to the other ſide of the river Euphrates.

The Hebrews being thus reſtored to liberty through the prudent and enterpriſing ſpirit of Kenaz, in acknowledgement for the eminent ſervices he had rendered them, they unanimouſly choſe him for their governor, which office he held to the time of his death, which happened forty years after his advancement to that dignity.

CHAP. V.

The Iſraelites are oppreſſed by the king of the Moabites, who is ſtabbed by Jodes. They free themſelves from their ſubjection to the Moabites. Jodes dies, and is ſucceeded in the government by Sangar.

IN conſequence of the death of Kenaz, the Hebrews were again without a ruler; and becoming utterly regardleſs of their duty to God, and the authority of the law, they were involved in new and great afflictions. Such was the degeneracy of their manners, that even Eglon, king of the Moabites, held them in contempt; and their want of order, policy, and diſcipline, encouraged him to make war againſt them. Having gained advantage over them in ſeveral encounters, he, at length, reduced them to a ſtate of the moſt degrading humiliation, and made them tributaries to him. Eglon then removed his court to Jericho; and for the ſpace of eighteen years, continued to oppreſs the Hebrews with unrelenting ſeverity, inſomuch, that they were often in danger of periſhing through want of food, and the other common neceſſaries of life. However, in compaſſion to their ſufferings, and in mercy to their fervent prayers, the Almighty was pleaſed to releaſe thoſe miſerable people from the tyranny of the Moabites, as we ſhall now proceed to relate.

At this time dwelt in Jericho a young man named * Jodes, the ſon of Gera, of the tribe of Benjamin. He was a youth of an athletic form, and daring ſpirit, being remarkably expert in the uſe of either hand, though perhaps more dexterous with the left. By frequent preſents, and other marks of reſpect and attachment, Jodes ingratiated himſelf into the favour of the king, and conſequently gained many friends at court. But this appearance of kindneſs was aſſumed with a view to ſeizing ſome favourable opportunity of relieving his countrymen from their ignominy and wretchedneſs, by putting their cruel oppreſſors to death. Having girded a ſhort poniard to his right thigh, ſo that it was concealed by his garments, attended by two ſervants, he repaired to the palace, under pretence of making the king a preſent. This was in the middle of ſummer, and at that time of the day when moſt of the king's attendants had retired to dinner. Having made his preſent, Jodes ſignified to Eglon, who was withdrawn into a cool place of refreſhment, that he had ſomething of importance to communicate, which required privacy; whereupon the king ordered the people, who had been the bearers of the preſent, to retire, and then aſcended his throne. Jodes being extremely anxious leſt he ſhould miſs his aim, that he might be the leſs liable to fail in his attempt, he ſignified that his preſent buſineſs was to ſpeak to his majeſty on the ſubject of a commiſſion he had received from the Almighty in a dream. Being curious to know what the other had to ſay, Eglon roſe to liſten, at which inſtant Jodes plunged the dagger into his heart, and leaving the weapon in the wound, ſhut the door of the ſummer-parlour, and retired. Some hours elapſed before the death of the tyrant was known to any of his attendants; for ſuppoſing him to be aſleep, they did not go into the chamber, leſt they ſhould diſturb him.

---

* Script. Chuſham Riſhathaim, king of Meſopotamia.

* Script. Ehud.

Jodes ſtabs Eglon. Judg. III. 21, &c.

In the mean time, Jodes eſcaped to Jericho, and informed the people of the exploit he had performed, in order to reſtore them to freedom. Upon receiving this welcome intelligence, they diſpatched trumpets to different parts of the country for ſummoning the people to aſſemble. Surpriſed that their maſter did not appear, towards evening the king's attendants became apprehenſive that ſome accident had happened to him, and therefore entered the apartment, and found him dead. Upon this diſcovery, the guards were ſent for; but before they could aſſemble, great numbers of the Iſraelites had forced into the palace, putting many of the late king's people to death, and purſuing the troops, to the number of ten thouſand, towards the river, where other parties of the Iſraelites having prepoſſeſſed themſelves of all fords and paſſes, every man of the Moabites was put to death.

To prove their gratitude to the author of their deliverance, the Hebrews unanimouſly concurred in appointing Jodes to be their ruler: and he continued in the diſcharge of the duties of that office till the time of his death, which took place eighty years after he had aſſumed the powers of the government. Jodes was ſucceeded in the government by * Sangar, the ſon of Anath, who died in the firſt year of his adminiſtration.

CHAP. VI.

The Iſraelites become hardened in wickedneſs; and are oppreſſed by Jabin, king of the Canaanites. Barak appointed general of the Hebrews, who entirely overthrows their enemies. The death of Jabin.

NOtwithſtanding the calamities they had ſuſtained, ſo far were the Iſraelites from being reclaimed, that they became ſtill more addicted to the practice of every kind of wickedneſs. Scarcely were they relieved from ſlavery under Eglon, king of the Moabites, when they were ſubjugated to the power of Jabin, king of the Canaanites. The court of Jabin was held in Azor, a city ſituated upon the banks of the lake Samachonitis, and this ſovereign had an army in pay, † conſiſting of three hundred thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and three thouſand chariots, to the command of which he gave to Siſera, who had obtained a high place in his favour, in conſequence of the advantage he had gained over the Hebrews in divers encounters.

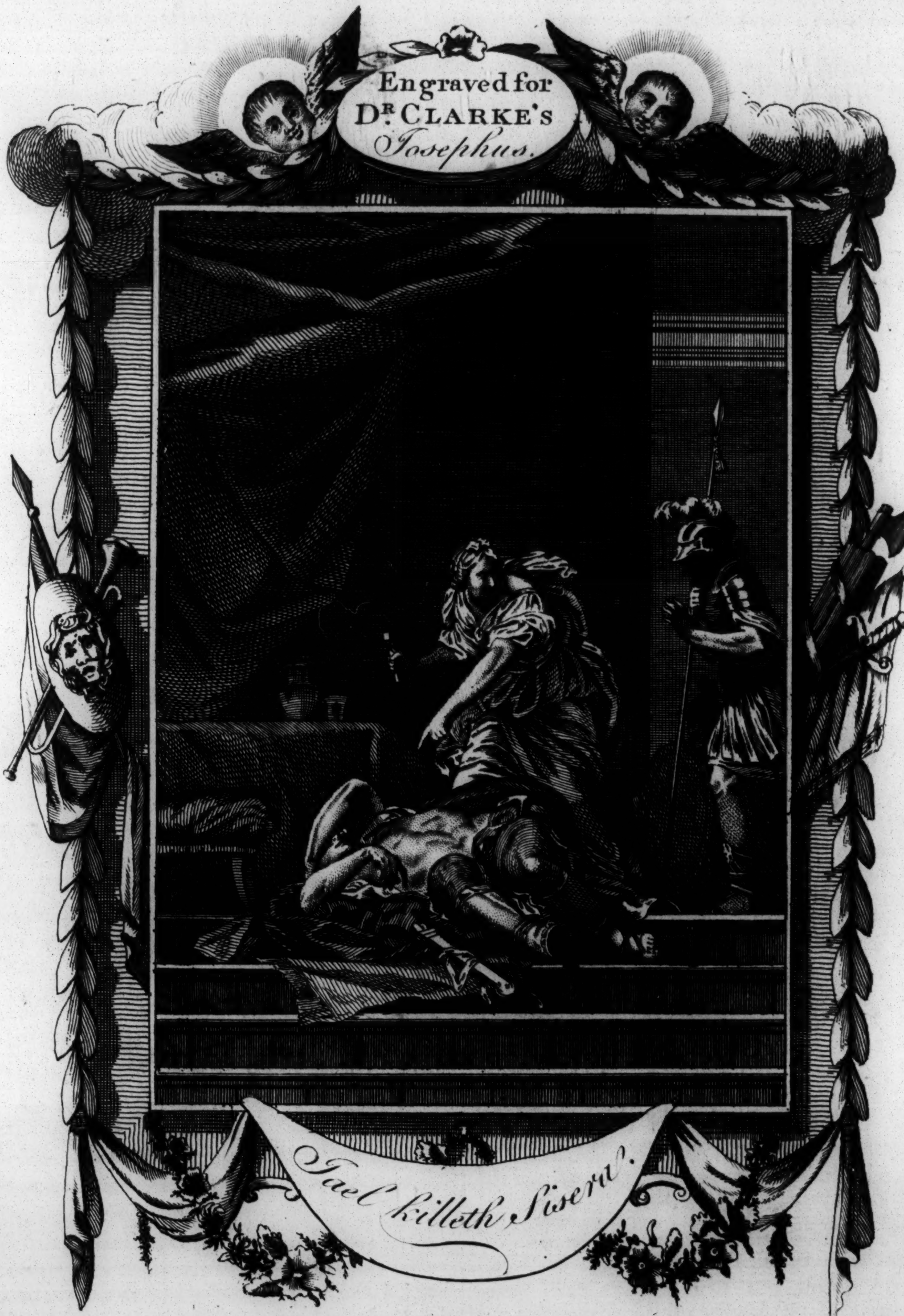
Having remained about twenty years in the moſt ſervile ſubjection to king Jabin the Hebrews, at length began to feel compunction for having, during a long ſeries of years, perſevered in a conſtant courſe of diſobedience to the commands of God, and the ordinances of Moſes. While under this diſpoſition to repentance, the Iſraelites made application to a celebrated propheteſs, named Deborah (a word in the Hebrew language ſignifying a Bee) requeſting that ſhe would ſupplicate God, in his infinite mercy, to pardon their tranſgreſſions, and deliver them from their cruel ſufferings under the tyranny of the Canaanites. The mediation of Deborah prevailed upon the Almighty to promiſe a deliverance from their bondage, and to ſignify that it was his pleaſure, that Barak ſhould be appointed to the command of the Iſraelitiſh army. Thereupon, Deborah ſent for Barak (whoſe name, in Hebrew, ſignifies Lightning), and on his arrival, ſhe directed him to march againſt the enemy with an army of ten thouſand choſen men, ſaying, that number, though ſmall, comparatively with the force of the enemy would be ſufficient to inſure ſucceſs to the arms of the

---

* Script. Shamgar.

† The ſcripture mentions only nine hundred chariots of iron, as being the force of the king of Canaan. "And the children of Iſrael cried unto the Lord, for he had nine hundred chariots of iron; and twenty years he mightily oppreſſed the children of Iſrael." Judg. IV. 3.

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE's
Josephus.

Jael killeth Sisera.

Published Decr. 22d. 1786. by J. Walker, No. 44, Paternoster-Row.

arms of the Iſraelites Barak at firſt expoſtulated with the propheteſs Deborah, and at length abſolutely refuſed to undertake the command of the army, unleſs Deborah herſelf would perſonally engage in the expedition. After ſarcaſtically obſerving, that Barak muſt poſſeſs an extraordinary ſpirit of heroiſm, ſince he had propoſed to transfer to a woman a commiſſion which God had appointed him to execute, ſhe conſented to accompany the army in the oppoſition to the enemy.

The choſen number of the Hebrews being drawn out, they pitched their tents upon Mount Tabor; and by order of their king, the Canaanitiſh army came forth to oppoſe them, under the command of Siſera. The adverſe armies being encamped within ſight of each other, the manifeſt ſuperiority of the enemy ſtruck the Iſraelites with ſuch conſternation and terror, that the general, as well as thoſe under his command, were averſe from hazarding a battle. Deborah obſerving to the general and his troops, that they were engaged in the cauſe of God, and that therefore they could not fail of proving victorious, the Hebrews were encouraged to abide the iſſue of a battle. No ſooner had the engagement commenced, than a violent ſtorm of wind * aroſe, accompanied with rain and hail, and the tempeſt driving directly in the face of the Canaanites, they were unable to keep their eyes open, or to make uſe of their bows, ſlings, ſwords, or other weapons, their fingers being benumbed with cold. This ſignal manifeſtation of the favour of Heaven animated the Hebrews to purſue the charge with additional bravery: till, in ſhort, the adverſe army was entirely broken and diſperſed, great numbers of the men falling by the ſword, others being trampled to death by the horſes, many being torn to peices by the chariots, and the reſt flying from the victors in terror and confuſion.

he armies ngage and he Canaan-es are diſ-omfited.

Finding the battle irrevocably loſt, Siſera deſcended from his chariot, and fled on foot to the houſe of a woman named Jael, a Kenite by birth, for refuge, where he was received in a friendly manner. Requeſting ſome thing to abate his thirſt, Jael ſupplied him with ſome ſour milk of which having drank heartily, he fell into a ſound ſleep, being overcome with the toil and fatigue of the day. While he was ſleeping, Jael took an iron ſpike or nail, of the kind made uſe of for faſtening down the cords of the tents, and with a hammer drove it through his temples into the ground. † Thus was verified the prophecy of Deborah, who, previous to the battle, had ſignified, that a woman ſhould gain victory over the Canaanitiſh general. Having put an end to the life of Siſera, Jael expoſed his body as a ſpectacle to the Iſraelites who were in purſuit of him.

Siſera put to death by Jael.

Having gained this remarkable victory over the vaſt army of the Canaanites, Barak led his troops towards Azor, in purſuit of Jabin, whom he encountered and ſlew. Barak then led his army againſt Azor, which city he utterly deſtroyed. After theſe exploits, Barak governed the Iſraelites for the ſpace of forty years.

Barak purſues and ſlays Jabin, and then deſtroys the city of Azor.

CHAP. VII.

The death of Deborah and Barak. For ſeven years the Iſrealites are harraſſed and oppreſſed by the Madianites, the Amalekites and the Arabians.

DEBORAH and Barak died nearly about the ſame time, and ſoon afterwards, the Madianites, the Arabians, and the Amalekites entered into a confederacy againſt the Iſraelites, whom they encountered and ſubdued, deſpoiling them of their cattle and other property, and devaſtating their country. Being perpetually harraſſed and diſtreſſed by the combined enemy, the Iſraelites were driven to the neceſſity of quitting the plains, and retreating for refuge to the mountaineous parts of the country, where, with infinite labour, they dug caves and vaults, both for ſecuring their perſons, and concealing their ſtores and proviſions from their powerful adverſaries.

The Madianites, the Amalekites, and the Arabians join in oppreſſing the Hebrews. Judg. vi. 2.

Their oppreſſors were contented that

---

* This does not correſpond with the Scripture, where it is only ſaid that Siſera and all his hoſt were diſcomfited, "And the Lord diſcomfited Siſera, and all his chariots and all his hoſt, with the edge of his ſword before Barak, ſo that Siſera lighted down off his chariot, and fled away on his feet." Judg. iv. 15. The motion of his chariot not being ſwift enough to carry him out of danger, he fled like a common ſoldier, in which character he was leſs liable to diſcovery. In ancient times, men were ſurpriſingly ſwift of foot. In this quality Aſſakel excelled, as we are told in 2 Sam. c. ii. 18. For ſwiftneſs of foot the Greeks were remarkable, of which Achilles is one among many inſtances that might be produced.

† "Then Jael, Heber's wife, took a nail of the tent, and took an hammer in her hand, and went ſoftly unto him, and ſmote the nail into his temples, and faſtened it into the ground: (for he was faſt aſleep and weary) ſo he died." Judg. iv. 21. It is not eaſy to determine what was the motive of Jael in putting Siſera thus to death, after having received him with an appearance of hoſpitality and kindneſs. He was then at peace with Heber, her huſband: but probably ſhe, being acquainted with his character, conſidered it as her duty to avail herſelf of the opportunity of relieving the world from a mercileſs tyrant.

the Iſraelites ſhould till the ground in the winter, ſince they were confident of reaping the fruits of their labour in the following ſeaſon. For the ſpace of ſeven years, the Iſraelites remained in a moſt ſervile ſtate of ſubjection, their diſtreſſes being ſo great, that they had no proſpect before them, but that of periſhing through famine. In this extremity of diſtreſs, they fervently implored, that the Almighty would be graciouſly pleaſed to yield them relief.

CHAP. VIII.

The Iſraelites are reſcued from the power of their confederated enemies by Gideon. The death and burial of Gideon.

Gideon's viſion.

WHILE Gideon, the Son of Jaſus, * and a principal man in the tribe of Manaſſes, was threſhing a ſmall quantity of grain upon a wine preſs, not venturing to do that buſineſs in a public place, leſt diſcovery of his employment ſhould be made by perſons in enmity againſt his country, and they ſhould ſeize his property, a viſion appeared to him in the figure of a young man, congratulating him as a perſon highly in favour of the Almighty. Upon this, Gideon obſerved, that his preſent circumſtances did not indicate his being ſo particularly honoured, ſince he was reduced to the neceſſity of converting a wine-preſs to do the office of the floor of a barn. The viſion commanded him to preſerve his fortitude, and employ his attention upon the means of delivering his country. In reply, he ſaid, that he was not equal to ſo great an undertaking, the tribe to which he belonged being leſs numerous than either of the others, and therefore incapable of furniſhing an army adequate to the exploit propoſed; and that, being a young man, he had not had ſufficient experience to qualify him for the management of ſo great a deſign. The viſion now informed him, that all difficiencies would be amply ſupplied by God; and that if he would aſſume the command of an army, victory would inevitably attend the Hebrews.

An army of ten thouſand men collected. Judg. vii. 3.

The particulars of the viſion Gideon communicated to ſome young men with whom he lived upon terms of friendſhip and intimacy; and they had ſuch reſpect for the authority of the revelation, that with their aſſiſtance, he was enabled, in a very ſhort time, to aſſemble an army of ten thouſand choſen men, all appearing reſolutely diſpoſed to encounter any dangers and difficulties in promoting the common welfare.

While the troops were raiſing, God appeared again to Gideon, informing him, that mankind were addicted to arrogate to themſelves the merit of producing thoſe events, which were the reſult of the operations of Providence, and therefore he ſhould be convinced, that human power was of no avail, when not aſſiſted by Heaven. God then commanded him to lead his army, in the heat of the day, to the banks of the Jordan, and obſerve in what manner the ſoldiers would drink; for thoſe who, upon the banks of the river, ſhould quench their thirſt at leiſure, were to be ſelected as men on whoſe bravery reliance might be ſafely placed; but, on the contrary, ſuch as ſhould be obſerved to drink in haſte, were to be conſidered as being terrified at the expectation of a battle, and therefore unqualified to be employed in the expedition †.

In obedience to the command of God, Gideon led his men to the ſide of the river, where he obſerved that of the whole number, only three hundred drank in ſuch a manner as not to evince a dread of encountering an enemy. The Almighty commanded Gideon to attack the enemy with the detachment of three hundred men thus choſen; and he accordingly took his ſtation by the ſide of the river, the day preceding that he had fixed upon for attempting the enterprize.

Gideon having great doubts as to the ſucceſs of his enterprize, God was pleaſed in a viſion, to aſſure him that he ſhould prove victorious, and to command him ſecretly to repair that night to the camp of the Madianites, where he would overhear

a con-

---

* Script. Goaſh-Gilead.

† And the Lord ſaid unto Gideon, the people are yet too many: bring them down unto the water and I will try them for thee there: and it ſhall be, that of whom I ſay unto thee, this ſhall go with thee, the ſame ſhall go with thee; and of whomſoever I ſay unto thee, this ſhall not go with thee, the ſame ſhall not go. So he brought down the people unto the water: and the Lord ſaid unto Gideon, every one that lappeth water with his tongue as a dog lappeth, him ſhalt thou ſet by himſelf; likewiſe every one that boweth down upon his knees to drink. And the number of them that lapped, putting their hand to their mouth, were three hundred men: but all the reſt of the people bowed down upon their knees to drink water. And the Lord ſaid unto Gideon, by the three hundred men that lapped, will I ſave you, and deliver the Madianites into thine hand; and he let all the other people go every man unto his place." Judg. vii. 4, 5, 6, 7. According to this account, the followers of Gideon, except only the three hundred, ſeem to have reclined on the banks of the river, in order to indulge themſelves; but the three hundred, probably, being more intent upon the object of the expedition, contented themſelves with taking up ſome water in the hollow, or palm of their hands, and thereby quenched their thirſt, without laying down their arms, or otherwiſe putting themſelves off their guard.

Gideon goes to the enemy's camp, and underſtands the dream of a ſoldier as a fortunate omen.

a converſation that would cheer his ſpirits. Gideon accordingly repaired to the camp of the enemy, and overheard a ſoldier relating to his comrade the particulars of his dream, which were, that he ſuppoſed a barley-loaf came into the encampment and overturned the king's tent, and then the tents of his officers and men in differently. In anſwer to this, the ſoldier ſaid, that he conceived the dream to imply, that the confederated army would be overthrown; for as barley was the coarſeſt of grains, ſo the Iſraelites were the moſt abject and vile among the inhabitants of Aſia; and that he was apprehenſive, that this circumſtance of the barley-loaf overthrowing their tents, was a prognoſtic that their army would be entirely ſubdued by the Iſraelites under the command of Gideon.

Conſidering this dream and its interpretation as an auſpicious omen, Gideon returned in high ſpirits, and having communicated what he had heard to his followers, they immediately prepared to execute the orders of their leader, in any enterpriſe, however dangerous or difficult, ſince they had received ſuch ſtrong aſſurances of ſucceſs. About the fourth watch, Gideon led his ſmall army, which was drawn up in three diviſions, each compriſing one hundred men, and every man carrying a lighted lamp within ſide a pitcher, and likewiſe a trumpet or horn, towards the enemy. The adverſe army was exceedingly numerous, being compoſed of different nations, and in it were great numbers of camels, ſo that the encampment muſt have occupied a vaſt extent of ground, though the whole was incloſed within one common line. The orders given to the Hebrews were, that upon receiving the ſignal for breaking their pitchers, they ſhould make a fierce ſally upon the enemy with their lamps in their hands, uttering ſhouts, and entertaining a firm aſſurance of ſucceſs, through the promiſes of the Lord to Gideon. The men acted in exact obedience to the orders of their general, whereby the enemy were ſtruck with the utmoſt conſternation; for hearing a variety of languages ſpoken, and obſerving lamps burning, and hearing the ſound of trumpets, and ſhouts proceeding from all quarters, they imagined themſelves ſurpriſed and ſurrounded by a vaſt army; and their terror being augmented by the darkneſs of night, they aſſaulted and ſlew each other, every man ſuppoſing the perſon next to him to be a foe. Thus was a prodigious ſlaughter made; but the havock the confederates made upon their own people was incomparably greater than the injury they ſuſtained from the enemy.

The confederates aſſault and ſlay each other. Judg. vii. 22.

Intelligence of this ſignal victory no ſooner reached the reſt of the Hebrews, than they diſpatched large parties of armed men to take poſſeſſion of all the difficult paſſes upon the mountains and rivers, to intercept the retreat of the ſurvivors, all of whom were, without diſtinction, put to the ſword, there being among the ſlain two kings, named Oreb and Zeb. Thoſe of the confederates who eſcaped, were a body of about eighteen thouſand men, who poſted themſelves at a diſtance from the Iſraelites. Notwithſtanding the Iſraelites were exceedingly harraſſed and fatigued with their exertions in the aſſault they with great alacrity purſued and gave battle to the fugitives, whom they ſubdued, putting every man of them to the ſword, except the princes Zebin * and Hezarbon, who were made priſoners of war. On this occaſion the ſlain of the Madianites and their aſſociates amounted to near a hundred and twenty thouſand men; and the conquerors obtained a great booty in gold, ſilver, rich ſtuffs, camels, aſſes, and other articles.

The king's Oreb and Zeb put to death in their retreat. ver. 25.

Upon his return to his reſidence in the lot of Ephraim, Gideon put the kings Zebin and Hezarbon to death. The tribe of which he was a member, now, being envious of the reputation Gideon had acquired by his ſplendid atchievements, evinced a ſtrong diſpoſition not only to impair the popularity of Gideon, but even to foment an open rupture againſt him. They invidiouſly reproached him for having engaged in public hoſtilities without the general concurrence of, or even having conſulted the whole body of the tribe of Ephraim on the expediency of the meaſure; and this ſpirit of diſſention was carried to ſuch a height, that his brethren were actually on the point of declaring war againſt him. Hereupon Gideon, who was not leſs remarkable for modeſty and prudence than for valour, diverted the ſtorm that threatened, by aſſuring them that he claimed no merit on account of the conqueſts that had been obtained, in which he had been an humble though a ſucceſsful inſtrument; for he had undertaken and conducted the war in exact obedience to the commands of God; and though Providence had been pleaſed to aſſign to him the moſt laborious part in the buſineſs, yet, the whole honour of the victory, he ſaid, belonged to his countrymen. This temperate and diſcreet behaviour had the deſired effect upon the multitude, inſomuch, that it entirely appeaſed that refractory ſpirit which had nearly burſt forth in open rebellion.

The Ephraimites are envious of Gideon. Judg. viii. 1.

Gideon propoſes to retire from public life.

Having reſtored his country to freedom, Gi-

---

* Script. Zebah and Zalmunnah.

Gideon expreſſed a deſire of ſurrendering up all his public employments: but the people were ſo ſtrongly averſe to accepting his reſignation, that in compliance with their earneſt entreaties, he conſented ſtill to continue in the diſcharge of his public duties. He held the office of ruler of the Iſraelites for the ſpace of forty years, during which time his attention was unremittingly employed in preſcribing laws and adminiſtering public juſtice. The talents and integrity of Gideon were ſuch, that no appeal was ever made from his deciſions, nor was he ever reproached either on account of his public or private conduct. He lived to a great age, and his remains were depoſited in his family ſepulchre in Ephraim, that being his native country.

The death of Gideon. ver. 32.

CHAP. IX.

The tyranny of Abimelech. His death. The Iſraelites ſubjugated by the Ammonites and Philiſtines. Jeptha's raſh vow. He frees the Iſraelites. His death. The government ſucceſſively deſcends to Aſpan, Elon and Abdon.

Gideon's poſterity. ver. 32.

BY different wives Gideon had ſeventy legitimate ſons; and by Druma, his concubine, he had a ſon named Abimelech. After the deceaſe of Gideon, his natural ſon, Abimelech, went to Sichem, to reſide with his mother's relations, who were natives of that place. By them he was ſupplied with what money he had occaſion for; and finding them men diſpoſed to the moſt atrocious acts of wickedneſs, he returned to his late father's habitation, accompanied by a band of theſe profligate wretches. The firſt act whereby he ſignalized his ſuperior iniquity was that of putting to death all the legitimate ſons of his father, except Jothan*, who had the good fortune to eſcape beyond the reach of his power. Having by theſe horrid acts of barbarity gained poſſeſſion of the government, Abimelech gave uncontrouled indulgence to his vicious inclinations and openly profeſſing an enmity to virtue, religion, and law, he was deteſted by all people who were not equally profligate and abandoned with himſelf.

Abimelech murders his brothers. Judg. ix. 5.

A ſolemn feſtival being held in Sichem, a vaſt concourſe of people aſſembled there, when Jotham from the ſummit of Mount Garizim, which overlooks the city, addreſſed himſelf to the multitude to the following effect:

The fable of the trees chuſing a king. ver. 7, &c.

" When the trees were poſſeſſed of the faculty of ſpeech, and held meetings and conferences like men, the major part of them were deſirous of giving the powers of their government to the fig-tree, but the honour being declined, the ſame offer was made ſucceſſively to the olive and the vine, but they likewiſe declared themſelves averſe from aſſuming the ſovereign authority, which was at length offered to the bramble. This honourthe bramble conſented to accept, but ſaid to the other trees, if they did not obſerve an implicit ſubmiſſion and obedience to its will, a fire ſhould proceed from itſelf, which ſhould conſume all the other trees.

This fable, Jothan ſaid, was not intended to occaſion idle merriment, but to induce the people to reflect on their preſent ſituation; for after the great ſervices they had received from Gideon they had permitted Abimelech, the murderer of the progeny of their deliverer, to uſurp the government, and puſillanimouſly ſubmitted to his tyranny and oppreſſion. The fire of the bramble in the fable Jothan ſaid alluded to the tyrant Abimelech.

Having ſpoken in the above manner, Jothan retired amongſt the mountains, and for three years lived in concealment, to avoid the murderous deſign meditated againſt him by Abimelech.

Abimelech driven out of Sichem. ver. 23.

At length, the exceſſive wickedneſs of Abimelech ſo exaſperated the people againſt him, that they expelled him from the city; in conſequence of which he employed his invention in concerting means for revenging himſelf upon the authors of his diſgrace.

The ſeaſon of the vintage now approaching, the people were greatly diſtreſſed by the conſideration, that it would be dangerous to venture out of the town to gather their grapes leſt they ſhould be ſurpriſed by Abimelech and his abandoned aſſociates. At this time a Prince of the country named Gales, † came to Sichem, being attended by ſeveral of his relations and a band of ſoldiers. The Sichemites petitioned Gales to grant them a guard for their ſecurity while they ſhould gather their grapes, and he readily complied. They at firſt purſued their buſineſs without any conſiderable interruption, making priſoners of ſeveral of Abimelech's followers that fell into their ambuſhes, and when their ſpirits were exhilerated with wine uttered imprecations againſt Abimelech. However, Zebel, ‡ one of the chiefs of the Sichemites, diſpatched a meſſage to Abimelech, importing that, if he would ſtation an ambuſh in the neighbourhood of the city, he would contrive to put Gales into his pow-

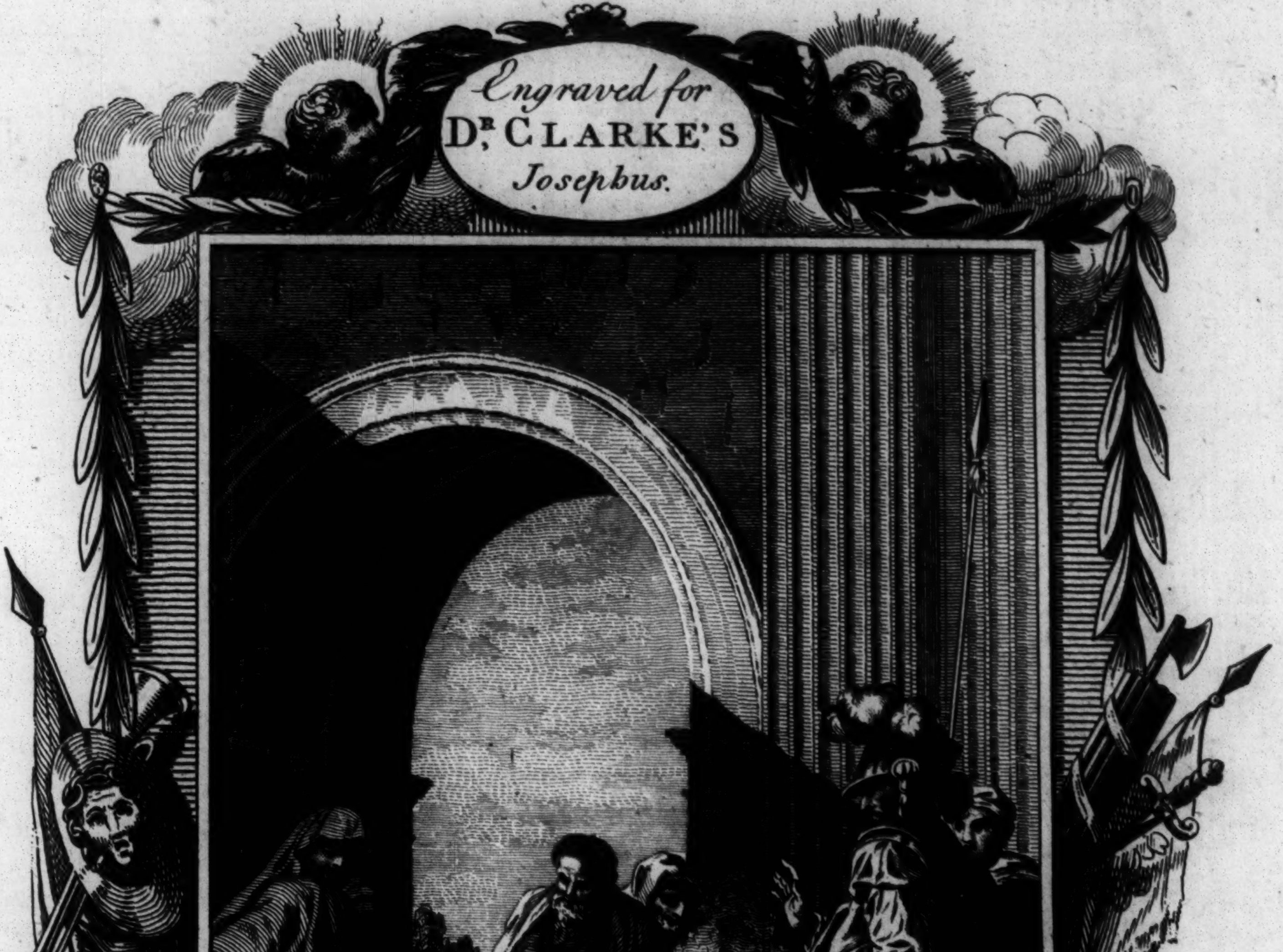
---

* Script Jotham.

† Script. Gaal.

‡ Script· Zebul.

er.


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

Jephthah Performeth his VOW on his Daughter.

Arrigoni pinx.t
T. Cook Sculp.

Publish'd as the Act directs Decr. 15th. 1785. by J. Walker Pater-noster Row.

BRITISH MUSEUM

er. In compliance with the advice of Zebel, the ambuſh was poſted; and Gales ſtaying without the town latter in the day than was uſual, on his return, he called to Zebel, ſaying, he perceived the enemy on their march, whereupon, the latter ſaid, that what he ſuppoſed to be men, was nothing more than the ſhadow of the mountain. Upon their nearer approach, Gales inſiſted, that they were bands of men, and not ſhadows. Hereupon, Zebel aſked Gales, if he believed the enemy to be near, why he, who had ſo often reproached Abimelech with cowardice, did not advance to give him battle? Gales now led his troops forward: but after the firſt ſhock, finding himſelf too weak to withſtand the enemy, and ſeveral of his followers being ſlain, he retreated into the town. This afforded Zebel an opportunity of charging Gales with cowardice; and in conſequence of this unmerited accuſation, he was expelled the city.

In the mean time, Abimelech procured intelligence, that the Sichemites would again go out of the town, for the purpoſe of purſuing the buſineſs of the vintage, and therefore he poſted ſeveral ambuſcades for ſurpriſing them. When they had quitted the town, Abimelech diſpatched a third part of his army to take poſſeſſion of the city gates, and cut off the retreat of the inhabitants that were employed in the vintage. In ſhort, the Sichemites were diſperſed with great ſlaughter, and on the firſt aſſault the town ſurrendered, and was reduced entirely to ruins, the ſpot being afterwards ſowed with ſalt, which, in thoſe days, was the method of ſtigmatizing a conquered place with the utmoſt poſſible indignity.

The deſtruction of the Sichemites. ver. 40, &c.

Thoſe of the Sichemites that had eſcaped the ſword, retreated to a neighbouring rock, and, to render the place, which was naturally difficult of acceſs, impregnable, preparations were made for encloſing it with a thick wall: but being apprized of this deſign, Abimelech led his army to the ſpot, and encircled it with an immenſe pile of dry wood and faggots, which being ſet on fire, not a man, woman, or child of the Sichemites eſcaped the horrid conflagration. The miſerable fate of the Sichemites would have deſerved more compaſſion, but for the conſideration, that it was a judgment due to their ingratitude to a man who had yielded them ſuch eſſential aſſiſtance.

All the fugitive Sichemites deſtroyed by fire. ver. 49.

Abimelech now led his army againſt Thebes, which he conquered by aſſault, but the garriſon made good a retreat into a ſtrong caſtle belonging to the place, to the very gates of which the enemy puſhed the attack with a reſolution of either taking it by force, or of ſetting it on fire. Abimelech being under the walls of the caſtle, a woman from above let fall a heavy piece of a mill-ſtone upon his head, whereby he was ſtruck to the ground. Upon recovering ſomewhat from the effects of the blow, and being convinced that the wound he had received muſt prove mortal, Abimelech called for his armour-bearer, and commanded him inſtantly to kill him, that the world might not degrade his memory, by ſaying he had fallen by the hands of a woman. The man immediately obeyed the orders of his general; and thus were puniſhed the horrid cruelties, which the tyrant Abimelech had committed both upon his brethren and the inhabitants of Sichem.

The death of Abimelech. ver. 54.

The government now deſcended to Jair, a Gileadite, and one of the tribe of Manaſſes. He had a numerous offspring, being the father of thirty ſons, all of whom were men of courage, and unblemiſhed reputation. He was in every reſpect happy, and after holding the government two and twenty years, died in an advanced age; and his body was interred at Camon, a city in Gilead.

The Hebrews were now ſo exceedingly degenerated as to be utterly regardleſs of religion, law, morality, military diſcipline, and civil obedience. Hence they were no longer held in that reſpect they had before maintained in the opinion of the Amonites and Philiſtines, who made an irruption into, and deſolated their country, and, not contented with the great ravages they committed, and the ſpoil they obtained beyond the Jordan, they made preparations for croſſing the river, and making an abſolute conqueſt of all the poſſeſſions of the Hebrews on either ſide thereof.

The Amonites and Philiſtines over-run the territories of the Hebrews. Judg. x. 15.

To relieve themſelves from their diſtreſſes, the Hebrews again had recourſe to penitentiary addreſſes and ſupplications to Heaven, by means of which the Almighty was induced to grant them a promiſe of future mercy and aſſiſtance.

The Ammonites had now entered the country of Gilead with a numerous army, and the inhabitants took up arms to repel the invaders; but having no general to lead them on to the attack, it was propoſed, that the command ſhould be given to Jeptha, who then kept an army in pay, and was held in high eſteem by the people. At firſt, Jeptha refuſed the offer, expreſſing ſurpriſe that now they were in diſtreſs, they ſhould apply to him for aſſiſtance, ſince the ill treatment he had received from them, on pretence of his mother being a foreigner, had forced him to retire into the land of Gilead, where he had ſince reſided, gradually collecting an army by enliſting all the men who offered their ſervice. However, through the repeated and urgent entreaties of the people, Jeptha was at length prevailed upon to eſpouſe their cauſe, and undertake the command of their army, upon their ſwearing fidelity and obedience to him as their general.

Jeptha takes the command of the Hebrew army, ver. 11.

Jeptha's army being incorporated with that of the Hebrews, he marched to Mizpeth, from whence he ſent an embaſſy to the king of the Ammonites, to expoſtulate with him on his injuſtice in treſpaſſing upon a country into which he had no reaſonable pretext for leading his army. In reply hereto, the king of the Ammonites retorted upon the Iſraelites, urging that they were but fugitives from Egypt, who had ſeized the arms and territories of other people; and in concluſion, he warned them to depart from the land of the Ammonites, which he inſiſted was the legal property of himſelf and his ſubjects in right of their forefathers. In anſwer hereto, Jeptha contended, that inſtead of accuſing the Iſraelites with depriving them of Amorrhœea, it would have been more juſt in them to have acknowledged their gratitude for having been put into poſſeſſion of Ammon, which it was in the power of Moſes to have withheld from them: but, with regard to the lands they had now poſſeſſed for the ſpace of three hundred years, with the aſſiſtance of God, they were determined to defend thoſe tenures to the laſt moment of their lives. Here the treaty cloſed.

Jeptha's raſh vow, ver. 30.

Jeptha now put himſelf at the head of the Iſraelitiſh army, and raſhly made a vow, that if he ſhould prove victorious over the enemy, he would, on his return, make a ſacrifice to God of the firſt living creature he ſhould meet. Shortly after this, the armies engaged, and the Ammonites being utterly overthrown, Jeptha purſued them to the city of Maniath, and making an irruption into the country of Ammon, laid ſeveral of the cities waſte, giving the ſpoil to be divided among the ſoldiers. After a miſerable ſlavery for eighteen years, by this ſignal victory the Iſraelites were reſtored to freedom.

The Ammonites defeated ver. 33.

Upon his return from the battle, Jeptha, met with a calamity that deſtroyed all the ſatisfaction he had hoped his ſplendid atchievements would have ſecured to him; for the firſt living creature he caſt his eyes upon was his only daughter, a virgin, who being appriſed of his approach, joyfully came forth to congratulate him on his ſucceſs. Driven to the laſt extremity of diſtreſs by this encounter, he informed his daughter of the vow he had made, lamenting the fatal neceſſity he was under of offering her up as a ſacrifice to Heaven. This intelligence the virgin received with ſurpriſing conſtancy and fortitude, ſaying, ſhe ſhould not regret parting with life, on condition of ſecuring her father's honour and reputation, and the liberty of her country: ſhe, however requeſted, that two months might elapſe before the ſacrifice ſhould be made, that ſhe might have time to take a laſt farewell of her relations, friends, and companions, when ſhe would chearfully ſubmit to the fate which it was neceſſary ſhe ſhould ſuſtain in diſcharge of her father's vow. * Tranſported by a blind and inconſiderate zeal, upon the expiration of the two months, Jeptha, in conformity with his raſh vow, made a cruel ſacrifice of the life of his innocent virgin daughter.

---

* The ſcripture no where, in expreſs words, condemns this act of Jeptha's ſacrificing his daughter, as contrary to the laws of his country, or diſpleaſing to God; for which reaſon a great many Chriſtian writers have rejected this opinion, though vouched by the authority of Joſephus, and a great many other ancient and learned writers; conceiving in this oblation not a natural but a civil kind of death, and a ſeparation only unto the Lord: for that he purſued not his vow to a literal oblation, there want not arguments both from the text and reaſon.

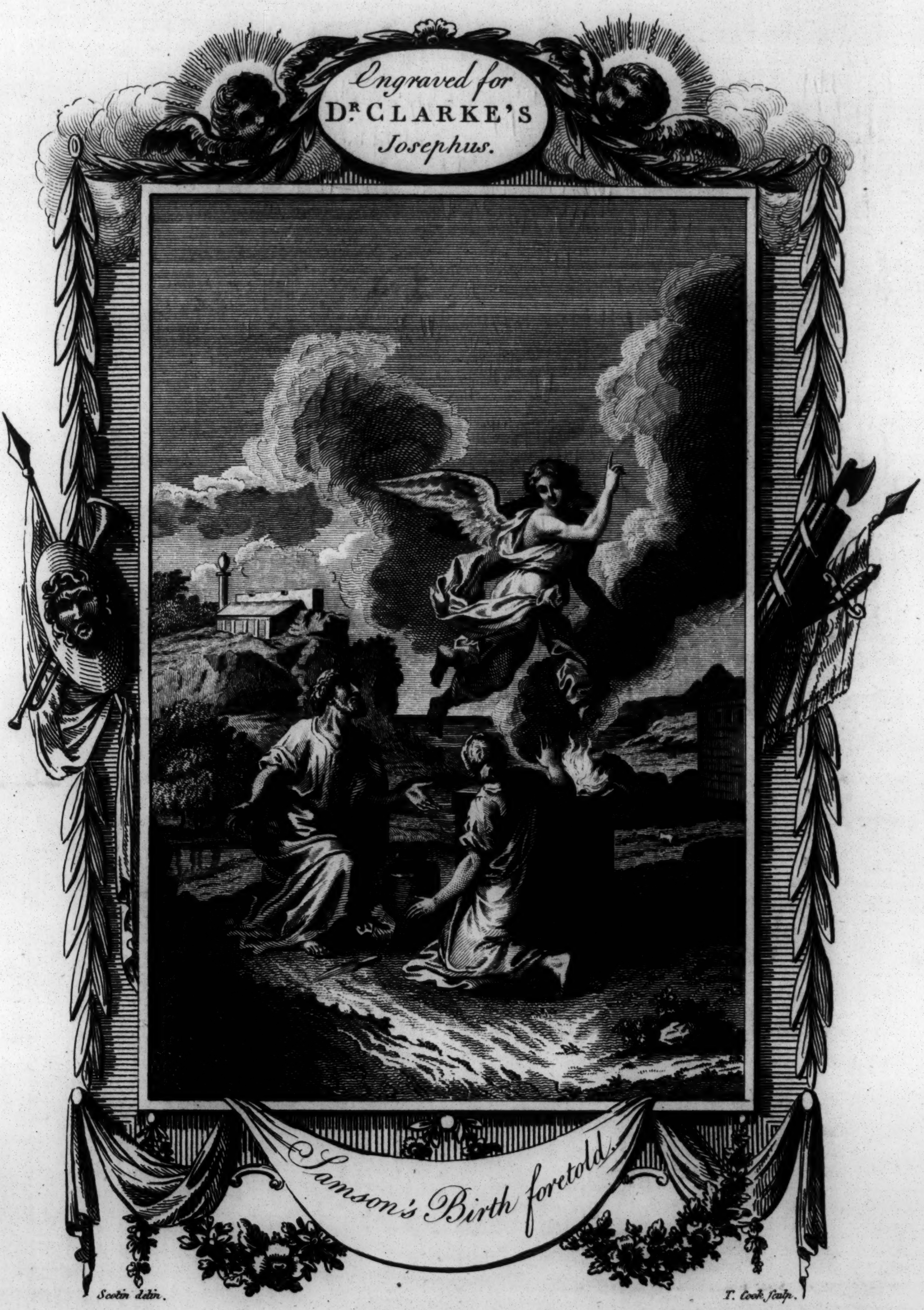
It is evident that ſhe deplored her virginity, and not her death; "Let me go up and down the mountains, and bewail my virginity, I and my fellows." When it is ſaid, that Jeptha did unto her according unto his vow, it is immediately ſubjoin'd, "And ſhe knew no man;" which, as immediate in words, was moſt probably neareſt in ſenſe unto the vow. Thirdly, it is ſaid in the text, that "The daughters of Iſrael went yearly [to talk with] the daughter of Jeptha four days in the year," which had ſhe been ſacrificed in a literal ſenſe, they could not have done. For whereas the word is ſometimes tranſlated [to lament] yet doth it alſo ſignify [to talk, or have conference with one;] and it is in this ſenſe tranſlated: "Ibant filiæ Iſraelitarum ad confabulandum cum filia Jepthæ, quatuor diebus quotannis."

It is alſo repugnant to reaſon; for the offering mankind was againſt the law of God; and therefore the ſcripture with indignation often makes mention of the human ſacrifices among the Gentiles It being therefore a ſacrifice ſo abominable unto God, though he had purſued it, it is not probable the prieſts and wiſdom of Iſrael would have permitted it.

The offering up of his daughter was not only unlawful, and entrenched upon his religion, but had been a courſe that would have much condemned his diſcretion; that is, to have puniſhed himſelf in the ſtricteſt obſervance of his vow, when as the law of God had allowed an evaſion; that is, by way of commutation or redemption, according as is determined, Levit. xxvii. 4—7. whereby, if ſhe were between the age of five and twenty, ſhe was to be eſtimated but at ten ſhekels; and if between twenty and ſixty, not above thirty; a ſum that could never diſcourage an indulgent parent, it being but the value of a ſervant ſlain, the inconſiderable ſalary of Judas, and will make no greater amount than three pounds ſeventeen ſhillings and ſixpence with us.

Although his vow run generally for the words, "Whatſoever ſhall come forth, &c." yet might it be reſtrained in the ſenſe, for whatſover was ſacrificeable, and juſtly ſubject to lawful immolation; and ſo might have exempted him from ſacrificing either horſe or dog, if they had happened to come out upon him firſt. Nor was he obliged by oath unto a ſtrict obſervation of that, which promiſſorily was unlawful; nor could he be qualified by vow to commit a fact which naturally was abominable. Now the

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

Samson's Birth foretold.

Scotin delin. T. Cook sculp.

Publish'd as the Act directs Jany. 7.1786. by John Walker Pater-noster Row.

His victory over the Ammonites enabled Jeptha to afford the Iſraelites a favourable proſpect of future peace and freedom: but the envious Ephraimites again evinced a violent ſpirit of malignity againſt him, and they vehemently exclaimed againſt him, as having undertaken the expedition merely from motives of ambition and avarice. Jeptha in reply ſaid, they were conſcious that they had been invited to join their allies againſt the common enemy, but that they wanted courage to oppoſe their oppreſſors; concluding with a menace, that if they perſiſted in their unjuſt and inſolent reproaches, he was determined to have recourſe to arms for reducing their refractory diſpoſition to order. However, finding reaſon and argument of no effect, Jeptha marched againſt the army that the Ephraimites had brought from Gilead, and having compleatly defeated them, took poſſeſſion of the forts and paſſes of the river Jordan, and purſued the enemy with ſo great a ſlaughter, that thoſe who fell in the battle and in the ſubſequent ſkirmiſhes amounted to near two-and-forty thouſand men.

Jeptha in- ounters and ubdues the phraimites, dg. XII. 6.

eptha's eath, ver. 7.

After governing the Iſraelites ſix years, Jeptha departed this life, and he was buried at Sebeth, in the land of Gilead, which was the place of his nativity. Jeptha was ſucceeded by Apſan * of the city of Bethlem, in the tribe of Judah; but the occurrences during the ſeven years of his government are not ſufficiently remarkable to deſerve being recorded. He had ſixty ſons and thirty daughters, all of whom were living and unmarried at the time of his deceaſe. He died at an advanced time of life, and was buried in his own country. Apſan was ſucceed by Elon, of the tribe of Zebulon, who was in the adminiſtration ten years, during which nothing of conſequence tranſpired. He was ſucceeded by Abdon, the ſon of Heliel, being of the tribe of Ephraim, and a native of the city of Pharathon. He was a man no otherwiſe remarkable than for having a numerous iſſue: he had forty ſons, and thirty grandſons, all of whom excelled in horſemanſhip, and they were his conſtant guard; they were living at the time of his deceaſe. He died in old age, and was buried with great pomp and magnificence at Pharathon.

CHAP. X.

The birth of Sampſon predicted. Sampſon encounters a lion. His exploits againſt the Philiſtines. He is betrayed by Dalilah. His death.

THE Iſraelites were held in ſubjection by, and made tributary to the Philiſtines for the ſpace of forty years after the death of Abdon: but they were at length reſtored to liberty in the manner which we ſhall now proceed to relate.

Manoah of the tribe of Dan, a man of the firſt diſtinction in his country, had a wife who was deemed to be incomparably the moſt beautiful woman of that age; but, to the great affliction of the huſband, he had no children by her. Having a country-houſe in an extenſive plain, he and this wife principally reſided there; and in his ſolitude the greateſt part of his time was employed in praying, that the Almighty would confer upon him the bleſſing of children. The woman being alone in this retirement, an angel appeared to her under the ſemblance of a graceful young man, informing her, that the Almighty had commiſſioned him to promiſe her the bleſſing of a male child, which ſhould grow up to manhood, and be of a graceful perſon, and of prodigious ſtrength; adding, that this ſon ſhould humble the pride and arrogance of the Philiſtines, and charging her to let his hair grow uncut and to be careful that he ſhould drink nothing but water. After this the viſion diſappeared. Upon Manoah coming in to the apartment, his wife related what had occurred, expatiating with great warmth of expreſſion on the comely figure of the angel. Hereupon, the huſband became jealous of his wife, ſuſpecting that what ſhe had related was

An angel foretells the birth of Sampſon. Judg. xiii. 1.

---

the ground at leaſt which promoted the opinion of Joſephus and others, who have expounded this paſſage in a literal ſenſe, might be the dubious words of the text, which contain the ſenſe of his vow, moſt men adhering unto their common and obvious acceptation. "Whatſoever ſhall come forth of the doors of my houſe ſhall ſurely be the Lord's, and I will offer it up for a burnt offering." Now whereas it is ſaid, "Erit Jehovæ, & offeram illud holocauſtum;" the word ſignifying both Et and Aut, it may be taken disjunctively; aut offeram, that is, it ſhall either be the Lord's by ſeparation, or elſe an holocauſt by common oblation, and as Tremellius rendereth it, "Erit inquam Jehovæ, aut offeram illud holocauſtum;" and for the vulgar Latin, it often uſeth Et where Aut muſt be preſumed, as Exod. xxi. 15. "Si quis percuſſerit patrem & matrem," that is, not both, but either. There being therefore two ways to diſpoſe of her, either to ſeparate her unto the Lord, or offer her as a ſacrifice, it is of no neceſſity the latter ſhould be performed; and ſurely leſs derogatory unto the ſacred text and hiſtory of the people of God, muſt be the former.

Let reaſon be the judge, whether from the whole relation it appears, that the daughter was actually ſacrificed, or ſlain upon the altar. What expreſſion, what incident ſeems barely to hint at this inhuman ſacrifice? Is there any thing to afford a preſumptive gueſs in what manner, or by whoſe hands the barbarous rite was performed? Upon the whole, the unprejudiced mind can only conclude from this narrative, that Jeptha's daughter was devoted to a perpetual ſtate of virginity.

* Script. Ibzan.

a mere pretext for concealing from him an illicit intercourſe. Diſtreſſed at obſerving her huſband was doubtful of her chaſtity, in the anguiſh of her mind ſhe implored, that God would ſend the Angel again, as a means of proving her innocence, and convincing Manoah of the truth of the revelation.

In compliance with this prayer, a ſhort time afterwards the angel again preſented himſelf in the ſame place, the woman being then alſo alone. She ſolicited the viſion not to depart till ſhe ſhould have fetched her huſband; and upon Manoah's arrival, he urged that what had been communicated to his wife might be then repeated. Upon this, the Angel ſaid "Suffice it, that it is known to your wife." Then Manoah requeſted, that he would mention who he was, that when the child ſhould be born, he might know by what name to expreſs his gratitude to the meſſenger of ſuch welcome intelligence. The viſion ſaid in reply, that he expected no return for the information he had communicated. Manoah then preſſed him to partake of ſuch hoſpitable entertaiment as his habitation would afford, which the angel at firſt declined, but upon repeated entreaties, conſented to ſtay till ſome proviſions ſhould be prepared. Manoah now killed a kid, and gave it to his wife to dreſs; and when the meat was prepared, the angel deſired it might be laid, together with the bread, upon an adjacent rock, without being placed in diſhes. This order being complied with, he touched the fleſh with his rod, when inſtantly a flame burſt forth, and conſumed the fleſh, bread, and other proviſions, the meſſenger of God, then being ſeen to aſcend to Heaven in a cloud. Soon afterwards the woman became pregnant, and ſhe conſtantly preſerved a recollection of the inſtructions communicated by the angel.

The birth of Sampſon, Ver. 24.

According to the angels prediction, Manoah's wife was delivered of a ſon, who received the name of Sampſon, a word importing robuſt. As he encreaſed in years, he wonderfully improved both in the comelineſs of his perſon, and the ſtrength of his mental faculties; and theſe advantages, together with his abſtemious way of life, and the government he had over his paſſions and appetites, occaſioned people to conſider him as a being ſomewhat more than human.

Being with his parents on occaſion of a ſolemn feſtival at Thamnah * a city belonging to the Philiſtines, he there became enamoured of a damſel of that country, and earneſtly requeſted, that his parents would procure her for him in marriage. They informed him that, without tranſgreſſing the laws of his country, he could not eſpouſe a ſtranger, adding, that among the Hebrew women he would have no difficulty in ſelecting one for a wife, againſt whom no objection could be advanced. But the paſſion of the young man being too ſtrong to be controuled, he affianced himſelf to his miſtreſs. While he was on the road to pay her a viſit, he met a lion; but though quite unarmed, inſtead of flying from, he reſolutely advanced to the furious animal, and by a ſurpriſing exertion of ſtrength, ſeized and ſtrangled him, caſting the carcaſs into a thicket.

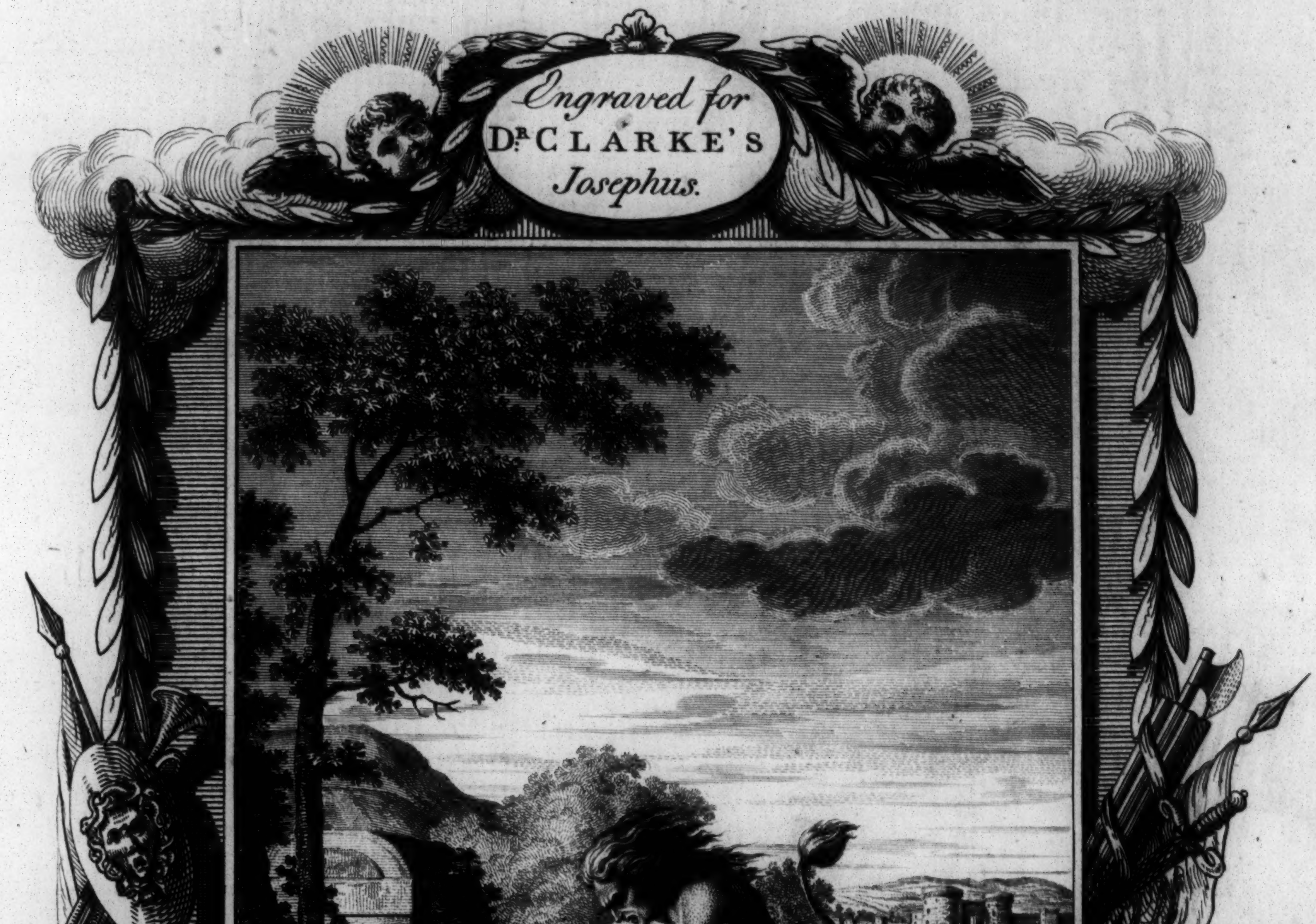
Sampſon encounters and kills a lion Judg. XIV. 6.

A few days after, as he was going upon a ſecond viſit, he obſerved a ſwarm of bees depoſiting their honey and wax upon the breaſt of the beaſt he had ſlain. Taking three of the honey-combs, he preſented them, together with ſome other articles, to his intended wife.

After the ſolemnization of his nuptials, the friends of his wife appointed thirty of the moſt powerful young men that could be found to ſerve him in quality of attendants, pretendedly from the high reſpect they entertained for him; but their real motive was, that theſe ſtout men might overpower him, if on any occaſion, he ſhould behave with violence and outrage to the bride. The whole company invited on occaſion of the marriage being chearful with wine, divers merriments paſſed; and, at length, Sampſon told the gueſts, that, if in the ſpace of ſeven days, they ſhould explain a riddle he meant to propoſe, he would give them each a ſhirt and a coat. Upon being deſired to put the queſtion, he ſaid, "Out of the eater cometh forth meat, and ſweetneſs proceedeth from the ſtrong." After deliberating for three days, the Philiſtines were incapable of giving a ſolution, and agreeing to make application to the bride for an explanation of the ſecret, they repaired to her, threatening that unleſs, through her influence over her huſband, ſhe ſhould obtain an expoſition of the queſtion, they would aſſuredly burn her to death. For ſome time Sampſon reſiſted the ſolicitations of his wife; but, in the end, tears, entreaties and reproaches, (for ſhe aſcribed his refuſal to a want of affection) prevailed upon him to divulge the ſecret by mentioning the circumſtance of having encountered and killed the lion, and afterwards taken from his breaſt the three honey-combs, which he had preſented to her. The whole that Sampſon had related, his wife communicated to the Philiſtines. Before ſun-ſet on the ſeventh day, being the time when

---

* Script. Tinmah.


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

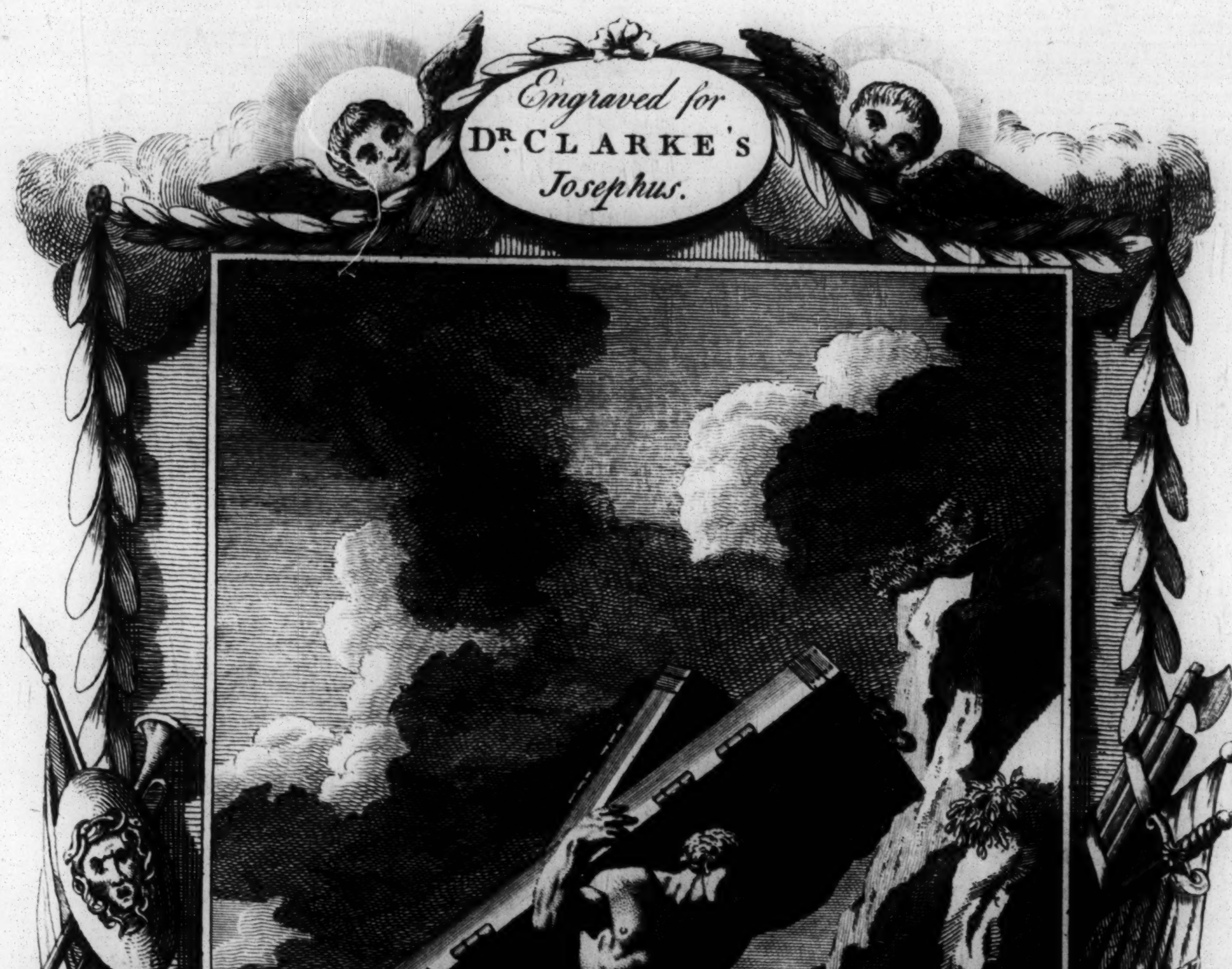
SAMSON killing a Young Lion.

Cipriani delin. T. Cook sculp.

Publish'd as the Act directs Jany. 14th. 1786 by John Walker Pater noster Row.

BRITISH MUSEUM

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE's
Josephus.
Sampson carrying the Gates of Gaza

Publish'd as the Act directs 1 Sep.r 1786 by John Walker, Paternoster Row

when the ſolution of the difficulty was appointed to be given, the parties met, when, in reply to Sampſon's propoſition, the Philiſtines ſaid, "No creature is ſtronger than a lion, nor is any food ſweeter than honey." What you have ſaid, exclaimed Sampſon, is true, and it is equally ſo, that nothing is more treacherous than the woman who enabled you to explain the matter I propounded. However, he made good the promiſe given upon propoſing the queſtion; for meeting thirty of the inhabitants of Aſkalon † upon the road, he ſtripped them of their ſhirts and coats, and give them to the thirty Philiſtines. So exaſperated was he againſt his wife for the treachery of her behaviour, that he repudiated her; and upon her marrying his friend, his diſpleaſure was ſo much encreaſed, that he determined to revenge himſelf, not only upon her, but upon the whole nation to which ſhe belonged.

This being harveſt-time, Sampſon procured three hundred foxes, and having tied them tail to tail, with fire-brands between them, turned them amongſt the corn-fields, by which means all the produce of the ſeaſon, was in a ſhort time deſtroyed. Underſtanding that Sampſon was the author of this miſchief, in revenge thereof, the Philiſtines ſeized his wife, and all her relations, and burnt them alive.

After making ſeveral inroads into the land of the Philiſtines, Sampſon took up his abode at Etam a rock of great ſtrength in the tribe of Judah. In conſequence of Sampſon having retreated within their territories, the Philiſtines prepared to make war upon the tribe of Judah, who contended, that they had lived peaceably, and regularly paid their taxes, and therefore it would be unjuſt to puniſh them for an offence committed by Sampſon. Upon this, the Philiſtines replied, that nothing could defend them from the vengeance due for the injury they had ſuſtained through Sampſon, but ſurrendering his perſon into their cuſtody. They now aſſembled about three thouſand men, and marched to the place of Sampſon's retreat, where they expoſtulated with him on the danger which he had involved the Hebrews in, by exaſperating a powerful enemy againſt them, whereby their whole race was threatened with deſtruction. They ſaid their preſent buſineſs was to take him into cuſtody, in order to ſurrender him up to the Philiſtines, requeſting, that, for his own ſake as well as theirs, he would ſubmit, and render forcible meaſures unneceſſary. Hereupon, Sampſon ſurrendered himſelf up to his countrymen, who led him away, after binding him with two ropes, to give him into the cuſtody of the Philiſtines. Upon their arrival in the neighbourood of the Philiſtine encampment, the people with ſhouts of exultation came forth to meet them, when Sampſon, breaking the cords wherewith he was bound, ſeized the jaw-bone of an aſs, that happened to lay upon the ground, and with that weapon furiouſly aſſaulted the Philiſtines, about a thouſand of whom he ſlew, putting all the reſt to flight.

Sampſon's exploit with the jaw-bone of an aſs, Ver. 15.

This ſignal atchievement ſo inflamed the vanity of Sampſon, that, inſtead of aſcribing the victory to the power and providence of God, he arrogated to himſelf all the merit of the action. While he was under the influence of this arrogant diſpoſition, Sampſon was ſeized with a violently parching thirſt, which ſerved to humble his pride, and recall to his recollection, that notwithſtanding his extraordinary ſtrength and great exploits, he was liable to all the infirmities of human nature. He now humbled himſelf before the Almighty, in a penitential addreſs, acknowledging that the victory had been atchieved through the power and providence of God, without whoſe aſſiſtace all the efforts of man muſt prove ineffectual and fruitleſs. He ſupplicated pardon for his arrogance and preſumption, and reſigned himſelf up to the power and will of God; and his prayers being heard, a ſtream of fine water ſuddenly guſhed forth from an adjacent rock, to aſſuage his drought. On occaſion of Sampſon's victory, the rock from whence the ſtream of water had miraculouſly iſſued, to this very day bears the name of the Jaw.

Water guſhes from a rock to appeaſe Sampſon's thirſt, ver. 19.

Sampſon now, without taking further notice of the Philiſtines, proceeded publicly to Gaza, where he took up his lodging in a common inn. The governor of the place having intelligence of his arrival, he employed ſpies and guards to prevent his eſcape: but being appriſed of this deſign, Sampſon roſe at midnight, and taking the city-gates off the hinges, carried them away upon his ſhoulders, together with their frames, bolts, locks, and, in ſhort, every thing belonging to them, as far as Mount Hebron, where he left them.

Sampſon carries away the gates of Gaza, Judg. xvi. 3.

Sampſon now became regardleſs of the laws of his own country, and inclined to adopt thoſe of other nations; and this apoſtacy, in proceſs of time, proved the cauſe of his deſtruction. He became very fond of a common Philiſtine proſtitute, named Dalilah, and the amour proceeded ſo far that they cohabited together. Being informed of the great influence this woman had over him, the Lords of the Philiſtines bribed her to betray him, being reſolved to omit no poſſible means of effecting his deſtruction. When in a ſtate of inebriety, and on all other favourable occaſions that offered, Dalilah employed every ſtratagem and artifice of which ſhe was miſtreſs, to prevail upon him to confeſs in what part of his frame it was that his prodigious ſtrength reſided. To quiet the ſolicitations of his miſtreſs, he told her, that if his hands were but bound with ſeven green withs, or creepers of a vine, his ſtrength would not be greater than that of other men. This Dalilah immediately communicated to the magiſtrates, who cauſed a party of ſoldiers to repair to the place of his reſidence, where finding him intoxicated and drowſy, they ſeized him, according to the inſtructions of Delilah, who immediately afterwards waked him with affected concern, telling him, that he was ſurrounded by the Philiſtines. Upon this alarm, he inſtantly ſnapped the withs aſunder, and putting himſelf in a poſture of defence, the ſoldiers retired. Dalilah, perſevering in her importunities, he amuſed her with ſaying, his ſtrength would be impaired, if he were bound with ſeven cords, or if his locks were filleted or twiſted up.

---

† Aſkalon was at this time in poſſeſſion of the Philiſtines.

Sampſon diſcovers that his ſtrength lay in his hair. Judg. xvi. 17. Dalilah cuts off his locks, and delivers him to the enemy. ver. 19. They blind and make a public ſpectacle of him. ver. 21.

But though both theſe experiments failed, the woman did not yet deſpair of ſucceſs. At length, her artful endearments and treacherous ſolicitations, prevailed with him to acknowledge, that the continuance of his invincible ſtrength wholly depended upon the preſervation of his hair. Having obtained this diſcovery, while he was aſleep, ſhe cut off his hair, and then delivered him up to his enemies, who cruelly put out his eyes, and carried him about the country in bonds as a public ſpectacle.

Some conſiderable time after Sampſon had been deprived of ſight, there was a numerous meeting of the princes and nobility of the Philiſtines at a public feſtival; and on this occaſion Sampſon, who had now, in a great meaſure, recovered his hair, was ſent for, in order that his blindneſs might afford merriment and ſport to the company. The meeting was held in a ſpacious building, the roof whereof was ſupported by only two remarkably large and ſtrong pillars. Saying he was weary of ſtanding, he deſired the boy that led him, to conduct him to one of the pillars of the building, that he might lean againſt it. The boy complied; and Sampſon ſhaking the pillar with his utmoſt ſtrength, the whole building inſtantly fell into ruins, whereby three thouſand men, together with Sampſon, were cruſhed to death. The death of Sampſon took place in the twentieth year of his government. His body was given to his relations, who conveyed it to Saſara, where it was interred amongſt the remains of his anceſtors.

Sampſon throws down the building upon himſelf and three thouſand Philiſtines ver. 30.

CHAP. XI.

Particulars relating to Naamis. Ruth and Booz. The Birth of Samuel. The Philiſtines defeat the Hebrews.

SAMPSON was ſucceeded in the government by Eli, the high-prieſt: and during his adminiſtration there happaned a dreadful famine. Abimelech a citizen of Bethelem, in the tribe of Judah, accompanied by his wife Naamis, and their two ſons, Mallon and Chellion, repaired into the land of Moab, where Chellion married Orpha, and Mallon eſpouſed Ruth, they being Moabitiſh women. Within ten years Abimelech and his two ſons died, ſhortly after each other. Inconſoleable for the loſs of theſe dear relations, Naamis reſolved to return to Bethlehem. The widow daughters-in-law were extremely averſe to a ſeparation: but ſhe diſapproved of their accompanying her on ſo long a journey, ſince ſhe was not in circumſtances to promote their welfare. However, Ruth ſaid, that at all hazards, ſhe was reſolved to accompany her mother, and they accordingly ſet out together.

Upon their arrival at Bethlehem, they were received by the family of Booz, kinſman to Abimelech; and upon Naamis being called by her name, ſhe ſaid, rather let it be Mara. In the Hebrew, the former word ſignifies, happineſs, and the latter ſorrow. This being harveſt time, Ruth went into the corn-lands to glean; and, while ſhe was ſo employed, in a field belonging to Booz, he came there himſelf, and upon making enquiry relating to the young woman, was informed by his head ſervant of thoſe particulars he had a ſhort time before heard her relate. Being greatly pleaſed with her tenderneſs for her mother-in-law, and the reſpect in which ſhe held the memory of her deceaſed huſband, he ordered his ſervant to permit her to reap and carry away whatever portion of grain ſhe thought proper, and to entertain her with the people of his own family. The grain ſhe had collected and part of the bread given her, ſhe carried in the evening to her mother, who acted in the ſame manner to the daughter, being enabled ſo to do by the charity of her neighbours.

Ruth continued daily to glean in the

fields with the female ſervants of Booz, till the end of the barley-harveſt, a few days after which, the grain being then threſhed out, he took up his lodging in his own barn. This coming to the knowledge of Naamis, ſhe formed a project for bringing about ſuch a connection between Booz and her daughter, as might contribute to their mutual advantage. In purſuance of this deſign, ſhe directed her daughter to go ſecretly into the barn, and repoſe at the feet of Booz, ſaying he was her near relation, and a man of conſideration in that country. The young woman complied; and upon waking about midnight, and finding a companion near him, Booz called out to know who it was. She told him her name, requeſting permiſſion to lie at his feet till morning, in quality of his domeſtic. Nothing more paſſed, till early in the morning, when, before the ſervants had began their work, Booz commanded Ruth to take as much corn as ſhe could carry, and immediately to depart; obſerving, that however free from guilt the parties might be, in caſes of that nature, it was neceſſary to be cautious againſt giving any room for ſuſpicion, adding that there was a perſon nearer connected with her in conſanguinity than himſelf, whom he adviſed her to demand for a huſband, and if he was willing to take her, ſhe was bound to become his wife, but if ſhe ſhould be rejected, he ſhould himſelf be at liberty to marry her.

About noon the ſame day, Booz returned to the city, and aſſembled a court, where Ruth and her kinſman were ſummoned to appear; and addreſſing himſelf to the kinſman, he aſked, if he had not ſucceeded to the poſſeſſions of Abimelech and his ſons. The other replied in the affirmative, ſaying, the Law had given him a right to the property. Pointing to Ruth, Booz ſaid, that ſhe being the widow of Mallon, the law expreſſed, that he ſhould either marry her, or relinquiſh the inheritance. He excuſed himſelf from marrying, by urging, that he had already a wife and children; and by a public declaration in court, reſigned his right both to the woman and the property in favour of Booz, he being the next of kin to the deceaſed huſband. Having cauſed the declaration to be recorded, Booz deſired Ruth to looſen her kinſman's ſhoe, and ſpit in his face, according to the formality of the law, which ſhe accordingly did. Booz then took Ruth for his wife, who within a year brought him a ſon, which he entruſted to the care of Naamis, and by the advice of the women, the child was called Obed, a word in Hebrew importing ſervice, or aſſiſtance, in alluſion to the relief that Naamis had expected to receive in her old age from Booz. Jeſſe was the deſcendant of Obed, as was king David of Jeſſe. In the family of David the government continued for the ſpace of one-and-twenty years.

ooz eſpouſes uth. Ruth v. 13.

At this time the Hebrews were again under very unfortunate circumſtances, having engaged in a freſh war againſt the Philiſtines. Eli, the high-prieſt had two ſons, named Ophnes and Phinees, who held religion, law, juſtice, and morality in utter contempt, and gave unlimited indulgence to their licentious and lewd inclinations. They were not only guilty of open violence and rapine, but carried their exceſſes ſo far as to aſſault women at the very altar, and to offer them bribes to comply with, or by force compel them to gratify their paſſions, while they were employed in exerciſes of devotion. The exceſſive profligacy of theſe men, was the cauſe of the moſt keen and poignant affliction to their father, who was under continual apprehenſion, that their enormous crimes would provoke ſome dreadful judgment from Heaven. When the miſerable fate that was to befal theſe men was revealed to their fathers and to the prophet Samuel, who was yet but a child, the former abandoned all hopes of their reclamation, and mourned for them in the ſame manner as if they had been dead. But on this ſubject we ſhall ſpeak more at large in the proper place.

A Levite, named Elkanah, an inhabitant of Ramath, in the lot of Ephraim, had two wives, named Hannah and Phenannah: he had children by the latter, but none by the former for a conſiderable time; but on this account his affection for her did not abate. Repairing to Shilo, where the holy tabernacle then was, in order to perform divine worſhip, in company with his whole family, Elkanah diſtributed proviſions among his family; and upon obſerving Phenannah and her children eat, Hannah was ſo greatly diſtreſſed, from the conſideration that ſhe had no iſſue, that all the efforts of her huſband and friends to comfort her proved fruitleſs; and leaving the company, ſhe haſtened to the tabernacle, there fervently ſupplicating the Almighty to grant her the bleſſing of a ſon, vowing, if her prayer was complied with, that ſhe would peculiarly dedicate the child to the honour and ſervice of religion. Eli, who was then ſitting before the tabernacle, imagining ſhe was intoxicated, ordered her to depart, whereupon ſhe ſaid, that ſhe drank only water, but her mind was diſtreſſed on account of having no children, and ſhe had implored God to make her a mother. Hereupon

Eli deſired her to be comforted, under an aſſurance that God would comply with her prayers.

She then returned, and in due time was delivered of a ſon, who received the name of Samuel, a word importing, aſked of God. Upon the parents of the child going again to Shilo, to offer up ſacrifice, and pay their tenths, the woman, in obedience to her vow, delivered the child to Eli, and dedicated him to the ſervice of God. His hair was permitted to grow; he drank only water; he was ſtationed about the temple; and, as the reader will hereafter find, he became a prophet. After the birth of Samuel, Hannah had other ſons, and three daughters.

Juſt when Samuel had entered the thirteenth year of his age, he began to prophecy; and one night, while he lay aſleep, God called upon him by name. Suppoſing the voice from Heaven to be that of the high-prieſt, he immediately haſtened to him, to know his pleaſure, and was informed that he had not called upon him. The call was repeated a ſecond and a third time, and on each of theſe occaſions, the ſame anſwer was made by the high-prieſt. However, Eli diſcovering the miſtake, he told Samuel, that he had not been called upon by man, but by God, at the ſame time directing him when he ſhould hear the voice again, to reply to the following effect: "Here am I, Lord, ſpeak; for thy ſervant heareth, and is ready to obey thy divine commands."

Samuel begins to prophecy at thirteen years of age. 1 Sam. iii. 4—10.

Being again called upon by the Almighty, Samuel delivered the words dictated by Eli, and then the voice proceeded to the following effect: "Since thou haſt profeſſed a ready obedience to the will of Heaven, be informed, that the Iſraelites will ſhortly be afflicted with a moſt tremendous calamity. Both the ſons of Eli ſhall be cut off on the ſame day; his family ſhall be for ever deprived of the prieſthood, which ſhall deſcend to Eleazar; for, to their common deſtruction, Eli hath been more regardful of his ſons than of his religious duties." Samuel was concerned to be the meſſenger of ſuch afflicting intelligence to Eli and his family; but having been adjured by the high-prieſt, faithfully to report the revelation, he delivered the particulars thereof to him, in conſequence of which he conſidered the deſtruction of his ſons to be inevitable.

The death of the two ſons predicted, and that the prieſthood would be transferred to Eleazar, ver. 11, 14.

At this time, the Philiſtines marched againſt the Hebrews, forming the encampment at Ampheck; but receiving no oppoſition there, they proceeded further; and a battle taking place, the Hebrews were defeated, four thouſand of them being ſlain and the reſt purſued to their camp. Diſpirited by this overthrow, they applied to the high-prieſt and the elders, requeſting that the ark might be brought into the army, that its preſence might inſure ſucceſs to their arms, little imagining that they were doomed to deſtruction by that Almighty power, on whoſe account alone the ark was held in veneration. The ark, however, was brought into the field, being attended by the ſons of the high-prieſt, who were commanded, if the ark ſhould be loſt, never more to preſume to appear before their father. The armies meeting, the Iſraelites fled, upon the firſt onſet, thirty thouſand of their men being left dead in the field, the two ſons of Eli, the high-prieſt being among the number; and the ark, on which ſo firm a reliance of victory had been placed, fell into the hands of the enemy.

Thirty thouſand of the Iſraelites ſlain, and the ark taken by the enemy. Ver. 10, 11.

CHAP. XII.

Upon being informed of the loſs of the ark, Eli dies. The birth of Joachab.

A Young Benjamite, who had eſcaped out of the battle, was the firſt who brought intelligence of the defeat of the Iſraelites, and of the loſs of the ark, which occaſioned the whole city to reſound with diſmal lamentations and expreſſions of deſpair. The conſternation and ſorrow ſo viſible in the multitude, being obſerved by Eli, the high-prieſt, who was ſitting in a chair of ſtate at one of the gates of the city, he ordered the young Benjamite to be called to him, and having received an account of the defeat of the Iſraelites, and the death of his ſons, he ſtill ſupported his conſtancy and fortitude, being prepared for thoſe events by the revelation, reported to him by Samuel: but when he came to be informed that the enemy had taken the ark, the ſhock was too powerful to be reſiſted; he ſunk from his chair of ſtate, and inſtantly expired, being then in the ninety-eighth year of his age, and the fortieth of his government.

The ſudden death of Eli the high-prieſt, ver. 1

At this time the wife of Phinees was advanced ſeven months in pregnancy; and the news of her huſband's death occaſioning a premature labour, ſhe died the ſame day: but the child ſurvived, and received the name of Joachab, ſignifying ſhame or ignominy, and alluding to the defeat of the Iſraelites.

Eli was the firſt of the family of Ithamar, one of the ſons of Aaron, that exerciſed the duties of the pontificate; for till his time it had paſſed from father to ſon in the line of Eleazar, who bequeathed it to Phinees, to whoſe ſon, Abiezer, it next deſcended; he was ſucceeded by Bocejas, and from his ſon Ozis, it paſſed to Eli, of whom we have ſpoken above, and after continuing in his family till the reign of king Solomon, it returned to the houſe of Eleazar.

BOOK.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS,

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK VI.

From the Year of the World 2850 *to* 2890.

CHAPTER I.

The Ark taken to Azotus. Dagon falls down before it. The plagues whereby the Philiſtines were afflicted, while they detained the ark, which is, at length reſtored to the Iſraelites.

THE Philiſtines conveyed the ark in great triumph to Azotus, where it was depoſited in the temple of their idol Dagon, among other trophies of victory. The next morning, upon entering the temple to perform their uſual devotions, they found Dagon fallen from its pedeſtal, and laying on the ground before the ark. They replaced the figure: but every time they entered the building, they found it fallen to the ground, and in a ſituation as if paying adoration to the ark, the people in general conſidering theſe circumſtances us unfavourable omens. In concluſion, the inhabitants of the city and of the whole province of Azotus, were viſited with dreadful plagues, whereby their internal and vital parts rotted, and immenſe numbers of them were carried off by a violent dyſentery accompanied by vomitings and inexpreſſible torments. Their lands, at the ſame time, were over-run with amazing ſwarms of mice, which devoured their corn, and all the other fruits of the earth. While labouring under theſe afflictions, the people of Azotus, at length, were ſtruck with an idea, that all their misfortunes were the reſult of their ſacrilegious violence upon the ark. Upon this, they diſpatched a meſſenger to the people of Aſcalon, requeſting that they would admit the ark into the city, which offer they readily accepted.

he judge-
ents conſe-
ent upon
e detention
the ark.
Sam. v. 6.

In a ſhort time after the removal of the ark, the calamities that Azotus had ſuffered, were transferred to Aſcalon, from whence it was removed to three other of the Philiſtine cities namely, Gitta, Ekron, and Gaza: and wherever the ark was ſtationed, the ſame mortal calamities prevailed. It being now generally underſtood, that the detention of the ark had drawn the judgment of Heaven upon the people, they became extremely anxious to have it forever removed from their country.

A council of the principal men of the cities of Gitta, Accaron, Aſcalon, Gaza, and Azotus,* was now ſummoned for the pur-

A council ſummoned with regard to the diſpoſal of the ark. 1 Sam. vi. 1—9.

---

* Script. Gath. Ekron, Aſcalon, Gaza, and Aſhdod.

purpoſe of deliberating on the meaſures that it would be moſt expedient to adopt with reſpect to the ark. Some contended for ſending it back to the Iſraelites, ſince it had proved the cauſe of ſuch terrible public calamities, and others ſupported a contrary opinion, arguing that, if the ark had been under the eſpecial protection of Heaven an enemy profeſſing a contrary religion would not to have been permitted to take it from the Iſraelites. Thoſe who eſpouſed the latter opinion, adviſed their countrymen to conſider, that the misfortunes they had ſuſtained had proceeded according to the common courſe of nature, and to ſupport their afflictions with becoming reſolution. There was another party, compoſed of men of gravity, wiſdom and experience, who ſuggeſted the following expedient: that five golden images, one to repreſent each of the principal cities, ſhould be prepared, and dedicated to God, by way of acknowledgement of his goodneſs in delivering them from a plague, the removal of which no human power could effect. They then propoſed, that the figures of ſix mice ſhould be made in gold, in alluſion to the vermin that had deſtroyed their corn and other fruits of the earth. Being incloſed in a box, the images and mice were to be placed upon, the ark, which being put into a new waggon, made expreſsly for the purpoſe, was to be drawn by two milch kine, to a ſpot parting into three roads, the cattle there being left at full liberty to take whichever way they pleaſed. If they ſhould take the Hebrew road, it was to be inferred, that the detention of the ark was the cauſe of their ſufferings; but if they purſued any other courſe, the plagues ſent among them were to be underſtood as proceeding from ſome other cauſe. This propoſition being unanimouſly approved, it was carried into effect with all poſſible expedition.

CHAP. II.

The ark reſtored to the Iſraelites, who make great rejoicings on that occaſion. The Philiſtines march againſt the Hebrews, and are thrown into conſternation by a dreadful earthquake and tempeſt. The Hebrews obtain a miraculous victory over their enemies.

The ark taken to Bethſama. ver. 12.

THE waggon with the ark being drawn into the croſs-way, the company left it, and the beaſts immediately ſtriking into the Hebrews road, proceeded as regularly as if they had been attended by a driver, till they came to Bethſama,* a village in the tribe of Judah, where they ſtopped; notwithſtanding they had in view a fine paſture, that might have been expected to invite them further. From a curioſity of knowing where they would ſtop, the beaſts were followed by ſeveral of the Philiſtines. This being the time of the harveſt, nearly all the inhabitants of the village were buſily employed in reaping their corn: but upon being informed of the arrival of the ark, they haſtened into the town and an univerſal rejoicing ſucceeded. Taking the ark and the box containing the images and the mice from the waggon, the Bethſamites placed them upon a large ſtone. They afterwards performed ſacrifice and feaſted preſenting the waggon, and the beaſts that had drawn it, to the Lord, as a burnt-offering. This ceremony being over, the Philiſtines, who had followed the carriage, returned to their own country.

A judgment upon ſeventy of the Bethſa-mites.

Seventy of the Bethſamites now incurred the diſpleaſure of the Almightly, and were ſtruck dead for their temerity in laying profane hands upon the ark, they not being authoriſed and qualified for that act by the prieſthood. This terrible judgment upon their friends and companions, which happened in the midſt of their rejoicings, plunged the multitude into the moſt ſevere affliction, and occaſioned them to reflect, that they were unworthy to have the cuſtody of the holy ark of God. They therefore diſpatched information to the reſt of the Hebrews of the return of the ark, which was immediately removed to Cariathirim,† ſituated at a ſmall diſtance from Bethſama, being placed under the care of Aminadab, a Levite, who was a man in high eſteem for virtue and righteouſneſs. It remained in the houſe of Aminadab, under the care of that pious man and his ſons, for the ſpace of twenty years, except the four months during which it was detained by the Philiſtines. While the ark remained at Cariathirim, the Iſraelites employed nearly the whole of their time in prayers, ſacrifices and other religious duties. Obſerving the populace thus well diſpoſed, Samuel harrangued them in the following manner, upon religion, liberty, and good manners:

The ark de-poſited in the houſe of Ami-nadab, a Le-vite, at Cari-athirim. 1 Sa vii. 1.

"Though experience muſt have convinced you, that the malice of your enemies is implacable, you have the ſatisfaction of reflecting, that your prayers to God for relief have proved acceptable. But prayers alone will not be ſufficient to procure you that freedom of which you are ſo deſirous; and, in addition thereto, you will act wiſely, in exerting your utmoſt endeavours for deſerving thoſe bleſſings which are the object of your prayers. Let me recommend you to be careful againſt bringing a ſcandal upon your profeſſion, by ill-manners; but, on the contrary, accuſtom yourſelves to a conſtant love and practice of juſtice; purge your minds from all groſs affections, and irregular propenſities; implore the Almighty for mercy, devoutly adore him, and honour him in your lives and converſation, as well as in your prayers. Righteouſneſs and virtue will aſſuredly intitle you to the rewards of liberty and victory; for thoſe bleſſings are not to be obtained by human power: but the Almighty has been graciouſly pleaſed to promiſe them to the Hebrews, who will moſt aſſuredly enjoy them, if they ſteadily perſevere in probity and righteouſneſs."

---

* Script. Bethſhemeth.

† Script. Kirjah-Jearim.

The multitude teſtified their approbation of the above addreſs, by loud and repeated acclamations; and they joined in making a ſolemn profeſſion, that they would readily ſubmit to what the Almighty might command, and in every reſpect yield implicit obedience to his divine will.

Samuel now ſummoned the people to hold a congregation at Mizpeh, where they drew water,† and ſacrificed, ſpending the whole day in devout prayer. Having intelligence of this meeting, the Philiſtines marched a formidable army againſt the Iſraelites, reſolving to attack them by ſurpriſe, when they ſhould be wholly unprepared for reſiſtance. The appearance of ſo formidable an army, threw the Iſraelites into great terror and confuſion; and repairing to Samuel, they ſaid, they were neither prepared for, nor inclined to encounter an enemy by whom they had been ſo frequently diſcomfited; adding, that they ſhould be glad to remain at peace, and to avoid giving any provocation to the Philiſtines. They repreſented, that, in conformity with his direction, they had aſſembled at Mizpeth, to offer up prayers, perform ſacrifice, and engage in a military oath of fidelity: but being unprovided with weapons of defence, they could not hope to eſcape the power of the enemy, by any other means than through his interceſſions to the Almighty, for a miraculous deliverance. Hereupon, Samuel admoniſhed them not to deſpair, ſaying, the promiſes they had received of favour and protection from Heaven would moſt aſſuredly be verified.

In the name of the whole people, Samuel now offered to God a ſucking lamb, as a ſacrifice, imploring his aſſiſtance againſt the Philiſtines. This oblation proved acceptable, and the prophet received an aſſurance, that the Jews ſhould obtain a compleat victory over the enemy. Before the ſacrifice that had been laid upon the altar was entirely conſumed, the Philiſtine army ranged itſelf in order of battle, not imagining that in their preſent defenceleſs condition, the Hebrews would attempt the ſmalleſt reſiſtance.

A dreadful earthquake with thunder and lightening. ver. 18.

While the Philiſtines were exulting in the vain hope of obtaining an eaſy and complete victory over the Iſraelites, God ſhook the foundations of the earth where their army was poſted, ſo that the men were unable to ſtand, without ſtaggering; in ſome places, the ground opened, and ſwallowed up great numbers of them alive; and this terrible earthquake was accompanied with tremendous claps of thunder, and by flaſhes of lightening, whereby their limbs and eyes were ſo ſcorched and burnt, that they could neither make uſe of their weapons, nor diſcover which way would be the moſt likely of flying from the danger that ſurrounded them. Thus thrown into the utmoſt terror and conſternation, the Philiſtines fled before the unarmed Iſraelites, who ſeizing the weapons belonging to the aſtoniſhed enemy, purſued them with great ſlaughter, as far as Chore, where they erected a monumental ſtone, to mark the bounds both of the battle and the purſuit, giving the place the appellation of the ſtrong, in commemoration of the powerful aſſiſtance which God was pleaſed to give his choſen people on this occaſion.

The remembrance of this ſignal diſaſter had ſuch an effect upon the Philiſtines, that they never afterwards collected ſufficient reſolution to offer any annoyance to the Iſraelities, but were content to remain within the boundaries of their own country. However, Samuel vigorouſly purſued the advantage he had gained, and by repeated irruptions into the land of the Philiſtines, and making great ſlaughter among them, he humbled their pride and arrogance, and, indeed, reduced them to a ſtate of abſolute deſpondency and ſubjection. In the courſe of his ſucceſſes, Samuel recovered the country ſituated between Gath and Accaron, which the Philiſtines had formerly taken from the Jews. At this time the reſt of the Canaanites were at peace with the Iſraelites.‡

CHAP. III.

Samuel transfers the government to his ſons

---

† "And they gathered together to Mizpeh, and drew water, and poured it out before the Lord, and faſted on that day, and ſaid there, we have ſinned againſt the Lord. And Samuel judged the people in Mizpeh." 1 Sam. vii. 6. The pouring out water ſeems to have been made uſe of as ſymbolical of pouring forth their ſouls to God in ſincere contrition for their ſins, and in fervent prayer for pardon.

‡ This was not a peace by compact, or covenant: but, from inclination, both parties abſtained from acts of hoſtility.

Joel and Abiah, who abuſe the truſt repoſed in them.

HHVING reſtored to the Iſraelites the lands and cities that had been taken from them by the Philiſtines, Samuel appointed public meetings to be held at certain times and places, for the purpoſe of hearing cauſes, and adminiſtering juſtice. It was his conſtant practice, twice in every year to viſit all the towns of appeal, where law-buſineſs was tranſacted, and thereby provide for the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice. In this excellent ſyſtem of policy he perſevered for many years: but the infirmities of age, at length, rendering him incompetent to the regular acquittal of his public duties, he transferred his authority to his ſons Joel and Abiah, the latter of whom was the elder. He directed them to divide the people into two juriſdictions, and that one of the brothers ſhould hold his court of judicature at Bethel, and that the other ſhould preſide at Beerſheba.

Samuel transfers his authority to his ſons. 1 Sam. viii. 1.

Wholly regardleſs of the admirable doctrine and practice of Samuel, his ſons and ſucceſſors in the adminiſtration purſued a courſe diametrically oppoſite to the wiſdom, equity and righteouſneſs of his proceedings. They proſtituted public juſtice to their own private and mercenary views; ſo that their deciſions were not influenced by the equity of a cauſe, but by the bribes they received. Regardleſs of the duty they owed the public, they indulged themſelves in riotous exceſſes, even when buſineſs of the higheſt importance required their attendance in the courts of juſtice; and, in ſhort, from their whole conduct, it appeared as if they had reſolved to act in open defiance of the will of God, and the commands of their father.

CHAP. IV.

The Iſraelites apply to Samuel, urgently demanding, that a king may be appointed to govern them. In a viſion, Samuel is authoriſed to inform the people, that they ſhall have a king; but that the change in the form of government will be the cauſe of miſery to them.

HIGHLY exaſperated againſt Joel and Abiah, on account of the ſhameful abuſe of their authority, the people aſſembled, and came to a unanimous reſolution of repairing to Samuel, who was then at Ramah, in order to explain to him the particulars of the miſconduct of his ſons, and to expoſtulate with him on the neceſſity of defending the government from a continuance of ſuch flagrant and outrageous violations. In purſuance of this reſolution, they ſtated to Samuel, that ſince the infirmities of age would not permit him to reſume the powers of the adminiſtration, and ſince the avarice, corruption, and profligacy of his ſons, had proved ſo intolerably oppreſſive, they were unanimouſly deſirous, that he would appoint a king to govern them, under whoſe conduct they might avenge themſelves for all the injuries they had ſuſtained from the Canaanites.

The complaints of the people againſt his ſons were greatly diſtreſſing to Samuel, who was an ardent friend to public juſtice, and a declared foe to every ſpecies of tyranny and oppreſſion. Conceiving an ariſtocracy as the ſyſtem of government beſt adapted for promoting the welfare and happineſs of the Jewiſh nation, the propoſition to which the multitude appeared to be ſo inflexibly attached for changing the ancient form of the conſtitution into a monarchy, proved the cauſe of ſo much uneaſineſs to Samuel, that he was unable to reſt at night; and while he lay in bed, diſturbed and reſtleſs, a viſion appeared, commanding him not to ſuffer the tranquillity of his mind to be diſarranged by the remonſtrances of the people on the ſubject of eſtabliſhing a monarchical government. The voice ſpoke to Samuel to the following effect: "This demand is not to be conſidered as ſo great an affront to you, as it is an indignity to myſelf, inaſmuch as the Iſraelites have rejected me for their king, conſiſtently with the diſobedient conduct they have conſtantly purſued from the time I delivered them from their bondage in Egypt; therefore, let them purſue their inclination: but when it will be too late to repair their fault, they will ſeverely repent their ingratitude. Forewarn them of the afflictions they are drawing upon their own heads, and mention that you are averſe from conſenting to a change in the form of their government, which you are conſcious muſt operate eſſentially to their diſadvantage."

In a viſion God ſpeaks to Samuel, reſpecting appointmen of a king over the Hebrews. Sam. viii. &c.

On the following day, Samuel called a meeting of the people, and told them, that their demands ſhould be complied with, adding, at the ſame time, that their ſufferings under a monarchical government would be intolerable.

"Your kings (ſaid Samuel) ſhall compel your ſons to drive their chariots, and attend upon their horſes, ſome ſhall ſerve them as their body guards, and others ſhall act in the capacity of their lacqueys; ſome will be tribunes and centurions; ſome will be appointed to till the ground, reap the harveſt, and dig in the vineyards; and others will be employed in making implements of war, and in other mechanical operations. Your daughters will be reduced to the neceſſity of following the moſt ſervile domeſtic employments: and, in ſhort, the Hebrews of both ſexes, will be compelled to act as vaſſals to their oppreſſive kings, who will reward them, in whatever ſtation they may be placed, not in proportion to their deſerts, but according to their own capricious humours. Your lands will be diſtributed among the eunuchs and guards of your ſovereigns, and your flocks and herds will be divided among their favourites. The day will arrive, when the degrading and toilſome offices impoſed upon you, will afford occaſion for the moſt preſſing importunities to be relieved from the ſubjection you now demand to be impoſed upon you: but when appealing to Heaven for mercy, you ſhall be repulſed; and the anguiſh of your minds ſhall be increaſed, by the ſevere upbraidings of a guilty conſcience."

The expoſtulations of Samuel had no effect upon the head-ſtrong multitude, who perſevered in contending, that unleſs a king was appointed to rule over them, they ſhould be utterly incapable of reſiſting their powerful adverſaries, and that it was as reaſonable for them as for the neighbouring nations, to expect proſperity under a monarchical form of government. In deſpite of his counſels and premonitions, finding the multitude wholly untractable and wilful, Samuel diſmiſſed them to their reſpective houſes, aſſuring them, that he would aſſemble them again, when he ſhould have received the directions of God, reſpecting the appointment of a king.

CHAP. V.

Samuel appoints Saul king of the Jews, who receive him in that character with ſhouts and acclamations. The cruelty of the Ammonites to their priſoners. Jabeſh beſieged, and, upon application from the inhabitants, Saul promiſes them relief.

AT this time lived a man named Kis, of good family and education, and of the tribe of Benjamin. He took great delight in his breed of aſſes, and ſome of thoſe animals having ſtrayed from his fields, he ſent his ſon Saul, a young man of a graceful figure and deportment, and a cultivated mind, attended by one ſervant, in ſearch of them. Having without ſucceſs, enquired among the tribes after the beaſts, Saul directed his courſe homewards, leſt his abſence ſhould give his father uneaſineſs. While on the road near Ramah, the ſervant informed Saul, that a famous prophet lived in that place, adviſing, that an enquiry might be made of him concerning the beaſts. Saul ſaid, he would willingly conſult the prophet, but was incapable of making proper acknowledgment for any ſerves that might be received from him, having expended all the money he had brought with him. Upon this, the ſervant ſaid, he had yet left a quarter of a ſicle,* which he imagined might be ſufficient to gratify the prophet, who he underſtood was not one of thoſe perſons who made a practice of diſcovering things loſt for profit. It was now agreed to conſult Samuel; and proceeding forwards, at the gates of the town meeting ſeveral virgins who were going to draw water, they enquired of them where he lived, and having directed them to his habitation, the virgins adviſed them, if they had buſineſs with him, to be as expeditious as poſſible, for having invited a numerous company to ſup with him that evening, they were already aſſembled and waiting for their hoſt to take his ſeat among them.

Samuel had been the whole of the preceding day engaged in devout prayer to God for directions as to who ſhould be appointed the king of the Jews, and was anſwered, that he ſhould receive full inſtructions on that head the following day, when, at a particular hour, a young man of the tribe of Benjamin ſhould come to him. Samuel waited in expectation of the Benjamite till the appointed hour, when Saul appeared, and by inſpiration, he immediately knew him to be the perſon ſelected by God to be inveſted with the powers of government. Advancing towards Samuel with the cuſtomary ſalutations, Saul ſaid, he was a ſtranger, and requeſted to be informed, where he might find the prophet. Samuel anſwered, that he was himſelf the perſon enquired after; and having invited Saul to ſupper, he informed him, that his father's aſſes were ſafe, and that he was deſtined to exerciſe the ſovereign power over the Hebrews. "Alas, my lord, (ſaid Saul) ſuch aſpiring hopes I never have entertained; nor is either the tribe, or the family to which I belong of ſufficient conſideration to enjoy ſo great an honour; and I muſt be ſo free as to ſay, amuſement ſeems to be your deſign in endeavouring to inſpire me with an idea, that I ſhall be exalted ſo far above my condition."

The meeting of Samuel and Saul. 1 Sam. ix. 15. 16.

Samuel now introduced Saul into the apartment where his gueſts, to the number of ſeventy, were aſſembled, placed him above them all, and ordered his domeſtics to ſet before him a royal meſs, his attendant being ſeated next to him. At the uſual time of retiring to reſt, the other part of the company departed to their reſpective habitations: but Saul and his ſervant accepted Samuel's invitation to remain in his houſe that night.

The following morning at day-break Samuel called up his gueſt, and accompanied him part of the way on his return to his father's houſe. When they had proceeded to ſome diſtance from the city, Samuel ſaid, that having ſomething of a private nature to communicate to Saul, he wiſhed his ſervant to be directed to go forward. According to his maſter's order, the attendant went before, when pouring ſome oil out of a phial upon Saul's head, Samuel pronounced him king of the Jews, and ſaluted him with the titles of royalty; ſaying, that this honour was conferred upon him in the confidence that he would become the protector of the rights and privileges of the Hebrews, and the avenger of the injuries they had received from the Philiſtines.

---

* About ſeven pence three farthings Engliſh.

Samuel pronounces Saul king of the Hebrews. 1 Sam. x. 1.

Samuel predicts the events that are to happen to Saul in the progreſs of his journey. ver. 2—8.

“ To convince you, ſaid Samuel, of the truth of what I have related, obſerve the prodictions I am now about to utter: “ In the progreſs of your preſent journey, you ſhall fall into company with three men, going to Bethel, to perform divine worſhip; one of them carrying three loaves, the ſecond a kid, and the third a bottle of wine. They ſhall behave to you with kindneſs and reſpect, and preſent you with two of their loaves, which you are to receive. Proceding then to the ſepulchre of Rachel, you will there receive information of your father's aſſes being found. You will then go to Gabatha, and join the prophets there, when the ſpirit of the Almighty will enable you to prophecy to the aſtoniſhment of the whole congregation. Being by theſe circumſtances convinced, that your appointment is derived from Heaven, you may ſalute your father and kindred. When I ſend to deſire your attendance, immediately repair to me at Gilgal, that we may offer up prayers, thankſgivings, and ſacrifices to God.”

Samuel now returned to Ramah, and Saul purſued his journey, in the progreſs of which the events predicted by Samuel were preciſely verified in the moſt minute particulars. Upon his return to his father's houſe, his kinſman Abner, for whom Saul entertained a very particular friendſhip, was extremely deſirous of learning what had occurred to him in the courſe of his expedition. He mentioned to Abner the viſit he had paid to the prophet Samuel, and the means whereby he had diſcovered his father's aſſes; but judged it prudent to conceal whatever had immediate relation to his advancement to the throne; for he conſidered, that if the narrative ſhould believed, he ſhould become an object of envy to his countrymen, and if it ſhould be diſcredited, intolerable vanity and preſumption would in all probabilty be imputed to him.

Samuel's diſcourſe to the multitude. ver. 18, &c.

Samuel now aſſembled a full congregation of the people at Mizpeh, and addreſſed to them the following diſcourſe:

“ By the command, and in the name of the Almighty, I am now to remind you, that it was through his gracious providence that you were redeemed from bondage in Egypt, and repeatedly reſcued from the power of your enemies; I am likewiſe, by the ſame authority, to recall to your recollection your contumacy and ingratitude towards that God, in return for the bounties he has ſo liberally beſtowed upon you, having, as far as your abilities extended, endeavoured to depoſe him from authority over you, being deſirous of living under the government of a ruler, ſubject like yourſelves, to all the frailties and infirmities of human nature, rather than continue under the beneficent auſpices and controul of the Almighty king of kings. But ſince you are irrevocably determined to caſt off that veneration and obedience that are due to the Supreme Being, your deſires of having an earthly governor ſhall be gratified; therefore divide yourſelves into tribes and families, that it may be decided by lot, who ſhall enjoy the honour of the ſovereignty.”

The people having ſeparated themſelves according to the direction of Samuel, the queſtion was put to the lot, which fell upon the tribe of Banjamin: after this another trial being made, the lot came into the family of Matri; and in concluſion, by the ſame mode of procedure, Saul the ſon of Kis, was diſtinguiſhed as the perſon who was to be inveſted with ſovereign authority. Upon this occaſion, Saul retired from the aſſembly, leſt he ſhould appear to be ambitious of the honour of being ſuddenly advanced from a private ſtation to ſovereign authority over a mighty nation.

Not knowing where to find Saul, the people were at a loſs as to the manner in which they ſhould proceed. Samuel now addreſſed himſelf to God for directions as to what further meaſures he ſhould purſue, when the place of Saul's concealment being made known to him, the prophet immediately ſent to him, deſiring his attendance: and, upon his coming into the field where the meeting was held, he was obſerved to be taller by the head and ſhoulders than any of the other people; and all who beheld him, acknowledged, that in his figure and deportment there was ſomething ſingularly dignified and majeſtic.

Samuel now preſented Saul to the people, ſaying, “ Behold the king that God has given you, and obſerve, that the dignity of his perſon indicates how happily he is adapted to the exaltation he has attained.” Upon this, the multitude joined in the cry of, “ God ſave the King,” and in uttering ſhouts and acclamations. Having committed to writing what he had foretold would befal the Hebrews under a kingly government

Samuel preſents Saul t the Hebrew in the chara ter of their king. ver.

ment, he read the book over to them in the hearing of Saul, and afterwards depoſited it in the holy tabernacle, as a memorial to poſterity of the truth of his predictions.

Samuel having diſmiſſed the multitude, he returned to Ramah, and Saul repaired to Gibeah, the place of his nativity. Saul was attended by a numerous train of perſons, who, with ſincere expreſſions of reſpect and loyalty, congratulated him on his acceſſion to the throne: but in the multitude were abundance of malcontents, who ſpoke with contempt and indignity of the king and his loyal adherents.

A war between the Hebrews and the Ammonites. 1 Sam. xi. 1.

After Saul had been inveſted with the powers of government about a month, a war broke out between the Hebrews and Nahaſh, king of the Ammonites, which terminated highly to the honour of Saul. With a powerful army Nahaſh had made divers inroads upon the territories of the Jews beyond Jordan, conquering and plundering their cities, and not content with reducing the inhabitants to ſlavery, by the moſt cruel outrages, depriving them of all probability of recovering their freedom. This he did by cauſing the right eyes of all the Hebrews that became ſubject to his power, either by force or treaty, to be plucked out. Being thus deprived of one eye, they were rendered unfit for martial exploits; for in the act of defending themſelves, their bucklers being raiſed, the ſight of the remaining eye muſt neceſſarily be obſtructed.

Having committed theſe outrages upon the Hebrews beyond the Jordan, Nahaſh led his army into the country of the Gileadites, intending to act in the ſame manner by the inhabitants of that province. Encamping his army in the neighbourhood of Jabeſh, the capital city of Gilead, he ſent a ſummons to the inhabitants, demanding the immediate ſurrender of the town, and that they ſhould ſubmit to be deprived of their right eyes, as the only means of avoiding a general deſtruction by fire and ſword. Upon receiving this terrible ſummons, the people of Jabeſh were irreſolute as to the meaſuresthey ſhould purſue: but, at length, they diſpatched an anſwer, requeſting, that they might be allowed ſeven days for applying to their friends and allies for relief, and that, if aſſiſtance was not afforded them on the expiration of that time, they would ſurrender upon the terms propoſed by the enemy. So contemptible an opinion had Nahaſh of the reſiſtance that theſe people would be able to make againſt his power, that without heſitation, he complied with the propoſal they had made.[*]

The inhabitants of Jabeſh now diſpatched meſſengers throughout all the cities of Iſrael, to make a report of their deſperate ſituation, and ſupplicate ſuch ſuccours as might enable them to repel the barbarous enemy. Though the account of the miſerable ſituation of theſe people excited the compaſſion of all who heard it, none of them dared to engage in any meaſures for affording them relief. At the time of the arrival of the meſſengers, Saul was not in the capital, which was the uſual place of his reſidence; but upon his return thither, he obſerved a general ſorrow prevailed among the people; and upon enquiring into the cauſe thereof, the meſſengers reported to him an account of the unfortunate condition of the people of Jabeſh. The ſpirit of God now came upon Saul, and while under that holy impulſe, he diſpatched the meſſengers back, with a firm aſſurance, that on the third day,[‡] he would come to their aſſiſtance, and on the dawn of the morning defeat the enemy, ſo that on the riſing of the ſun, the inhabitants of the town ſhould be relieved from their miſerable apprehenſions, and ſecured from future danger. Some of the meſſengers he diſpatched with this intelligence, detaining the others to aſſiſt him as guides during the march of his army.

CHAP. VI.

Saul collects a powerful army, and marches againſt the Ammonites, who are routed, Naheſh being ſlain in the battle. Saul a ſecond time anointed and proclaimed king. After addreſſing the people in vindication of his own conduct, Samuel accuſes them of ingratitude and diſobedience to God. A dreadful tempeſt. Samuel's admonition to the people.

---

[*] It may, on the firſt view, appear extraordinary, that the citizens ſhould make ſo little difficulty of complying with ſuch barbarous conditions, and that Nahaſh ſhould yield to their requeſt, when he found them inclined to ſo abject a ſubmiſſion: but upon enquiry, the reaſon will plainly appear. The inhabitants of Jabeſh did not imagine Saul would be able to afford them aſſiſtance, he not having taken yet upon him the government, but living privately, as appears from 1 Sam. xi. 5. "And behold, Saul came after the herd out of the field, and ſaid, What aileth the people that they weep? And they told him the tidings of the men of Jabeſh." It may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that the compliance of Nahaſh was on account of his unwillingneſs to drive the people to a ſtate of deſperation, knowing that by reducing them to of ſlavery, and ſeizing their property, he ſhould promote his own advantage more than by putting them to death, and burning the place.

[‡] With reſpect to time this does not exactly accord with Scripture, where it is ſaid: "And they ſaid unto the meſſengers that came, Thus ſhall ye ſay unto the men of Jabeſh-Gilead, to-morrow by that time the ſun be hot, ye ſhall have help." 1 Sam. xi. 9.

Saul aſſembles a prodigious army. 1 Sam. xi. 9.

THE exploit he was preparing to undertake requiring all poſſible expedition, Saul had recourſe to the following method for animating the courage of, and accelerating the people to take up arms, conſidering that men will ſometimes do more through the fear of perſonal loſs than for the ſake of virtue: he houghed or hamſtrung the legs of his own oxen*, and then publiſhed a proclamation, purporting, that whoever ſhould fail to appear, compleatly armed next morning on the banks of the river Jordan, in order to march againſt the Ammonites, ſhould have his oxen ſerved in the ſame manner. This expedient was attended with the deſired ſucceſs; for ſeven hundred thouſand men fighting men aſſembled at the time appointed, as appeared upon a review near the city of Balam, where the general rendezvous was held; and in this number were not included ſeventy thouſand men of the tribe of Judah.

The Hebrews defeat the Ammonites, whoſe king falls in the battle.

Having paſſed the Jordan, and marched that night about ten ſchœni‡, ſome time before ſun-riſe next morning they took poſſeſſion of an advantageous ſpot of ground near the enemy's encampment. Being drawn up in three diviſions, the Hebrews, by ſurprize, attacked the Ammonites in front, flank, and rear, and compleatly routed them, with a dreadful ſlaughter, Nabaſh their king, being among the number of the ſlain. By this glorious victory, Saul acquired a ſplendid reputation, both on account of his bravery and his ſkill in conducting the battle, inſomuch that thoſe who had been his moſt inveterate enemies, now united in applauding him as the moſt accompliſhed general of the age. Having thus effectually relieved the city of Jabeſh, Saul carried the war into the country of the Ammonites, laying waſte their lands, demoliſhing their cities, and enriching his followers with the ſpoil obtained from the enemy,

Saul a ſecond time anointed and proclaimed king. ver. 15.

Samuel now convened the Hebrews in Gilgal, for the purpoſe of confirming Saul in the right and poſſeſſion of the throne. The people being aſſembled, in their ſight and hearing, Samuel a ſecond time anointed Saul, and proclaimed him king of the Jews.

Thus was the republican government of the Hebrews converted into a monarchy. Under Moſes, and his ſucceſſor Joſhua, the people lived under an optimacy or ariſtocracy, and for about eighteen years after the deceaſe of the latter, order and regularity were no longer obſerved, but confuſion and anarchy prevailed. The ancient form of government was then reſumed, according to which, the ſovereign authority was repoſed with ſome perſon of peculiar eminence, who paſſed under the denomination of a judge; and to this adminiſtration ſucceeded the monarchy,

Samuel appeals to the people in his own vindication, and they acquit him of all blame, 1 Sam. xii. 1—5.

When the aſſembly at Gilgal was preparing to diſperſe, after the ſolemnity of anointing and proclaiming Saul king, Samuel, in the name of the Almighty, adjured the the people, if they knew any action of his life, either in his public or private capacity, deſerving of reproach, that, without fear, favour, or affection, they would then exhibit their accuſations in preſence of their ſovereign. Upon this, the multitude acquitted him of all blame, declaring, that through the whole courſe of his adminiſtration, he had conducted himſelf in ſtrict conformity with the rules of piety and juſtice.

Samuel accuſes the Hebrews of ingratitude to God. ver. 6—15.

"Having declared, that you have no cauſe of complaint againſt me, I muſt ſay that I ſhould be exceedingly happy to ſpeak as favourably of you: but a regard to truth obliges me to declare that your conduct has been highly reprehenſible. The ſignal mercies and miraculous deliverances you have experienced continued Samuel) plainly manifeſted, that you had the Almighty for your guardian and protector. Therefore, what motive could you have for wiſhing to live under the government of any other king? Jacob came into Egypt with only eighty people, and this ſmall company was driven to the utmoſt diſtreſs, through a want of the means of exiſtence: but, in his infinite bounty, God not only ſupplied them with food, but alſo occaſioned them to multiply, ſo that they are now be come a great and powerful nation; through the agency of thoſe admirable brothers, Moſes and Aaron, that Almighty power redeemed your anceſtors from bondage in Egypt, and gave them poſſeſſion of the land they now inhabit; and, in ſhort, without the aid of a king, by means of their humble prayers and ſupplications, they have been relieved from innumerable miſeries. Remember, that, as a puniſhment for your diſobedence and apoſtacy, you have been repeatedly delivered into the power of your enemies; but upon your humiliation and repentance, you have been as often reſtored to the favour of God, who enabled you firſt to ſubdue the Aſſyrians, and then the Ammonites, the Moabites, and the Philiſtines. Notwithſtanding all the bounties beſtowed upon you by the univerſal governor of mankind, ſo perverſe are you as to deſire to be ſubject to an earthly inſtead of a heavenly protector; and therefore a king is now placed over you: but, to convince you, by an infallible ſignal from heaven, that God is offended at your importunity for a revolution in that government which he himſelf eſtabliſhed, I now implore, that ſuch a tempeſt may ariſe, as hath never yet been known in this part of the globe, at this ſeaſon of the year."

---

* This fact is differently related in Scripture where it is ſaid, "And he took a yoke of oxen and hewed them in pieces, and ſent them throughout all the coaſts of Iſrael by the hands of Meſſengers, ſaying, Whoſoever cometh not forth after Saul and after Samuel, ſo ſhall it be done unto his oxen: and the fear of the Lord, fell on the people, and they came out with one conſent. I Sam. XI. 7. Hence it appears, that the kings of Iſrael aſſumed the abſolute power foretold by Samuel. They claimed and exerciſed the right of making war, without the conſent or approbation of the people; raiſed armies by their own authority, and inflicted whatever puniſhments they thought proper upon ſuch of their ſubjects as did not immediately obey the ſummons for taking the field.

‡ Admitting a ſchœnos to be four miles, ten ſchœni muſt of courſe be forty miles; which muſt be a prodigious march for one night. But on this ſubject, the opinions of writers are ſo various, that the length of the march cannot be preciſely aſcertained.

A terrible hurricane. 1 Sam. xii. 18.

Samuel had no ſooner uttered the above words, than there happened a ſtorm of wind, rain, hail, thunder, and lightening more violent than the people had ever been witneſs to, whereby being thrown into the utmoſt conſternation and terror, they humbled themſelves in prayer, fervently imploring the Almighty to pardon their ſins, and requeſting Samuel to interpoſe his mediation for obtaining a forgiveneſs of their numberleſs tranſgreſſions. Hereupon, the prophet aſſured them, that he would intercede with the Almighty in their behalf, at the ſame time ſolemnly admoniſhing them, perpetually to preſerve in grateful rememberance the miracles that the Almighty had been pleaſed to perform for their deliverance, and to conduct themſelves in future, in ſtrict conformity to his divine will, that they might avoid the deſtruction in which they would inevitably be involved, by perſevering in diſobedience and contumacy.

CHAP. VII.

The Hebrews obtain a great victory over the Philiſtines. Saul pronounces a raſh vow, which affects his ſon Jonathan, who is protected from the effects of his father's diſpleaſure by the people. Various exploits of Saul recapitulated.

OF three thouſand choſen men, Saul appointed two thirds to accompany him to Bethel, his uſual place of reſidence, as his body-guard; and the other thouſand he ſent to Gibeah, under the command of his ſon Jonathan, who with that force reduced a ſtrong caſtle in the neighbourhood of the above city belonging to the Philiſtines.

The Philiſtines in this part of the country, after having obtained an advantage over the Hebrews, not only diſarmed them, but alſo prohibited them from following any occupation wherein iron was manufactured; ſo that for the iron-work of their ploughs, ſpades, and other implements of huſbandry, and their domeſtic utenſils, they were under the neceſſity of applying to the Philiſtine workmen. They alſo ſecured all the paſſes, and ſtrongly fortified all the tenable towns.

The reduction of the caſtle by Jonathan, highly exaſperated the Philiſtines, who now reſolved to attempt a great exploit againſt the Hebrews. In purſuance of this deſign, they led an army into the field, compoſed of three hundred thouſand foot, ſix thouſand horſe, and thirty thouſand chariots, forming their encampment at Michmaſh. Upon receiving intelligence of theſe hoſtile preparations, Saul repaired to Gilgal, and from thence diſpatched meſſengers to all parts of his dominions, to ſummon the people immediately to take up arms againſt the Philiſtines, whoſe power he repreſented leſs formidable than it was in reality. But when the Iſraelites were informed of the vaſt ſtrength of the Philiſtines, being ſtruck with terror and diſmay, many fled for concealment into vaults and caverns, and other ſecret places, but by far the greater part retired beyond the river Jordan, in order to obtain a refuge among the tribes of Gad and Reuben.

The Hebrews deſert, being terrified at the great power of the Philiſtines Sam. XIII. 6, 7.

In conſequence of this defection of his ſubjects, Saul ſent to Samuel, requeſting his advice in the critical juncture of his affairs. The anſwer of the prophet was, that the king ſhould remain in Gilgal, where preparations were to be made for ſacrifices, and that he would repair to that city at the end of ſeven days, in order to offer up prayers and oblations to God, preparatory to giving battle to the enemy. The ſeven days having elapſed, and the prophet not arriving, alarmed at the continual deſertion of his people, Saul offered up ſacrifice, without waiting any longer for the attendance of Samuel. The ſolemnity was no ſooner over, than intelligence was brought of the arrival of Samuel, and from the reſpect due to his character and profeſſion, Saul went forth to meet him. Upon hearing that the ceremony had been performed, Samuel blamed the king for having aſſumed an office that ſhould have been diſcharged by himſelf. To excuſe himſelf, the king alledged, that having waited the appointed time, he was greatly alarmed by the deſertion of his people, in conſequence of the terror they were thrown into by the march of the enemy from Michmaſh towards Gilgal. Hereupon, the prophet ſaid, the meſſage he had ſent was in obedience to the expreſs command of God, and it would have been more fortuate, had he not been ſo precipitate, in which caſe the government would have been ſecured to him and his poſterity.

Having given this reproof, the prophet returned, much diſſatisfied with the conduct of Saul. Attended only with ſix hundred men, and moſt of that ſmall number unarmed, Saul and his ſon Jonathan now marched to Gibeath.

The Philiſtines ravage the country of the Hebrews. ver. 17

Dividing their army into three bodies, the Philiſtines marched by ſeveral ways into the country of the Hebrews, committing great ravages and devaſtation, in view of Saul, Jonathan, Ahiah, the high-prieſt, who from an eminence beheld the deſtructive inroads of the enemy, but were by no means in a condition to oppoſe them.

Jonathan's generous reſolution for ſaving his country. 1 Sam. xiv. 1.

Upon beholding theſe outrages, Jonathan took his armour-bearer aſide, aſking him, whether he was maſter of ſufficient reſolution to engage in a bold and generous exploit for ſaving his country. The man ſaid, that he was ready to encounter any dangers and difficulties, however great, and to loſe his life in ſupporting his maſter, confirming what he had ſaid with an oath. Jonathan then propoſed, that they ſhould ſecretly gain admiſſion to the enemy's camp, and endeavour to throw them into tumult and confuſion. Upon this, they immediately deſcended from the hill, and proceeded to the enemy's ſtation, which was in a craggy place, running a conſiderable length into three angles, and encompaſſed with rocks, anſwering the purpoſe of ſtrong ramparts. There was ſcarcely any neceſſity for guards or ſentinels for the defence of the place, it being naturally of great ſtrength from its ſituation, not only difficult but dangerous of acceſs, and almoſt inacceſſible. While they were on their way, Jonathan ſaid to his armour-bearer, if the enemy ſhould diſcover them, and call upon them to come up, they ſhould aſſuredly ſucceed in their enterprize, but if no notice ſhould be taken of their approach, they muſt be contented to return without effecting any good purpoſe.

Having approached within a ſmall diſtance of the enemy's camp, they were peceived by the Philiſtines, who ſpoke of them with contempt and ridicule, ſaying to each other, that the miſerable Hebrews were venturing to creep from their holes and burrows; and, by way of deriſion, calling upon Jonathan and his companion to come up, and receive the reward that was due to their inſolence. Theſe words Jonathan conſidered as an auſpicious omen, and ſignified as much to his companion, in order to encourage him to perſevere in the arduous taſk they had undertaken. They now proceeded from one part of the rock to the other, where no guard were poſted, the place there being deemed inacceſſible. With infinite toil and difficulty, they at length, gained the ſummit of the rock, and ſuddenly attacked the enemy, putting about twenty of them to death in their ſleep. This ſurpriſe occaſioning a general alarm and confuſion, ſeveral of the Philiſtines threw down their arms, endeavouring to ſave themſelves by flight, ſome aſſaulted and cut each other to pieces, and others were forced, into rivers, and down ſteep precipices, the fear of death precipitating them into immediate deſtruction; and ſuch was the tumult and diſorder, that great numbers were trampled to death by their companions.

The Philiſtines ſurpriſed and diſperſed by Jonathan and his armour-bearer. ver. 16.

Having procured intelligence of the diſordered ſtate of the Philiſtine army, Saul made enquiry, if any of his people were miſſing; and upon being informed, that Jonathan and his armour-bearer were not to be found, he appointed the high-prieſt to put on his ſacredotal veſtments with his ephod, that he might conſult the Almighty, as to what would be the reſult of this remarkable occurrence. The anſwer delivered by the high-prieſt was, that the Hebrews would compleatly defeat the enemy. In conſequence of this, Saul immediately led forth his men, and attacked the Philiſtines, while they were yet in diſorder and deſtroying each other. Upon receiving information of the diſtracted ſtate of the Philiſtines, quitting their caverns and other places of retreat, to the number of about ten thouſand, the fugitive Hebrews went in purſuit of the enemy, great numbers of whom they put to death.

In the midſt of his ſucceſſes, Saul committed an act of miſconduct that nearly involved his ſon Jonathan, who was the author of the victory, in abſolute deſtruction. Being under an impatience to purſue the preſent advantage to the entire extirpation of the Philiſtines, he pronounced a malediction upon that Hebrew who ſhould intermit the purſuit and carnage, till night ſhould ſeparate the contending armies. Soon afterwards, in paſſing through a wood belonging to the Ephraimities, Jonathan, being ignorant of the vow made by his father, took up a honey comb, and ſucked it. Upon being informed by his companions of the curſe pronounced by his father, and that the people had ſolemnly conſented to it, Jonathan immediately ceaſed refreſhing himſelf; obſerving, that in pronouncing the vow, his father had been guilty of raſhneſs and temerity; for when exhauſted with exceſſive fatigue, it was but reaſonable that men might take ſuch refreſhment as they could obtain, without a neglect of duty, as the means of enabling them to proſecute their work with the alacrity and vigour that were neceſſary to inſure ſucceſs.

Having put many thouſands of the enemy to the ſword, at night the conquerors pillaged their camp, where, excluſive of other rich ſpoil, they obtained a prodigious quantity of cattle, which they killed for food, as their occaſions required, dreſſing the fleſh, and eating it with the blood in it. This mode of feeding being a violation of the law, the Scribes complained of the offence to the king, who, in conſequence of their repreſentation, ordered a large ſtone to be ſet up in the middle of the field, upon which the beaſts were to be killed, prohibiting the fleſh to be eaten, till the blood ſhould be drained from it. The people readily conformed to this decree. Saul now, for the firſt time, erected an altar, and offered up burnt ſacrifices upon it.

Being deſirous of effecting the utter deſtruction of the Philiſtines, Saul judged it expedient to purſue his victory that very night, leſt they ſhould in ſome meaſure recover their diminiſhed ſtrength, and reſume their courage; and in this deſign his followers acquieſced. But previous to any farther attempt againſt the wretched remainder of the enemy, Saul appointed the high-prieſt to conſult the Almighty in relation to the iſſue of the enterpriſe. The anſwer of the high-prieſt was, that the oracle had been entirely ſilent upon the ſubject.

Saul declares that his ſon ſhall die. ver. 44.

Saul now ſaid, that this reſerve muſt be in conſequence of the diſpleaſure of God being provoked, that he was determined to diſcover the offender, and declared with an oath, that if even his ſon Jonathan ſhould prove guilty, he would puniſh him with death. The multitude agreeing, that the matter ſhould be put to the teſt, Saul commanded them to remain in their preſent ſituation, himſelf and his ſon ſtanding apart, that the queſtion might be decided by lots. The lot falling upon Jonathan, his father ordered him to recollect, what act he had been guilty of that his conſcience could not juſtify. Upon this, Jonathan acknowledged, that he knew of no offence further than that, on the preceding day, being in purſuit of the enemy, he taſted a little honey, being then ignorant of his father's decree to the contrary. Saul now ſaid, that for having thus offended, his ſon ſhould forfeit his life; for he had greater reſpect and reverence for his vow, than tenderneſs towards any of his kindred. Without expreſſing any dread or apprehenſion of meeting the fate thus denounced againſt him, Jonathan with a brave and generous reſolution, declared, that to exonerate his father from the obligation of a religious vow, he would chearfully ſubmit to the loſs of life, conſoling himſelf under that misfortune, with the reflection, that the Hebrews had humbled the pride and arrogance of the Philiſtines. The fortitude and piety of the young man had ſo captivating an effect upon the multitude, that they reſcued him from the power of his incenſed father, declaring with an oath, that ſince he had been ſo eſſentially inſtrumental in obtaining the victory, not the ſmalleſt injury ſhould be offered to his perſon, they conſidering him as the author of their common preſervation; and they offered up fervent prayers, that if he had committed offence, God, in his infinite mercy, him would grant forgivenneſs.

Having avenged himſelf upon his enemies by putting about ſixty thouſand* of their men to the ſword, Saul returned home, where he lived happily, and in high reputation for his martial atchievements over the Ammonites, the Moabites, Philiſtines the Edomites, and the king of Oba.†

Saul had three ſons, named, Jonathan Jaſhua, and Melchi-ſhui; and two daughters, named Merab, and Michaal. The general of his army was Abner, the ſon of Ner, uncle to Saul. The brothers Ner and Kis, which latter was the father of Saul, were the ſons of Abiel. Saul had a formidable power in chariots and horſe men, and proved victorious in all his martial undertakings. He advanced the Hebrews to the greateſt ſplendour of military reputation, making their very name terrible to all the neighbouring nations. This king was remarkable in forming his armies, all his troops being carefully ſelected from among ſuch of his ſubjects as were moſt diſtinguiſhed for ſtrength and ſtature, vigour of conſtitution, and activity and alertneſs.

CHAP. VIII.

Samuel reminds Saul of his duty to God, who orders the Amalekites to be extirpated. With an army of four hundred thouſand men, excluſive of thirty thouſand of the tribe of Judah, Saul defeats the Amale-

---

* "Saul fought againſt all his enemies on every ſide, againſt Moab, and againſt the children of Ammon, and againſt Edom, and againſt the kings of Zobah, and againſt the Philiſtines, and whitherſoever he turned himſelf, he vexed them." 1 Jam. xiv. 47. Thus we ſee the Scripture does not expreſs any determinate number of the enemy ſlain by Saul.

Script. Zobah.

kites, and takes Agag, their king, priſoner. Great booty gained from the enemy. Saul incurs the diſpleaſure of God. Samuel's interceſſion in behalf of the king, proves ineffectual. Saul condemned to be removed from the government.

BY the direction of Heaven, Samuel came about this time to Saul, reminding him, that he had been advanced to the throne through the power and providence of God, to whom, as the great ſovereign of the univerſe, he was bound to yield implicit ſubmiſſion, for though in the exerciſe of authority over his countrymen, he was ſtill ſubordinate to the great king of kings. Samuel ſaid, that he was commiſſioned by God to ſay, that on account of the Amalekites having been inveterate perſecutors of the Hebrews in the wilderneſs, upon their coming out of Egypt into the land which was their preſent inheritance, it was the pleaſure of God that war ſhould be declared againſt them, and that upon being conquered, every man, woman, and child of that nation, ſhould be put to death; and further, that their ſheep, oxen, and other property, ſhould not be ſeized as ſpoil by the victors, but that the whole ſhould be offered up as one common ſacrifice to the Almighty. The prophet further ſaid, that agreeably with the order of Moſes, every effort was to be exerted for expunging the name of Amalek from the memory of mankind; adding, that theſe judgments were due to them from the Hebrews, in vengeance for the injuries they had received from the Amalekites. Theſe peremptory orders delivered by Samuel, Saul ſolemnly pledged himſelf ſtrictly to obey them in every particular, and immediately iſſued the neceſſary orders for carrying them into execution.

Saul now aſſembled his troops, and upon reviewing them at Gilgal, found them to amount to about four hundred thouſand men, beſides thoſe belonging to the tribe of Judah, which, upon being muſtered, were found to be thirty thouſand. With this army, the king marched againſt the Amalekites, ſtationing ambuſhes upon all the paſſes of the woods and rivers, ſo that the enemy could make no movements without danger of being attacked by ſurpriſe. After the Amalekites had been harraſſed and annoyed by repeated ſkirmiſhes, the conteſt was brought to the iſſue of a regular battle, wherein the Hebrews obtained ſo compleat a victory, that a very ſmall number eſcaped being put to the ſword, either in the engagement or the purſuit.

Saul gains a great victory over the Amalekites, 1 Sam. XV. 7.

After the above conqueſt, according to the prediction of the Almighty, Saul attacked the Amalekites in their walled towns, and other fortified places and ſtrong holds, all of which he gained poſſeſſion of, either by force or ſtratagem, committing a general maſſacre upon the inhabitants.

Having taken Agag, king of the Amalekites, priſoner, Saul found him of an aſpect and deportment ſo captivatingly majeſtic, that in contradiction to the expreſs command of God, he determined to ſpare his life. Notwithſtanding the offences of the Amalekites had been ſo abominable, as to provoke the wrath of the Almighty upon their children, to gratify his own humour, Saul determined to ſhew this ill-timed lenity to Agag: and he thereby laid the foundation for all the miſeries that the Hebrews afterwards endured.

Saul's diſobedience, ver. 8,

The king was not the only perſon deſerving blame; for in ſeizing the herds and flocks of the enemy, and their other property, the Hebrews converted what was moſt valuable to their own uſe, leaving for holy purpoſes only what was ſcarce worth preſervation. In this expedition Saul overrun the whole country from Peluſium, on the borders of Egypt, to the Red-Sea, laying waſte that whole tract of land, excepting that he offered no violence to the Sichemites, who inhabited the land of Midian, they having obſerved a precaution he had given them, before the war, of not eſpouſing the cauſe of the Amalekites, leſt they ſhould thereby involve themſelves in the judicial ruin that would attend thoſe people. The Hebrews had a particular eſteem for the Sichemites, on account of being connected with them in an ancient affinity, Raguel, the father-in-law of Moſes, being a deſcendant of that ſtock.

Congratulating himſelf on his ſplendid atchievements, Saul returned home, apparently enjoying all the ſatisfaction that he would doubtleſs have been intitled to, had he not tranſgreſſed the order of God, in ſparing the life of Agag, and permitting his followers to ſeize the ſpoil in the enemy's camp, inſtead of offering up the whole in ſacrifice.

The Almighty repents having advanced Saul to the throne, ver. 11.

The Almighty was now pleaſed to ſignify to Samuel, that he repented having exalted Saul to the ſovereignty, ſince from his conduct it was manifeſt, that he was leſs attentive to the commands impoſed upon him, than ſolicitous to gratify his own inclinations. This revelation giving Samuel inexpreſſible concern, he employed the whole of the following night in fervent prayers, and interceſſions to Heaven for pardon of the tranſgreſſions of Saul. The reply that Samuel received was, that upon any mediation whatever, it would be mercy miſapplied, to excuſe the offences Saul had committed, ſince ſuch lenity would but ſerve to encourage future tranſgreſſions.

Finding his prayers in behalf of the king had failed of the expected ſucceſs, Samuel repaired next morning to Gilgal, when Saul, upon being informed of his approach, went forth to meet him, and ſaluted him with open arms, at the ſame time uttering a gratulatory thankſgiving for the victory which God had enabled the Hebrews to atchieve; and ſaying, that all things had been conducted conformably with the directions he had received.

“If ſo, (ſaid Samuel) how happens it, that I now hear the bleating of ſheep, and the lowing of oxen in the camp? The king anſwered, that thoſe ſounds proceeded from ſome cattle which the people had reſerved for ſacrifices: ſaying, he had put all the Amalekites to death, except one man, whom he had reſerved, till it ſhould be determined in what manner he ſhould be diſpoſed of. Upon this Samuel ſaid, “that God approved not of ſacrifices that were not made from motives of righteouſneſs, nor of any human actions that were not performed in obedience to his ſacred commands; for, if unaccompanied with ſincere piety, oblations of living animals, and of gold and ſilver, were not acceptable to God, he conſidering ſuch offers as mere oſtentations of affected piety. But he obſerved, that from thoſe who conformed to the divine precepts, God exacted no ſacrifices, though what they might offer, however inconſiderable in value, received a recommendation more acceptable than the moſt pompous, magnificent, and expenſive oblations, unaccompanied with a pure ſincerity of heart.

Samuel informs Saul hat he is to e removed from the government. er. 14…23.

“I am now to inform you (ſaid Samuel) that in conſequence of your contempt of his commands, you have incurred the diſpleaſure of the Almighty, towards whom you cannot poſſibly acquit yourſelf of having reſerved that which you had been commanded to deſtroy. This conduct is ſo offenſive to God, that, in order to chaſtiſe you for it, he has condemned you to be deprived of the government, and of that authority which you have abuſed, to the diſhonour of the great author of your promotion.”

aul avows is tranſgreſions, and reueſts the prohet to interede for his rdon. ver. 8.

Struck by the upbraidings of a guilty conſcience, Saul acknowledged, that he had grievouſly offended, in exceeding the commiſſion which the prophet had given him, by the command of God. He ſaid, all he had to alledge in his defence was, that his diſobedience had been the effect of compulſion, inaſmuch as his ſoldiers were ſo anxious for poſſeſſing themſelves of the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed enemy, that any endeavours on his part to oppoſe or reſtrain them, would, in all probability, have produced an inſurrection. He then earneſtly ſolicited, that Samuel would intercede in his behalf with the Almighty, ſolemnly pledging himſelf, that if forgiveneſs ſhould be granted him, he would never more act in diſobedience to the ſacred pleaſure of the Almighty. Having made this profeſſion of repentance, he requeſted Samuel would continue ſometime longer with him, in order to offer up ſacrifice to God in his behalf; but knowing that this ſolemnity would have no effect, the prophet departed.

CHAP. IX.

An emblem of Saul's removal from the government. Agag, king of the Ammonites, put to death. Samuel commanded to proclaim one of the ſons of Jeſſe king of the Jews. The qualifications of a good prince deſcribed. David anointed and proclaimed king. The ſpirit of God transferred from Saul to David.

As Samuel was departing, Saul caught hold of his garment with a view of detaining him, in conſequence of which the mantle was torn. This circumſtance the prophet applied to the ſituation of Saul, telling him, that it had alluſion to the event of his kingdom being taken from him, that ſentence being pronounced by God, whoſe decrees were irrevocable. The king confeſſed his guilt, and the juſtice of God's diſpleaſure, requeſting that Samuel would join him in divine worſhip. The prophet conſented, and after their devotions, they brought forth Agag, king of the Ammonites, who being overheard to uſe an expreſſion concerning the bitterneſs of death, Samuel ſaid to him, “The edge of thy ſword having rendered many Hebrew mother, miſerable in the death of their children, it is but reaſonable that your mother ſhould be left childleſs.” Samuel now ordered Agag to be put immediately to death in Gilgal, which was accordingly done, and then he returned to Ramah.

The death of Agag. ver. 33.

Saul repaired to his palace at Gibeah, a word ſignifying the little hill, and never afterwards held any perſonal conference with the prophet. This ſeparation was very afflicting to Samuel: but God commanded him not to concern himſelf further on that account, but to repair to Bethlehem, and anoint one of the ſons of Jeſſe, the ſon of Obed, as the ſucceſſor of Saul in the ſovereignty. Upon obſerving that when he ſhould be informed of his anointing one of the ſons of Jeſſe, Saul would put him to death, God informed him, that his life would be perfectly ſecure. Arriving at Bethlehem, the people received him with great reſpect, expreſſing an earneſt curioſity to know the object of his viſit; and his general anſwer was, that he came there to perform ſacrifice.

After Saul had offered up ſacrifice, he invited Jeſſe and his ſons to dine with him; and obſerving the elder of the ſons to be of a tall and graceful figure, he imagined that to be the youth deſtined to the throne; and having put the queſtion, whether he was to be anointed king, he was anſwered by God, that external graces and accompliſhments were not alone ſufficient to entitle a man to the prerogatives of government; and that the proper qualifications of a perſon ſo diſtinguiſhed were righteouſneſs, virtue, fortitude, and juſtice, uniting with other endowments, to make up the perfection of the human mind. Upon this, the prophet deſired Jeſſe to ſend for the reſt of his ſons, and five others appeared, they being in point of figure as graceful as their elder brother. Their names follow, according to their ſeniority: Eliab, Aminadab, Samma, Nathaniel, Real and Aſſa. The prophet now conſulted the Almighty as to which of the ſons was to be anointed king; and the oracle anſwered, that neither of them was to be the ſucceſſor of Saul. Samuel now enquired of Jeſſe, whether theſe were all his ſons, when he ſaid, he had another ſon, his youngeſt, who was then attending his ſheep, his name being David. At the requeſt of the prophet, David was ſent for, and he preſently attended. He was a youth perfectly well proportioned, of a ruddy complexion, of a lively and martial mein, and his countenance was peculiarly expreſſive of modeſty and good nature. Samuel no ſooner perceived David, than he whiſpered to the father, that he was the perſon ſelected by the Almighty to be advanced to the throne. The company now ſat down to a holy banquet, David being directed to take his ſeat next the prophet, who after anointing the youth with holy oil, informed him, it was the ſacred pleaſure of the Almighty to entruſt the goverment of the Hebrew nation to his care, admoniſhing him to do ſtrict juſtice to his ſubjects, and obey the commands of God, whereby he would ſecure himſelf in the continuance of the ſovereignty, and tranſmit his own fame, and that of his family to the lateſt poſterity. The prophet aſſured him, that he ſhould triumph over the Philiſtines, and prove victorious in all his encounters. After this, Samuel departed.

The qualifications of a good prince. 1 Sam. xvi.

The ſpirit paſſes from Saul to David.

The ſpirit of God now paſſed from Saul to David, who by the power and virtue of that ſpirit immediately began to prophecy. At the ſame time, Saul was ſeized with a difficulty of breathing, and with fits reſembling thoſe of a demoniac. His phyſicians were unable to remove or account for the king's complaint; but they adviſed ſome perſon to be ſought for who was ſkillful in ſinging, and playing upon the harp, that whenever the fit ſeized him, he might be amuſed with a hymn or ſpiritual ſong. One of his domeſtics informed the king, that Jeſſe of Bethlehem had a ſon who excelled in playing upon the harp, and accompanying that inſtrument with his voice; adding, that he was a brave and an accompliſhed youth in every reſpect. In conſequence of this recommendation, the king ſent to Jeſſe, requeſting that his ſon, whoſe qualifications had been ſo highly commended to him, might be ſent to court. Calling David from attending his flocks, Jeſſe ſent him to Saul, charging him with the delivery of preſents ſuitable to the dignity of the perſon to whom they were offered. The king received the youth with great kindneſs, appointed him to be one of his life-guards, and in ſeveral inſtances gave him proofs of particular eſteem. When Saul was attacked with his fits, he found no relief but in the muſic of David's voice and inſtrument: and he was ſo ſucceſsful in ingratiating the favour of the king, that, with the conſent of his father, he was appointed to reſide in the palace.

CHAP. X.

The Philiſtines march againſt the Hebrews. Goliah propoſes that the conteſt ſhall be decided by ſingle combat, in which he offers to encounter any man in the Hebrew army. David accepts the challenge.

SOON after David had been ſent for to court, the Philiſtines marched a powerful army againſt the Hebrews, and formed their encampment between Shecoth and Azekah. Leading his troops to the ſummit of a mountain, Saul compelled the Philiſtines to quit their camp, after which they poſted themſelves upon an oppoſite mountain, ſo that the armies were ſeparated only by a valley. While matters were in this ſituation, a citizen of Gath, named Goliah, a man of wonderful ſtrength, and ſtature, came down the hill into the middle of the valley, being followed at a ſmall diſtance by a troop of armed men, and with a threatening air, and ſonorous voice, challenged any man of the Hebrew army to ſingle combat. The height of this ſurpriſing man was four * cubits and a ſpan; and his armour was proportioned to the enor-

Goliah, a Phi- liſtine, gives challenge to the Hebrew 1 Sam. xvii.

---

* The Scripture, ſays, ſix cubits and a ſpan, which is more likely, conſidering the weight of his coat of mail was five thouſand ſhekels, that is, two thouſand two hundred and ſeventy five ounces, fifteen grains, and ſeventeen penny weights, or one hundred and eighty eight pounds, fifteen ounces, and

mous ſize of his limbs. The weight of his coat of mail was five thouſand ſhekels; the head of his ſpear was made of iron, and weighed ſix hundred ſhekels; it was not a ſpear to be carried in the uſual manner, like a lance, but he reſted it upon his ſhoulder. "Ye men of Iſrael (ſaid Goliah) I am come hither to prevent the ſpilling of human blood. I pronounce myſelf the champion of the Philiſtines, and am ready to engage in ſingle combat, any man that may be choſen from among the Hebrews to oppoſe me. If I ſhall be ſlain by my adverſary, the Philiſtines will become your ſervants, but if I prove victorious, the Hebrews are to be thence forward ſubject to us. I make this propoſition for ending our diſpute, as being more conſiſtent with humanity, than hazarding the lives of ſo many thouſands of people on the uncertain iſſue of a battle." Having pronounced this defiance, he returned to the Philiſtine camp. He uttered the challenge on forty ſucceſſive days, to the great ſurpriſe and mortification of Saul, who on each day, drew up his army in order of battle, but was as often diſappointed of coming to an engagement by this procedure of Goliah.

In this expedition, Saul was accompanied by three of the ſons of Jeſſe: but David had been ſent back to attend his father's flocks. Soon after his return from court, Jeſſe diſpatched David to the camp with ſome articles which his other ſons had occaſion for, and to bring him intelligence of the ſtate of affairs. Upon his arrival in the camp, David heard Goliah reproaching the Hebrews with cowardice, ſince not a man in the whole army dared to accept his challenge to ſingle combat. The extravagant boaſtings of this man ſo inflamed the indignation of David, that determing to accept the challenge, he communicated his deſign to his brothers. Upon this, Eliab ſharply reproved him, as being guilty of raſhneſs, ſince he had neither ſtrength, experience, nor ſkill, to qualify him for encountering ſo formidable an enemy. David held his brother in great reſpect, but yet he could not refrain from repeating what he had ſaid in the preſence of the ſoldiers, who preſently mentioning the circumſtance to the king, he ordered David into his preſence, and aſked him what he had to propoſe with regard to the Philiſtine. He replied, that he was willing to accept the challenge, and notwithſtanding his ſuperior ſtrength and ſtature, would pledge himſelf to chaſtiſe the arrogance of Goliah. Though he highly approved the generous ſpirit of the youth, Saul deemed it not prudent that a matter of ſo much importance ſhould be decided by the iſſue of ſo unequal a match. Perceiving the king's diffidence, David addreſſed him in the following manner:

vid re-
lves to en-
unter Go-
h; but his
ſign is op-
ſed by E-
ab. ver. 28.

"This arrogant Philiſtine is not ſo much to be conſidered as giving a challenge to your army, as offering an impious defiance to Heaven; and the combat will not be a trial of ſkill between Goliah and David, but between Goliah and the Lord of Hoſts. The conqueſt will not be atchieved by the power of my arm, but through the gracious providence of the Almighty, who for his greater glory, frequently carries into effect, the nobleſt purpoſes by means of the weakeſt inſtruments. In that God, my truſt is repoſed; and I have a firm confidence, that he will continue to me his gracious protection, and deliver me, as he hath formerly done, from all dangers and difficulties. While attending my father's ſheep, a lion carried a lamb from the flock; I purſued the beaſt till he turned upon me, when ſeizing him by the tail, I daſhed him againſt the ground with ſo much force as inſtantly to kill him. Upon a like occaſion, I once encountered a bear with the ſame ſucceſs. Now this blaſpheming challenger for the Philiſtine army, I conſider not as a more formidable enemy than a lion or bear from the foreſt. I ſpeak not thus from the impulſe of a raſh and ungrounded confidence, but in a perfect aſſurance, that I ſhall be made the inſtrument of heaven in puniſhment this audacious boaſter, for his abominable impiety."

The firm and confident manner with which theſe words were delivered, induced the king to believe that they were the effect of inſpiration, and therefore he granted the youth permiſſion to fight the Philiſtine, clothing him in his own coat of mail, providing him with his own ſword and helmet, and pronouncing a benediction upon him. Unaccuſtomed to appear in arms, David thought that being thus accoutered would rather obſtruct than facilitate his ſucceſs, and therefore, after reſpectfully excuſing himſelf to the king, by ſaying, that his appearance rather reſembled that of a prince than a ſhepherd, he diſengaged himſelf from the incumbrance of the armour, requeſting that he might be permitted to fight in a manner that would be more convenient to him. He then took up his ſhepherd's ſtaff, having a ſling in his right hand, and in his ſcrip five ſmooth ſtones taken out of a brook; and being provided only with theſe ſimple weapons, he advanced towards Goliah.

David prepares for the encounter. ver. 38, 39, 40.

---

and ſeventeen penny weights; and the head of his ſpear ſix hundred ſhekels, that is, two hundred and ſeventy three ounces, and four grains; or twenty two pounds, eleven ounces, and four grains, reckoning a ſhekel to weigh nine penny weights, two grains, and four ſevenths, Engliſh Troy. Goliah was in height, according to ſcripture, about eleven feet and three inches.

CHAP. XI.

David encounters and kills Goliah. The Philiſtine army routed. Saul conceives a mortal enmity againſt David, and offers him his daughter in marriage with a view to inſnare him. David preſents the heads of ſix hundred Philiſtines to Saul.

AS the combatants approached, Goliah in contempt of the comparatively diminutive figure of David, and of his apparently harmleſs weapons, aſked him, whether he was come into the field to beat a dog, or fight a ſoldier? David replied, that he came to beat a creature worſe than a dog. Exaſperated by this reproach, the barbarian invoked his Gods to curſe David, threatening to deſtroy him, and give his body to be devoured by the beaſts of the field, and the birds of the air. Hereupon David ſaid, you appear in the field, armed with a ſpear, and a coat of mail; but I come to encounter you under the authority of God, by whoſe power, yourſelf and your army will be this day deſtroyed; and with aſſiſtance of his Almighty providence, I will divide your head from your body, and, after caſting your carcaſe upon a dunghill to be devoured by dogs, carry your head off the field, as a trophy of victory. Thus I ſhall be made the inſtrument of convincing mankind, that the God of the Hebrews is ever attentive to the welfare of his people, that his protection is their armour and ſtrength, and likewiſe that powerful armies, and implements of war, are uſeleſs and ineffectual to thoſe who incur his Almighty diſpleaſure. The Philiſtine now advanced towards David, with as much ſpeed as the weight of his unwieldy armour would allow, expreſſing contempt and deriſion that he ſhould be oppoſed by ſo inſignificant an adverſary.

David kills Goliah. ver. 49.

Under the conduct of his Almighty and inviſible protector, David approached Goliah; and taking one of the ſtones out of his ſcrip, couched it in his ſling, and hurled it with ſuch force againſt his enemy, that it fractured his ſkull, and penetrated his very brain. While the dying barbarian lay bleeding with his face towards the ground, David took his ſword from his ſide (not being himſelf provided with one) and with that weapon ſeparated the head from the body.

This exploit threw the whole Philliſtine army into the utmoſt conſternation, of which Saul taking advantage, he furiouſly attacked them, and purſued them to the neighbourhood of Gath, and the very gates of Aſcalon.

The Philiſtine army diſperſed. ver. 52.

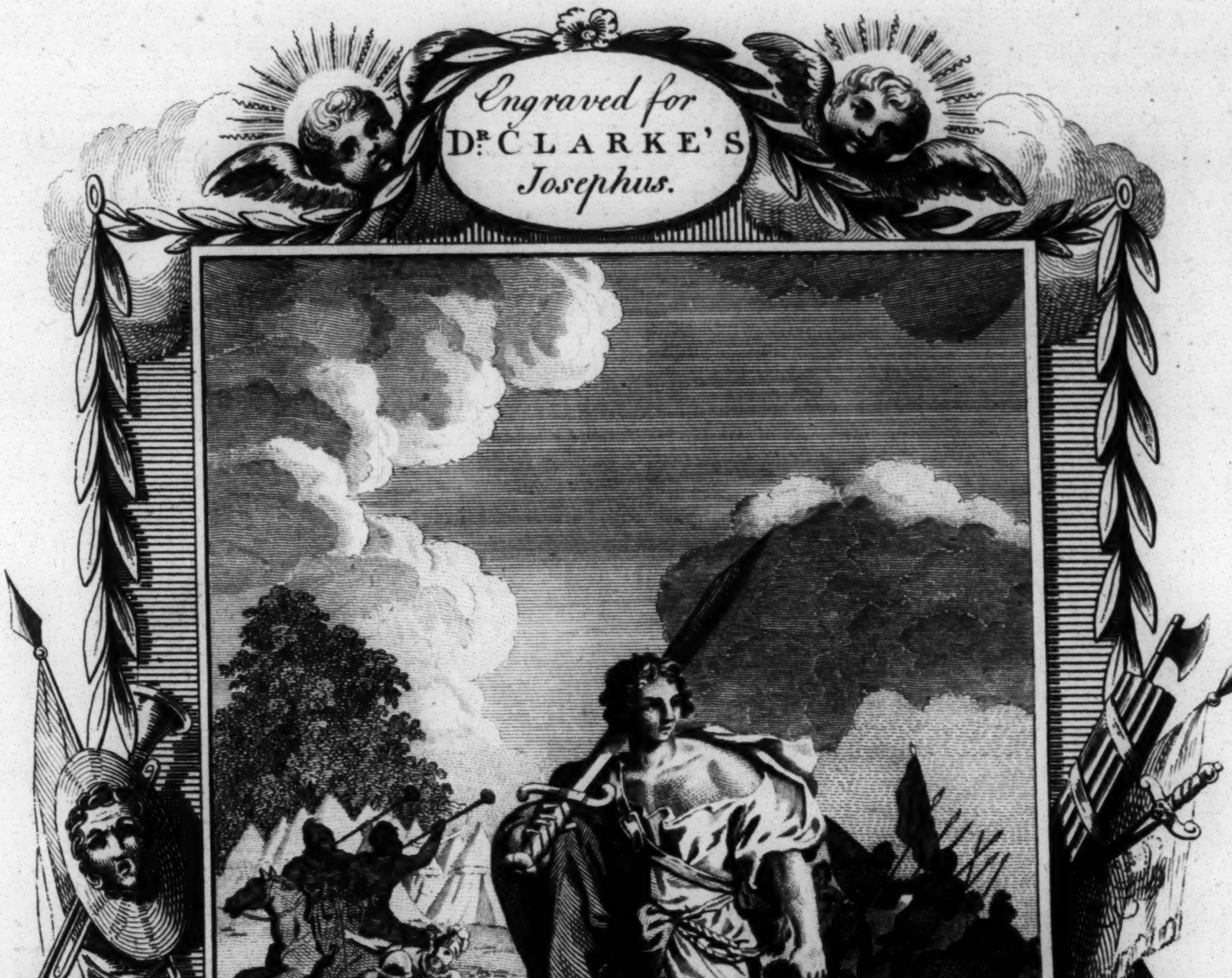
On this occaſion the ſlain were computed at thirty thouſand, and the wounded at double that number. The Hebrews now plundered the enemy's camp, and then ſet it on fire. David carried the head of Goliah in triumph to his tent, and dedicated the giant's ſword to God.

This atchievement inflamed Saul with a mortal envy and jealouſy towards David. Upon the return of the Hebrew army, the women quitted all the cities and towns with muſic, ſinging, and dancing, congratulated the victors. They ſung alternately, the women chanting "Saul hath ſlain his thouſands," and the virgins anſwering in the ſame ſtrain, "And David his ten thouſands." The preference given to David in a ten-fold proportion, excited the envy and rage of Saul to that degree, that he determined to effect his deſtruction. In purſuance of this deſign, he advanced the young man to the rank of a colonel, and employed him in divers hazardous expeditions, not with a view of affording him an opportunity of ſignalizing his courage and ſkill in the art of war, but in hopes that he would fall in battle. Saul imagined, that his ſeat upon the throne would be of very precarious tenure during the life of David; for after the diſtinguiſhed marks of public honour he had received, he ſuſpected that the people might be eaſily induced to advance him to the ſovereignty. However, the Providence of God conſtantly attended David in all his undertakings, and his courage, and generous and condeſcending behaviour, not only ſecured him the affections of the public, but alſo gained him the particular eſteem of a virgin daughter to the king. Perceiving her partiality towards David, Saul expreſſed no averſion to their contracting marriage, his real motive, though carefully diſguiſed, being to effect the ruin of David, under the plauſible pretext of prevailing upon him to undertake ſome exploit that ſhould render him worthy of becoming his ſon-in-law. He accordly diſpatched meſſengers to inform David, that he would give him his daughter in marriage, if he would produce the heads of ſix hundred † Philiſtines: for knowing the enterpriſing ſpirit of the youth, he was perſuaded he would not decline the undertaking, and flattered himſelf that in this deſperate attempt he would doubtleſs be ſlain.

David readily accepted his propoſal, not entertaining the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion of the king's inſidious deſign: and therefore collecting his companions, he proceeded againſt the enemy, whom he defeated with great

---

† This, in point of numbers, does not accord with Scripture, where it is ſaid, that only one hundred was to be ſlain: but in a ſubſequent verſe, (1 Sam. xvii. 27.) it is ſaid, that he ſlew double that number. Thus he expreſſed his affection for the king's daughter, and his readineſs to venture his life in deſtroying the enemies of his country.


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

DAVID with the Head of GOLIATH.

C. Marratti pinx. T. Cook sculp.

Publiſhed as the Act directs Feby. 4th. 1786 by John Walker Pater noster Row.

BRITISH MUSEUM

ſlaughter; after which he preſented ſix hundred of the heads of the Philiſtines to Saul, at the ſame time claiming the performance of his promiſe.

CHAP. XII.

David eſpouſes Melcha, the daughter of Saul, who ſtill entertains deſigns againſt his life. Jonathan appriſes David of his danger.

UNable to recede from his promiſe, without expoſing himſelf to public cenſure, Saul conſented to give his daughter Melcha † to David in marriage; and they were accordingly eſpouſed: but this affinity did not abate the king's enmity towards David; for he commiſſioned his ſon Jonathan, and ſome of his moſt confidential ſervants, to put David to death. The impious and perfiduous deſign of Saul, ſtruck Jonathan with aſtoniſhment and horror, he entertaining the moſt profound reſpect and veneration for the eminent virtues of the man who was intended to be made a ſacrifice to his father's reſentment. He therefore communicated the king's deſign to David, and adviſed him to retire into ſome place of concealment, ſaying he would endeavour to diſcover by what means he had ſo highly incurred the diſpleaſure and indignation of the king. In compliance with this friendly advice, David retired from the court to a place of ſecrecy, in order that he might avoid the effects of the king's diſpleaſure.

Jonathan informs David of his danger. 1 Sam. xix. 2.

CHAP. XIII.

Jonathan expoſtulates with Saul on behalf of David, who is reſtored to the king's favour.

ON the following day, finding his father in an agreeable temper, Jonathan availed himſelf of that opportunity to plead in behalf of David. "You have (ſaid he) expreſſed a violent diſpleaſure againſt your ſon-in-law; but on what account I cannot conceive; nor why you ſhould have proceeded to the dreadful extremity of ordering him to be put to death. We are indebted to him for the deſtruction of the Philiſtine army; for the ſafety we at preſent enjoy, and alſo for having vindicated the honour of our nation from the reproach of receiving a challenge repeated for forty ſucceſſive days from the deceaſed giant, whom no one in the whole army but this unforunate youth had courage to encounter. He obtained my ſiſter in marriage on the conditions propoſed by yourſelf, and produced the heads of ſix hundred Philiſtines, in conformity with his agreement, and both on account of his bravery, and his relationſhip, he is entitled to eſteem and tenderneſs. Conſider, ſir, in what miſery you will involve my ſiſter, by taking away the life of her huſband; and recollect, that when relief was to be obtained by no other means, he yielded you moſt eſſential ſervice in expelling the evil ſpirit whereby you were ſo terribly afflicted; a ſervice intitling him to the gratitude of yourſelf and your whole family: and permit me to add, that theſe benefits cannot be forgotten without drawing upon yourſelf the abhorrence of mankind, and the dreadful diſpleaſure of God. Theſe arguments were attended with the deſired ſucceſs, and the king bound himſelf under the obligation of an oath to decline all further attempts againſt the ſafety of David. In conſequence of this, Jonathan repaired to the retreat of his brother-in-law, and congratulated him on having appeaſed the diſpleaſure of the king, informing him, that he might with perfect ſafety return to court. David accompanied Jonathan into the preſence of Saul, and a reconciliation being effected, the youth was reinſtated in the king's favour and all the offices he before enjoyed.

Saul and David reconciled. ver. 7.

CHAP. XIV.

David ſubdues the Philiſtines. Saul ſeeks the life of David, who is preſerved by his wife Melcha, and he goes to Samuel at Ramah, and afterwards ſeeks refuge in Gath. Saul puts to death a number of prieſts. David's miraculous deliverance. Samuel dies. David eſpouſes Abigail. The Philiſtines prepare for war againſt the Hebrews.

David ſubdues the Philiſtines. ver. 8.

ABOUT this time, the Philiſtines again made war againſt the Hebrews, and Saul gave the command of his army to David. An engagement taking place, the Philiſtines were compleatly defeated, a terrible ſlaughter being executed upon them. Immediately after the action, David haſtened to the king, with an account of the victory; but his reception was neither anſwerable to his expectation, nor correſponding with the merit of his eminent ſervices; for the king was rather diſſatisfield than rejoiced at the ſucceſs of his ſon-in-law, being jealous of his growing reputation, and conſidering as misfortunes whatever public advantage were obtained through the zeal and martial atchievements of that enterpriſing youth.

Saul being again ſeized with the fits to which he had been ſome time liable, he ſent for David to ſing and play upon his harp to him in his bed-chamber; and while he was ſo employed, the king darted his

---

† ‡ Script Michal.

Saul attempts to ſtrike David with his javelin. ver. 10.

javelin at him, but by his alertneſs, he avoided receiving the blow that was aimed, and haſtened home, where he continued during the remainder of that day. At night the king ordered a party of ſoldiers to ſurround David's houſe, to prevent his eſcape, and conduct him into his preſence in the morning, in order that ſentence of death might be paſſed upon him as a criminal. But his wiſe Melcha having information of her father's deſign, ſhe informed her huſband of his danger, and charged him, as he loved her, and valued his own life, to eſcape before day-light, as the only means of avoiding the deſtruction that was meditated againſt him. After an interchange of tender careſſes, and expreſſing proteſtations of love and fidelity, Melcha lowered her huſband from the chamber window, by means of a rope, fervently recommending him to the protection of providence.

At day-break, the guards went to the houſe, in order to take David into cuſtody, when his wiſe informed them, that he was ſick in bed, and after a very reſtleſs night, was then fallen into a ſleep; ſhe then ſhewed them the bed ſhe had prepared in a manner proper for the deception, when obſerving the coverlet in motion, as if occaſioned by the breathing of a perſon beneath the clothes, they made no further enquiry, but returned to the king with an account of what had paſſed. The next morning Saul again diſpatched the meſſengers with a peremptory order to bring David before him, whatever might be the ſtate of his health, having irrevocably doomed him to death. Upon the ſecond ſearch, the meſſengers diſcovered they had been deceived, and that the motion of the bed-clothes was occaſioned by Melcha having placed under them the warm liver of a newly ſlain kid[†]. Upon the meſſengers informing the king of the device practiſed by Melcha, he vehemently exclaimed againſt her having preſumed to oppoſe his orders; but to excuſe herſelf, ſhe pretended, that for her huſband had threatened to take away her life, if ſhe refuſed to favour his eſcape; therefore ſhe hoped and truſted, he would pardon her, ſince if ſhe had not conſented to become acceſſary to the eſcape of his ſuppoſed enemy, ſhe muſt inevitably have ſacrificed the life of his daughter. By this condeſcention Melcha obtained her father's forgiveneſs.

David goes to Samuel at Ramah. ver. 18.

Repairing to Samuel at Ramah, David informed the prophet of Saul having darted his javelin at him, and of the various ſtratagems he had put in force, in order to bring about his deſtruction, being exaſperated againſt him on account of the peculiar manner in which he was favoured by the Almighty.

When Samuel had heard the narrative, he took David with him from Ramah to Galbaah, where they continued ſometime together. Upon receiving information of David's retreat, the king diſpatched a troop of ſoldiers thither, with orders to bring him away a priſoner. They found Samuel in the congregation of the prophets, and, after a ſhort time, being inſpired with the ſame ſpirit, they uttered prophecies themſelves.[‡] Being informed of this, the king ſent a ſecond, and a third party of ſoldiers upon the ſame buſineſs, and they, like the former, were ſeized with the ſpirit of prophecy. Being thus thrice diſappointed, Saul was greatly enraged; and he at length went himſelf in ſearch of his ſon-in-law. Coming into the neighbourhood where Samuel and David were, the king was alſo ſeized with the ſpirit of prophecy; and proceeding a little further, the impulſe was ſo ſtrong upon him, that he ſtripped himſelf entirely naked, and in that ſituation continued to prophecy a whole day and night, in the ſight and hearing of Samuel and David.

David complained to Jonathan of the harſh and ſevere treatment he had received from the king, notwithſtanding the loyalty, obedience, and reſpect, he had on every occaſion manifeſted towards him. Hereupon, Jonathan adviſed his brother-in-law not to form too precipitate a judgment with regard to Saul's intention, who had not mentioned the ſubject, ſaying that his father ſeldom reſolved upon any meaſures of conſequence without conſulting him, and therefore, he was inclined to believe, that David's ſuſpicions were groundleſs. Having confirmed what he had ſaid with an oath, David obſerved that on occaſion of the new moon, a feſtival would be held the following day, at which Saul would be preſent, and requeſted, if the king ſhould enquire after him, that Jonathan would ſay, he had obtained leave of him to go to Bethlehem, in order to celebrate the day with his own tribe. If the king ſhould wiſh him a good journey, or make uſe of any expreſſion of kindneſs, it was to be inferred, that he harboured no malice againſt him; but otherwiſe it was to be concluded, that he intended to bring about his deſtruction. He ſaid, he would wait in the fields near the town, till Jonathan ſhould bring him intelligence of the king's behaviour, on the following day. David concluded with ſaying, "If you think me unworthy of your friendſhip, or that I have acted in any manner criminally towards your father, it is my earneſt requeſt, that you will inſtantly ſheath your ſword in my heart."

[†] It is quite improbable that the liver taken from a kid, or any other creature ſhould occaſion the bed-clothes to move. The Scripture ſays David's wife put into the bed an image dreſſed up with goats-hair, to reſemble a man, which the meſſengers miſtook for David.

[‡] The meaning of this is preſumed to be, that by an irreſiſtible impulſe, they praiſed God in hymns and ſpiritual ſongs, and were rendered incapable of executing the commiſſion with which they were charged.

After obſerving, that there was much unkindneſs in the concluding part of his ſpeech, Jonathan promiſed to act in conformity with David's deſire, and to leave no means unattempted that might conduce to his preſervation. "I now (ſaid Jonathan,) appeal to that Almighty power, who governs the univerſe to witneſs the faith and friendſhip which we have ſolemnly pledged ourſelves to obſerve towards each other; and further, that I will zealouſly perſevere in my endeavours for diſcovering whether my father entertains deſigns inimical to your ſafety and welfare. That Almighty power to whom the moſt ſecret purpoſes of the heart are known, will bear teſtimony, that I have never failed to addreſs myſelf in fervent prayers to him for your proſperity and ſucceſs in all your undertakings, and that he would continue to you the grace and favour whereby you have hitherto been ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed, enabling you to triumph over all your enemies. I earneſtly entreat, that you will preſerve what I have ſaid in your memory, and if it ſhould be my misfortune to die firſt, that you will transfer your friendſhip for me to my children.

nathan ſo- mnly ledges him- lf in friend- ip to David. Sam. xx. 2—17.

Jonathan now appointed David to withdraw to a certain part of the field, where he would come himſelf, and explain how his father ſtood affected towards him." After learning the diſpoſiition of my father (ſaid Jonathan) I will come into the field, accompanied by a boy: I will then ſhoot three arrows, and if I order the lad to take them up, and bring them to me, be aſſured that my father means no injury to you: but if I ſay any thing further, it is to be underſtood, that you are in danger. I have now only to repeat my requeſt, that our friendſhip may not be forgotten in the days of your proſperity, and that my children may experience your kindneſs."

The feaſt of the new moon being held the following day, Saul, as uſual on ſuch occaſions, ſat down to ſupper, Jonathan being on his right, and Abner, his general, on his left hand, David's ſeat remaining vacant. On this occaſion, the king made no enquiry reſpecting David: but on the following day, he aſked Jonathan the reaſon of the ſon of Jeſſe abſenting himſelf from the feſtival on two ſucceſſive days. Jonathan ſaid in reply, that he had given David permiſſion to go into the country for the purpoſe of keeping the feſtival with his own tribe, adding, that he had ſo great a friendſhip for the youth, that he would gladly have accepted his invitation to accompany him. This ſo exaſperated Saul, that he was no longer able to repreſs his rancour againſt David; and in reſentment to Jonathan, for having ſpoken favourably of him, vehemently exclaimed againſt his ſon, declaring him to be a traitor, and a confederate with his brother-in-law, who he ſaid, was a conſpirator againſt himſelf, and an enemy to his family. He then commanded Jonathan to ſend for David, in order that he might be ſurrendered up to juſtice, for neither his life nor his crown could be ſafe while that inveterate, though concealed enemy was in exiſtence. Upon this, Jonathan, in the moſt reſpectful manner, requeſted his father to mention what charge of criminality he had to alledge againſt David. This queſtion tranſported the king into ſo violent a rage, that ſeizing a javelin, with that weapon he aimed a ſtroke at, and would have inſtantly put his ſon to death, but for the interpoſition of ſome perſons preſent.

Saul reproaches Jonathan as a traitor. ver. 30.

On account of this furious outrage, Jonathan departed, and after paſſing the night in painful reflections upon his own ſituation and that of David, early the next morning he took his bow and arrows, and being accompanied by a boy, he quitted the town, under pretence that his motive was to ſhoot game. Arriving in the field where he had appointed to meet David, by means of his arrows he conveyed to him an intimation of the unfriendly diſpoſition of his father. After this, he diſpatched the boy into the city, that he might have the opportunity of a private conference with his friend and brother-in-law. Approaching each other, David threw himſelf at the feet of his preſerver, who immediately raiſed him, when they cordially embraced, and joined in lamenting that they were under the neceſſity of ſubmitting to a ſeparation. After ſome time employed in mutual condolements, they took an affectionate leave of each other, and after renewing their aſſurance of perpetual friendſhip, they departed.

David repaired to the city of Nob, and waited upon Ahimelech the high-prieſt, who expreſſing ſurpriſe that he was wholly unattended, David ſaid, that being employed by the king to perform a ſecret ſervice, for the greater privacy, he had diſcharged his retinue, appointing them to meet him at a particular place and time. He requeſted Ahimelech to ſupply him with ſuch articles as he ſhould have occaſion for on his journey, and paricularly a ſword, a ſpear

David goes to the city of Nob. 1 Sam. xxi. 1.

ſpear, or ſome other weapon. Whatever elſe he might have occaſion for, the high-prieſt ſaid, he ſhould be ſupplied with, but he was in poſſeſſion of no arms, abating the ſword that had belonged to Goliah, the Philiſtine, which was hung up, and dedicated to God: but, he ſaid, he was willing to accommodate David with this ſword. Gladly accepting this offer, David retired with all poſſible ſpeed without the juriſdiction of the Hebrews. The whole of the converſation between Ahimelech and David was overheard by Doeg, a Syrian by birth, who was a groom in the ſervice of Saul.

David goes to Gath. ver. 10.

David now repaired to the city of Gath, in the land of the Philiſtines, where he no ſooner appeared, than ſeveral of the ſervants Anchus,[*] the king of the country, recollecting his perſon, they informed their maſter that he was the man who had deſtroyed ſo many thouſands of his ſubject. Being now in as much danger as when in the dominions of his father-in-law, David had recourſe to the ſtratagem of affecting to be diſtempered in his mind: ſo that when he came into the king's preſence, he reprimanded his domeſtics for troubling him about a man who was diſordered in his ſenſes, ordering them immediately to turn David out of his preſence.

From Gath he proceeds to the cave of Adullam, and is joined by four hundred adherents. 1 Sam. xxii. 1, 2.

Having eſcaped by means of the above artifice, David proceeded into the lot of the tribe of Judah, and after remaining ſome time in the cave of Adullam, ſent information to his brethren of the place of his retreat. Being informed of his preſent abode, his relations, friends, and others, to the number of four hundred people, reſorted to him, being zealouſly attached to his intereſts.

With the above party, David marched into the country of the king of Moab, and after repreſenting, that their affairs were in a ſtate of embarraſſment, ſolicited that monarch's permiſſion to take ſanctuary in his dominions, till an accommodation ſhould be effected, ſo as to enable them to return home. David and his people experienced an honourable and generous reception and entertainment from the king of Moab, in whoſe dominions they continued till David received directions from the prophet Samuel to march with his people out of the deſart into the land of Judah, and from thence to Saris.[†]

David and his followers kindly received by the king of Moab. ver. 4.

In a ſhort time, Saul was informed that David was on his march at the head of four hundred men, which greatly alarmed and diſconcerted him; for having had repeated proofs of his heroic and enterpriſing ſpirit, he apprehended he might puſue meaſures, which if not dangerous to his government, at leaſt, might perplex and diſconcert his councils. Aſſembling his friends, captains, the principal people of his own tribe, and all his officers, both civil and military, in a place called the Field, in his royal city of Gibeah, Saul aſcended the throne, and addreſſed them in the following manner:

"Conſidering that the honourable commiſſions, and other advantages, I have beſtowed upon you, are not totally expunged from your memory, I ſhall now deſire you candidly to anſwer one plain queſtion, which is, whether you do not expect to derive greater benefits from the ſon of Jeſſe than you have received from me? Your inclinations manifeſtly appear to be in favour of David; and I am conſcious that my ſon Jonathan affords you both an example and an authority for ſuch conduct; for I am appriſed of the league of confederacy in which he is engaged with David; and though you know him to be an abettor of the cauſe of my adverſaries, you ſeem to look upon his treacherous proceedings with indifference."

The king having delivered the above ſpeech, a general ſilence enſued, till Doeg, the groom, ſpoke as follows: "Being lately with Ahimelech, the high prieſt, in the city of Nod, I then ſaw David conſulting the oracle; Ahimelech provided him with neceſſaries for purſuing his journey, and delivered to him the ſword of Goliah, thereby abetting and encouraging his diſobedience." Hereupon, Saul commanded the appearance of Ahimelech, and all his relations in Gibeath.

Upon the arrival of the high-prieſt, and his relations, Saul reprobated David as a traitor, demanding by what authority he had preſumed to afford him entertainment, proviſions, and arms, and report to him the anſwers of the oracle, concerning the ſucceſs of his expedition. He told the high-prieſt, it was impoſſible he could be ignorant of David's malice towards him and his family, and that he had abſconded, in order to avoid the puniſhment that was due to his treachery.

Ahimelech frankly avowed, that he had ſhewn David every inſtance of reſpect in his power; "For (ſaid Ahimelech) I conſidered him as the moſt faithful of your friends, and the moſt meritorious of your officers. Knowing him to be your ſon-in-law, and that you had conferred very diſtinguiſhed honours upon him, I conceived him to be intitled to every ſervice it was poſſible for me to render him. He informed me, that you had diſpatched him in haſte, upon buſineſs of the greateſt urgency; and had I not complied with his requeſts, I ſhould have thought myſelf guilty of an affront and indignity to yourſelf.

---

[*] Script Achiſh. [†] Script. Hareth.

ſelf. Should David prove ſo guilty as you ſuſpect him to be, ſtill I hope you will not deem me an acceſſary in his offence; for the ſervices I rendered him proceeded from my deſire of ſhewing reſpect to the king, by a compliance with the demands of his ſon-in-law, and military commander."

ul commands the gh-prieſt d his family be put to eath; but is guards fuſe to ey him.

Notwithſtanding this apology, Saul commanded his guards to ſeize Ahimelech, and his whole family, and put them immediately to the ſword: but they refuſed to execute his commiſſion, alledging, that according to the principles of the Hebrew religion, it was a ſacrilegious act of the higheſt enormity, to put to death any man who ſerved at the altar. His ſoldiers having refuſed to obey the king's cruel order, he committed the charge of enforcing it to Doeg, the Syrian, who, accompanied by a gang of impious ruffians and aſſaſſins, firſt murdered the high-prieſt, and then all the people of his family, except his ſon Abiathar, to the number of three hundred and eighty-five perſons.*

himelech d his fa- ily put to eath by oeg, the yrian.

After this barbarous and ſacrilegious maſſacre, the murderers were diſpatched by Saul to the city of Nob, the ſeat and reſidence of the prieſthood, where they put the inhabitants to death, without diſtinction of age or ſex, and then laid the town in aſhes. Abiathar, the ſon of Ahimelech, was the only perſon who eſcaped the horrid fury of the aſſaſſins. Thus was verified an ancient prediction from God to the high prieſt Eli, purporting, that in time to come the iniquity of his two ſons would be puniſhed with the extermination of his family.

Abiathar repaired to David, and informed him of the particulars of the murder of his father Ahimelech, the extirpation of the ſacerdotal race, and the maſſacre of the other inhabitants, reprobating the execrable cruelty of Saul, and his ſacrilegious deſtruction of the city of Nob, which had been ſet apart, and peculiarly aſſigned as a nurſery of the prieſthood, in conſequence of a ſuppoſition, that the high-prieſt Ahimelech was favourable to the cauſe of his perſecuted ſon-in-law. Abiather ſaid, when he perceived that Doeg was informed of David being with Ahimelech, he apprehended ſome fatal conſequence, ſince he was aſſured, that the Syrian would put the moſt unfavourable conſtruction upon the circumſtance, in order to exaſperate the paſſions of the king to a more violent and ungovernable degree.

he inhabitants of Nob eſtroyed, and he city laid n ruins, 1 Sam. XXII. 0.

About this time, David received information that the Philiſtine army had made an irruption into the country of Keilah, and were then employed in devaſtating that province. He was deſirous of marching againſt the enemy, but judged it not prudent to undertake the exploit, unleſs he ſhould obtain the approbation of the prophet. Samuel having directed him to march againſt the enemy with an aſſurance of ſucceſs, he accordingly drew up his forces, and gave battle to the Philiſtine army, which he defeated with a terrible ſlaughter, obtaining a great booty from the enemy's camp. He remained ſome time in Keilah, in order to protect the place from future aſſaults, while the inhabitants were employed in getting in their harveſt.

The Philiſtines enter the province of Keilah 1 Sam. XXIII, 1.

David gains a victory over the Philiſtines 2, 5.

Saul being informed of the victory gained by David over the Philiſtines, and that he and his followers were then within a walled town, he flattered himſelf that providence had at length put his enemy into his power, and therefore he iſſued orders for Keilah to be immediately beſieged, and that his troops ſhould not quit the place, till David ſhould be either killed, or made a priſoner.

Being informed by a revelation from Heaven, that unleſs he made timely proviſion for his ſafety, the people of Keilah, with a view to their own preſervation, would ſurrender him up to the king, David quitted the town, and marched his four hundred men into the deſart, encamping upon a well fortified hill, which was called † Engelaïs.

Learning that David had removed from Keilah, Saul countermanded his orders for beſieging that place. David now marched out of the wilderneſs to Cæna, a place belonging to Ziphe, where Jonathan, the king's ſon, repaired to him, informing him that the time was approaching when all the difficulties with which he was ſurrounded would diſappear; and admoniſhing him not to deſpond, ſince the whole Hebrew nation would be ſubject to his command, and to conſider that ſuch diſtinguiſhed bleſſings as were reſerved for him, were not to be obtained without toil and danger. They now again renewed their league of friendſhip, imprecating the moſt dreadful ven-

Jonathan viſits David in Cæna. Sam. XXIII. 16.

---

* The ſcripture does not mention ſo great a number. "And Doeg, the Edomite, turned, and fell upon the prieſts, and ſlew on that day fourſcore and five perſons that did wear the linen Ephod." 1 Sam. xxii. 18. But in the next verſe it is added, "And Nob, the city of the prieſts, ſmote he with the edge of the ſword, both men and women, children, and ſucklings." The determinate number not being expreſſed, it is probable that our author includes thoſe prieſts that were ſlain in the city of Nob, in the three hundred and eighty five, otherwiſe ſo great a diſparity cannot be reconciled with ſcripture.

† Scrip. Engedi; but 1 Sam. xxiii. 13. from whence this is taken, "Then David and his men, which were about ſix hundred, aroſe and departed out from Keilah, and went whitherſoever they could go," not making any mention of Engedi, or, as Joſephus calls it in the Greek, Engelaïs; the name of that place not occurring till the laſt verſe of the ſame chapter.

geance upon him who ſhould violate the covenant, which they confirmed by calling God to witneſs it. After this ſolemnity, Jonathan departed, leaving David in a ſtate of mind more eaſy and compoſed than he had for ſome time experienced.

The Ziphites inform Saul of David's ſituation, and offer to ſurrender him. ver. 19.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of Ziphe, with a view of ingratiating the favour of the king, ſent him intelligence, that David was in their diſtrict, adding, that if he would march his army thither, they would give him up, to effect which nothing more would be neceſſary than to ſecure ſome narrow paſſes, in order to render his eſcape impoſſible. For this offer of ſervice, Saul promiſed the Ziphites very conſiderable requitals; and then diſpatched a number of agents into the deſart, for the purpoſe of diſcovering David's retreat, promiſing to follow them with his army with all poſſible expedition. The Ziphites yielded every aſſiſtance in their power for enabling the king's meſſengers to diſcover David's retreat, and facilitating his being made a priſoner; but their treacherous deſigns were diſappointed.

Saul marches in purſuit of David, ver. 25.

Having procured intelligence of the inſidious intentions of the Ziphites, and that the king's army was on their march towards him, David and his people removed with all poſſible expedition to a great rock in the wilderneſs of Maon. Receiving information of the road David had taken, Saul led his army in purſuit of him, and was juſt on the point of ſurrounding him in ſuch a manner that he could not poſſibly have eſcaped but through the intepoſition of Divine Providence, when he received intelligence that the Philiſtines had made an inroad upon, and were committing great ravages and devaſtations in the land of the Iſraelites. This news diverting Saul from his purſuit of David, he returned to repel the invaders of his realm. After this unexpected and providential delivery from the ſuperior power of the king, David directed his courſe towards the ſtreights of Engelaïs.

Saul and David meet in a cave, 1 Sam. XXIV. 3.

Having repulſed the Philiſtines, and received information that David had retreated into the neighbourhood of Engelaïs, Saul drew up an army of three thouſand choſen men, and led them in purſuit of him. While this army was upon the march, Saul retired alone into a dark and ſpacious cavern, where David and his four hundred followers were concealed. One of his people diſcerned and knew the perſon of the king, upon which he immediately went to David, telling him, that his troubles were now at an end; for he had now an opportunity of wreaking vengeance upon his mortal enemy, by inſtantly cutting off his head, Providence having at length delivered the king into his power. But to attempt the life of the anointed king, whom God had appointed to rule over the Hebrew nation, was neither conſiſtent with the magnanimity of David's mind, nor with his ideas of the allegiance and duty which he was bound to obſerve towards his ſovereign; therefore, without offering him any perſonal injury, while repoſing himſelf, David cut a piece from the ſkirt of his mantle, after which Saul departed.

David's ſpeech to Saul. 9—1

Following the king out of the cave, with the utmoſt reſpect and reverence David addreſſed him in words to the following effect: "I humbly ſolicit your majeſty's gracious permiſſion to obſerve, that a prince muſt be greatly unfortunate, when he is diſpoſed to give credit to the calumny and detraction of the enemies of the moſt faithful of his ſubjects. With due ſubmiſſion, Sir, I muſt ſay, that it would be a more laudable practice, to form a judgment of a man's heart, rather by the teſtimony of his actions, than by the groundleſs and malicious rumours of his enemies; for that demonſtration which ariſes out of facts is infallible. Be pleaſed, Sir, coolly to reflect, whether I have not been harſhly treated on the unfounded ſuſpicion of evil deſigns, to which my heart is an entire ſtranger. But, to my great misfortune, reports highly injurious to me, have gained ſuch credit with your majeſty, that my life has long been in momentary danger, both day and night. Can you, Sir, conſiſtently with the reverence that is due to the Almighty, perſevere in practiſing againſt the life of a perſon who has had the abſolute power of acting towards you according to his own diſcretion, and who is conſcious, that he muſt have fallen a ſacrifice to your unmerited enmity, had a ſimilar opportunity fallen to your lot. In confirmation of the truth of what I have ſaid, behold, Sir, the piece that I cut from the ſkirt of your garment, and be pleaſed to take notice, that I might, with as little difficulty, have ſevered your head from your body. But however the rememberance of an injurious perſecution might have juſtified me to my own conſcience, my principles are not ſo abandoned as to permit me to do any injury to your majeſty's perſon."

Saul acknow ledges David generoſity, and his own injuſtice, ver. 17—20

The humility and generoſity of David, after ſuch numerous and bitter provocations, raiſed the admiration of Saul, who could no longer ſuppreſs his tears and ſighs; and upon obſerving David weep, he ſaid, "Repreſs your ſorrow, for lamentations only become me. You have been the cauſe of great advantages to me; in return for which, I have heaped upon you cruelties and miſeries. You have proved yourſelf not to have degenerated from the righteouſneſs and virtue of our anceſtors, who, when they had their enemies at their mercy, rather choſe to reſtore them to freedom, than to make a cruel uſe of their advantage over them. By the occurrences of this day, I am perfectly convinced, that you are appointed and ſet apart by Heaven to rule this kingdom, and govern the whole Hebrew nation. I therefore have this requeſt to make, that you will forgive the injuries you have received from me, and that when you ſhall be exalted to the throne, you will be merciful to my family." Hereupon David bound himſelf under the ſolemnity of an oath to comply with the king's deſire; after which they parted, David proceeding towards the ſtreights of Mizpeth.

The death of
he prophet
Samuel,
Sam.
xvi. 1.

About this time died the prophet Samuel; and on this occaſion the Hebrews manifeſted the high reſpect and veneration in which they held the character of the deceaſed, by ſolemnizing his funeral with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. The life of the prophet Samuel exhibited numerous and inconteſtible evidences of his being a man of ſtrict probity and juſtice, and highly diſtinguiſhed by the favour of the Almighty, for his righteouſneſs and other eminent virtues. The remains of this celebrated prophet were buried at Ramah, in the country where he received his birth; and the Hebrews mourned for him a long time, every individual expreſſing his particular ſorrow for the loſs of ſo great and good a man. After the death of Eli, he governed the Hebrews twelve years alone; and he lived afterwards eighteen years, under the monarchial government of Saul.

At this time lived near the ſpot where David and his people had ſtationed themſelves, a Ziphite of the city of Emma,* whoſe name was Nabal. He had large poſſeſſions in land and herds, having in his grounds three thouſand ſheep and a thouſand goats. David not only ordered his people to aſſiſt this man in attending his flocks, but prohibited them, under the moſt ſevere injunctions, from applying any part of his property to their own uſe, however preſſing their neceſſities; availing himſelf of frequent opportunities of reminding them of the ſacred obligation they were under of not coveting the goods of their neighbours. Thus David reſtrained his people from all acts of violence; and he imagined, that his ſervices to one whom he conſidered as an honeſt and worthy man, would be properly acknowledged. David one day ſent ten of his people to Nabal, commiſſioned to expreſs good wiſhes towards him, and requeſt out of his abundance, a moderate ſupply of proviſions, ſince his ſhepherds could bear teſtimony that his people, ſince reſiding in the deſart, had contributed to the preſervation of his flocks, and to aſſure him that his friendly compliance ſhould be abundantly acknowledged. Being of a ſordid, avaricious, and brutal diſpoſition, Nabal aſked the meſſengers who their maſter was? Being informed that they came from David, the ſon of Jeſſe, he abruptly and inſolently ſaid, that it was the practice of thoſe who had abſconded from the ſervice of their maſters to arrogate to themſelves the character of brave men. This contemptuous affront, from a perſon to whom he had rendered eſſential ſervices, was ſo provoking to David, that, his numbers being now increaſed to ſix hundred men, he left two hundred of them in care of his baggage, and putting himſelf at the head of the other four hundred, expreſſed a vow, that he would the ſame night deſtroy Nabal and his whole family.

Matters being now in this ſituation, one of Nabal's ſhepherds reported the above circumſtance to his miſtreſs, who was a woman of prudence, and of an agreeable diſpoſition, informing her, that being in diſtreſs through a want of proviſions, David had ſent to her huſband requeſting relief, when his meſſengers were not only refuſed, but charged with opprobrious revilings againſt David, who there was reaſon to apprehend, would ſeek vengeance upon Nabal and herſelf. Nabal being at this time in a ſtate of intoxication, his wife, whoſe name was Abigail, ordered ſome aſſes to be laden with preſents for David.

Setting out in ſearch of David, ſhe met him deſcending the ſtraits of the mountain, followed by four hundred men, being on his march to execute vengeance for the affront he had received from Nabal. Leaping from the aſs on which ſhe rode, Abigail proſtrated herſelf on the ground humbly beſeeching David to excuſe the words of her huſband, as one whoſe name was ſuited to his nature; Nabal in Hebrew ſignifying a fool and a madman. She pleaded for herſelf, that ſhe had not ſeen the meſſengers that were ſent to her huſband; adviſing David to give God thanks for ſending her as the inſtrument to keep his hands from blood: and, "Sir, ſays ſhe, may you ſtill preſerve yourſelf clear of that pollution, that God may turn the vengeance that threatens Nabal upon the heads of your enemies. Be pleaſed, I beſeech you, to accept of the good-will of your poor ſervant, with theſe ſmall preſents; and upon my humble requeſt, to pardon the offence of my huſband, who has ſo juſtly incurred your diſpleaſure; for there is nothing ſo well becoming the character of the perſon that Providence deſigns for a crown, as clemency and compaſſion.

---

* Epiphanius Scholaſticus has Maon for Emma, which is alſo the Scripture name.

David received the preſents, telling her, that ſhe had reaſon to bleſs God for ſending her to him this day; for otherwiſe ſhe would not have lived to ſee another; for he had ſworn to lay their houſe in ruins, and not to leave one ſoul alive in the family of that ungrateful man, who had caſt ſo many indignities upon him; but though he was content for her ſake, to forgive Nabal's fault, he ſaid there was a judgment ſtill awaiting him; and his ill-manners would be his ruin ſome other way."

David pardons Nabal for Abigail's ſake. V. 35. but foretels a judgment to attend him.

Abigail immediately returned home, where ſhe found her huſband carouſing among his companions, and ſo ſottiſhly drunk with wine, that it would have been fruitleſs to argue with him that night; but the next morning, when he was become ſober, ſhe told him the above particulars; which ſtruck him with ſuch an aſtoniſhment, that he was ſeized with a dead palſey, and died in ten days. David, upon the news of his death, was heard to ſay, that the judgment was righteous, and that God had avenged his cauſe, while he that received the injury eſcaped the guilt of blood. The world may gather from this example, that there is no avoiding the ſtroke of divine juſtice: and that divine Providence governs the world, and not chance; but that both good and wicked men are either rewarded or puniſhed according to their deſerts.

Nabal dies, as David had foretold, ver. 38.

After the deceaſe of the huſband, David ſent an invitation to the widow, deſiring her to repair to him; for he would take her as his lawful wife. Her anſwer was, that ſhe was not worthy ſo much as to waſh the feet of David; but ſhe went to him, however, with all her equipage, and became his wife; an honour that ſhe was indebted to for the graces both of her mind and perſon; for it was her prudence, modeſty, and beauty, that recommended her to this preferment. David had alſo a former wife, (Ahinoam) a native of Abeſar; but as for his late wife Melcha, the daughter of Saul, her father gave her away to Phalti, the ſon of Liſus * of Gethla.

David marries Abigail, Nabal's widow, v. 42.

Soon after this, when the men of Ziphe brought a freſh account to Saul, that David was come into their diſtrict again, and that with a little help he might be eaſily taken. Upon this intelligence, Saul immediately marched thither with three thouſand men; and the night coming on, he pitched his tents at a place called Sicella †. When David underſtood that Saul was moving that way, he ſent out his ſcouts for a particular information where the enemy lay; and word being brought, that they had poſted themſelves near a place called Sicella, David roſe in the night, and with only Abiſhai, the ſon of his ſiſter Zeruiah, and Ahimelech, the Hittite, went into the camp of the enemy; where they found the king in his tent, with his general Abner, and his guards about him, all faſt aſleep.

Seeing the king in his bed, and his lance laying by him, Abiſhai was preparing to put him to death; when David ſtopped his uplifted arm, ſaying "Saul is God's king, and his perſon ſacred, be the man however wicked; and he is only accountable for the ill management of his power, to him who gave him that power; but that the king may be convinced of his life having once more been at my diſpoſal, I will take away his lance, and his pitcher of water from his bed-ſide." David and his companions then quitted their camp, without being diſcovered, and croſſing the river, they aſcended a high mountain, and David called with the utmoſt ſtrength of his voice upon Abner and his ſoldiers, in order to wake them. Alarmed at being called upon by name, Abner aſked, from whence the voice proceeded, when David anſwered, that it came from the ſon of Jeſſe, one of the fugitives; and he then proceeded thus: "Can you Abner, be conſidered as a proper man to be the favourite of a great king, and the general of his army, having the guard of his royal perſon, ſince you indulge yourſelf in ſhameful ſloth and eaſe, while your maſter's life was in the moſt imminent danger. Can you inform me what is become of the king's lance, and the pitcher of water, that the enemy have this night taken out of his tent, and from his very bed-ſide, unknown to his guards, who were ſo inattentive to the vigilance becoming their ſtation, that they were ſleeping during the tranſaction. Whether this was the effect of treachery or careleſsneſs, certain it is, that you deſerve to loſe your head."

David carries away Saul's lance and pitcher from his bed-ſide. 1 Sam. XX, VI. 12.

He calls Abner, Saul's general, with inattention to the king's ſafety, ver. 13—16

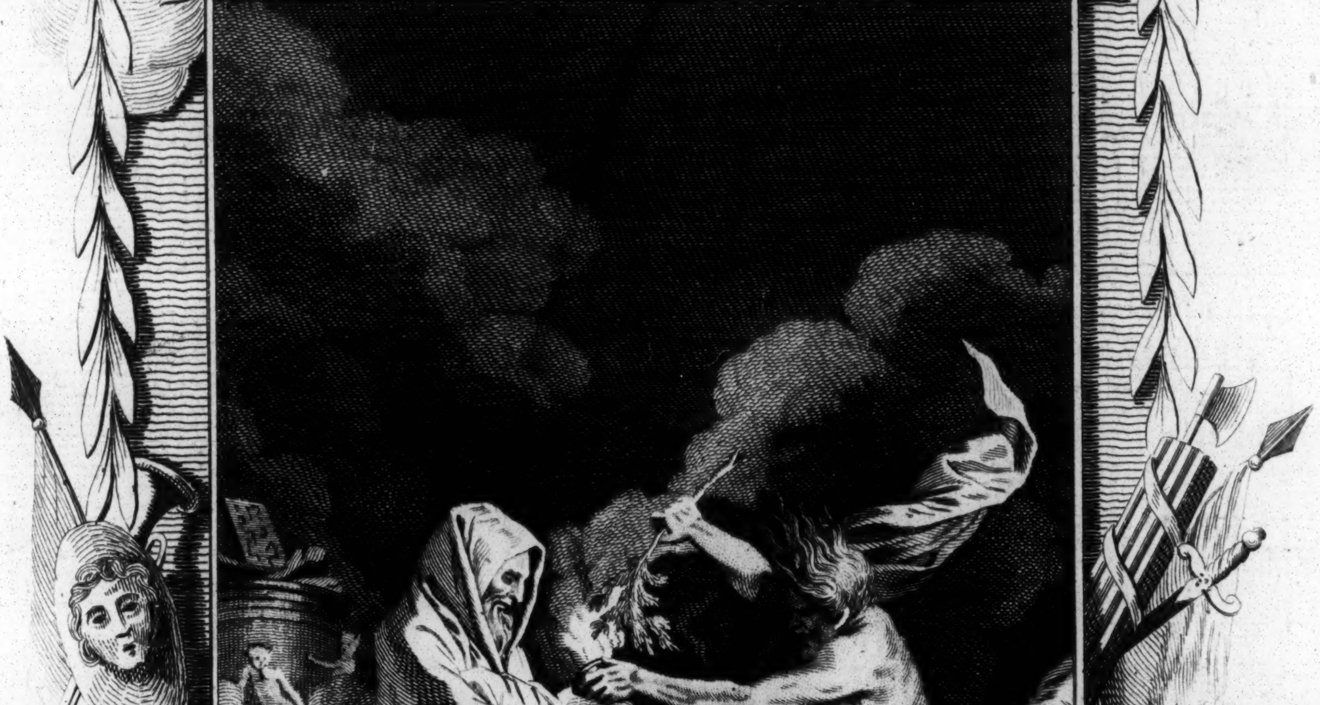
When Saul found this to be David's voice, and himſelf a ſecond time betrayed, by the frailty of his own drowſineſs and the neglect of the guards, into the hands of the very perſon, whoſe life he himſelf was now about to take away; miſtaking his beſt friend for his moſt mortal enemy, he was ſo ſenſible of David's goodneſs and reſpect, under the greateſt provocations, that he gave him public thanks for his life; bidding him ſet his heart at reſt for the future, and fear nothing, but return in peace to his own habitation; for he found by experience he ſaid, that his life was not dearer to himſelf than it was to David, whom he looked upon as his preſerver, and a perſon of ſo approved and unchangeable affection to him that

---

* Script. Laiſh and Gallim.

† Script. Hachilah.

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE's
Josephus.

Saul and the Witch of Endor.

Publish'd as the Act directs June 2, 1786 by John Walker, Paternoster Row.

that notwithſtanding all baniſhments, hazards and ill uſages, loſs of friends, and many violent attempts upon his life, he returned him nothing but benefits for injuries, and good for evil." David, at laſt, deſired him to ſend ſome body to fetch back the lance, and the pitcher; appealing upon the whole matter to the righteous God of heaven and earth, to bear him witneſs, that when he took away Saul's lance and pitcher, he could with as much eaſe have taken his life.

David appeals, that he could have taken his life as well as his lance and pitcher, 1 Sam. xxvi. 12, &c.

After this ſecond deliverance, Saul returned ſafe to his palace. But David having no mind to venture himſelf any longer in a place where he was ſtill in danger of being taken, removed with his ſix hundred men into the land of the Philiſtines.

1 Sam. xxvii. 1.

Anchus, the king of Gath, entertains David and his two wives, ver. 3.

Being now come to Anchus, the king of Gath, (one of the five principal cities belonging to the Philiſtines) he entertained David and his two wives, Ahinoam and Abigail. Saul had notice of David's motions, but after two diſappointments already, he left his adverſary to take his fortune, and deſiſted from the purſuit.

Saul gives over the purſuit of David, ver. 4.

David finding himſelf uneaſy in the city of Gath, deſired the king, in addition to his former bounties, that he would be pleaſed to aſſign him ſome portion of ground in his dominions, for it gave him ſome uneaſineſs, he ſaid, to continue ſtill in a place where he muſt appear burthenſome to the people. Upon this, the king gave him Sicella * to himſelf and his heirs for ever; and David retained ſo great a kindneſs for the place, even after he came to be king, as to reſerve it as a private poſſeſſion for himſelf and his poſterity ever afterwards.

King Anchus gives David the city of Sicella to him and his heirs, ver. 6.

David makes incurſions upon the Sarites and Amalekites, and takes great booty, v. 8, 9.

David's ſtay in Sicella was four months and twenty days, whence he made ſeveral inroads upon the neighbouring Sarites and Amalekites, carrying away vaſt booties of mules and camels, but taking no priſoners. He made the king preſents, however out of the ſpoil, who would occaſionally aſk him where he met with all that pillage. His anſwer was, that making incurſions into the ſoutherly parts of Judea, he there found it. There was no great difficulty to make Anchus believe a ſtory that he was ſo deſirous to have true; for it was reaſonably to be preſumed; that after all the havock and outrage committed by David upon his countrymen, he would not preſume to return home again; and by that means have nothing left to truſt to, but the ſervice of king Anchus. The Philiſtines were now preparing for war againſt the Hebrews, a general rendezvous being appointed, in Rengam, where Anchus was to draw them into a body, and thence to lead them out againſt the enemy. The king ſpoke to David alſo to join him, with his ſix hundred men, and he not only promiſed it with great readineſs, but told Anchus further, that the time was now at hand, that would put it in his power to make him an honourable return for all his bounties. The king, on the other hand, paſſing his royal word to David, that if he ſucceeded in the battle, he would do him all the honour in his power, and in particular give him the command of his guards.

The Philiſtines prepare for war with the Hebrews, 1 Sam. xxviii. 1.

Anchus to draw them up, and David with his ſix hundred men to join them, vi. 2.

CHAP. XV.

Saul conſults the ghoſt of the prophet Samuel. The ſpirit foretells the defeat of his army, and the death of himſelf and his ſons. The predictions of the ghoſt are verified. Sicella plundered and burnt by the Amalekites. David purſues, and commits a great ſlaughter upon the enemy.

SAUL had, by this time baniſhed from his dominions all ſoothſayers, diviners and other vain pretenders to a knowledge of future events, but the prophets he ſtill retained. Upon receiving intelligence, that the Philiſtines had marched as far as Sunem, and formed their encampment upon a plain near that place, determining to offer battle to the enemy, he drew up his army upon the mountain of Gilboah, directly oppoſite the enemy's ſtation. Saul perceiving that the enemy had a great ſuperiority over him, both with reſpect to numbers and diſcipline, he became exceedingly diſpirited, dreading the event of an encounter. At length, the king determined to conſult the prophets, as to what would be the event of hazarding a battle with an enemy of ſuch ſuperior ſtrength. The queſtion being put, but no anſwer returned, the ſilence of the oracle greatly augmented the alarm and diſcompoſure of the king's mind; for he conſidered this circumſtance as a preſage of an evil fate attending him. Notwithſtanding he was conſcious that God had withdrawn his favour from him, in order to learn what fortune awaited him he employed people to find out ſome woman ſkilled in the art of divining the events of futurity; for there are people who undertake to call up the ghoſts of the dead, and by that means procure anſwers to ſuch queſtions of the parties applying to them propoſe. Being informed by one of his family, that ſuch a woman as he was deſirous of conſulting lived at Endor, Saul immediately diſguiſed himſelf, and attended by two confidents, to

Saul in diſguiſe, goes to conſult the witch of Endor. 1 Sam. xxviii. 3.

---

* Script. Ziglah.

to whom only he communicated his deſign, ſet out to conſult this famous woman. Having found this female diviner, Saul requeſted ſhe would ſhew him an inſtance of the ſkill whereby ſhe had acquired ſo much celebrity, in calling up the ghoſt of a perſon he ſhould name; but ſhe excuſed herſelf from complying from a reſpect to the king's edict, whereby that mode of divination was prohibited on pain of baniſhment: but this refuſal only ſerved to render the king more urgent in his ſolicitations, and he called down the bittereſt imprecations on himſelf, if he ſhould divulge, to any perſon whatever, the ſlighteſt intimation of what ſhould paſs between them. By the force of oaths and importunities, he at length prevailed upon her to conſent, ſhe confiding in his ſolemn aſſurances that ſhe was ſecure from being informed againſt for tranſgreſſing the king's order.

Saul deſires ſhe will call up the ghoſt of Samuel, which appears, ver. 11, 12.

Saul now requeſted, that ſhe would call up the ghoſt of Samuel, and upon her incantation, the ſpectre appeared. The ſight of ſo divine a figure, threw the woman into great aſtoniſhment; and turning towards her companion, ſhe aſked, if he was not Saul, the king; the ghoſt having intimated ſo much to her. Saul replied in the affirmative, and obſerving that ſhe trembled with terror and confuſion, he requeſted to be informed of the cauſe of her diſorder. Upon this, ſhe ſaid, that ſhe perceived the figure of a venerable man, ſurrounded with a glory, ariſing from the earth. Saul demanded of what years and in what kind of cloathing the ghoſt appeared. She anſwered, that it had the reſemblance of an aged and venerable man, and was cloathed in pontifical veſtments. From this deſcription concluding the apparition to be that of Samuel, Saul proſtrated himſelf with his face towards the ground before the ſpectre, which now demanded, on what occaſion Saul had called him from his place of reſt. The king replied, that he was under a neceſſity of diſturbing his repoſe; for, being threatened by a powerful army, he wanted advice for the regulation of his conduct; God had forſaken him, and he no longer received aſſiſtance from prophets, dreams, or viſions. Therefore, as his laſt refuge in the extremity of his diſtreſs, he had recourſe to the ghoſt of the man, who, during his life, had ever proved himſelf diſpoſed to promote his welfare. Having reproved Saul for indulging an unſeaſonable curioſity as to what would befall him, after being abandoned by God, the ſpectre ſaid, "I am now to inform you, that the Almighty has determined to give the government of the Hebrew nation to David, who will bring the preſent war to a happy concluſion, while yourſelf and your ſons will fall in battle, as a puniſhment for having acted towards the Amalekites in direct contempt of thoſe commands which the Almighty was pleaſed to make me the agent of communicating to you. To-morrow, your army will be defeated, and yourſelf and ſons will then be numbered with the dead."

The ſpirit foretells the death of Saul and his ſons, ver. 19.

After the ſpirit had pronounced the above words, Saul fell ſpeechleſs and inſenſible upon the earth, either in conſequence of the terrible ſentence pronounced againſt him, or on account of his ſpirits and ſtrength being exhauſted; for he had received neither food, nor other refreſhment, for the ſpace of four-and-twenty hours. Upon obſerving ſigns of the king's recovery, the woman urged him to take ſuch refreſhment as was neceſſary for enabling him to return to his army; but in the exceſs of his deſperation, he repeatedly rejected her advice. Her importunities, however, prevailed upon him to accept her offer; and therefore, though ſhe was in ſuch indigent circumſtances as to have no other means of ſubſiſtence than her daily labour, ſhe killed and dreſſed her only kid, and placing the food before the king and his attendants, after the repaſt, they returned the ſame night to the Hebrew camp.

The king had prohibited the practice of the art which was the only means the woman of Endor had for the ſubſiſtence of herſelf and her family; but yet, when Saul came to her, under the character of a perſon oppreſſed with miſery, at his earneſt ſolicitation, ſhe conſented to exerciſe the art of divination, though he had prohibited it, under very ſevere penalties; and even when ſhe was informed by the ghoſt of Samuel, that her gueſt would die the following day, ſhe entertained him and his attendants in the beſt manner ſhe was able, giving them the only proviſion ſhe was poſſeſſed of, though ſhe could not reaſonably hope for any return.

Though Saul knew from the information of the ghoſt of Samuel, that he ſhould die the next day, yet he perſiſted in the reſolution neither to avoid ſtanding the iſſue of a battle, nor for, the ſecurity of his perſonal ſafety, to expoſe his royal character to ſcorn. It was his glory to die fighting in defence of his government; and he was moſt undoubtedly a prince poſſeſſing many qualities adapting him to add dignity to the royal ſtation.

The Philiſtines drew their troops from all quarters, diſtributing them into tribes, kingdoms, and governments; after the other diviſions of the Philiſtine army marched ed Anchus, king of Gath, with his force, which was followed by David at the head of his ſix hundred adherents. The Philiſtine commanders obſerving that there was a number of Hebrews in the army, they made enquiry, from whence thoſe people came, and by whoſe authority they were made a part of the troops. Anchus replied, that the young man (pointing to David) having been in the ſervice of Saul, had incurred his diſpleaſure, and, to ſave his life, had been under the neceſſity of having recourſe to flight; that upon his requiſition, he had granted the ſtranger ſanctuary and protection, in gratitude for which he was now at the head of his ſix hundred followers, for the purpoſe at once of aſſiſting the cauſe of the Philiſtines, and wreaking vengeance upon Saul. The Philiſtine commanders were unanimous in opinion, that it would be highly impolitic to repoſe truſt in a body of people that had abandoned the army of a profeſſed enemy, ſince treachery in them might be attended with the worſt conſequences; and therefore they adviſed, that the Hebrews might be diſmiſſed, ſaying their leader was the man ſo highly celebrated in the ſongs of the virgins for having put many thouſands of the Philiſtines to death.

Perceiving the force of the objection againſt David, Anchus called him aſide, and addreſſed him in words to the following effect: "From the experience I had received of your fidelity and courage, I entertained you as my aſſociate in * this expedition: but it is now my requeſt, that you will return with your people to the place I have aſſigned for your reſidence, and there exert your utmoſt vigilance to preſerve peace among my ſubjects, and to prevent my enemies taking advantage of my abſence. Thus you will render me as effectual ſervice, as you could poſſibly yield, by ſupporting my efforts in the approaching engagement." Hereupon they parted, and David marched his people back to Sicella. But in the mean time, the Amalekites had beſieged Sicella, and laid the whole city in aſhes, making a booty of all the property it contained, and carrying away priſoners the two wives of David, and the wives and children of all his people. This calamity tranſported David to ſuch an exceſs of paſſion, that he rent his garments, and wept in all the bitterneſs of ſorrow; and to add to his misfortue, his followers, reproaching him as the cauſe of all their calamities, indicated a diſpoſition of ſtoning him to death, ſo exaſperated were they by the loſs of their wives, children, and effects.

Being diſmiſſed from the Hebrew army, David and his followers return to Sicella. 1 Sam. xxix. ver. 10. Sicella taken and burnt by the Amalekites. 1 Sam. xxx.

The violence of his ſorrow, having, at length, ſomewhat abated, David had recourſe to Heaven for comfort. He requeſted Abiathar, the high-prieſt, to cloath himſelf in his pontifical veſtments, and conſult the Almighty, as to what means he ſhould purſue for relieving himſelf from his preſent calamitous ſituation. The queſtion was, whether, in caſe of overtaking the Amalekites, the Hebrews might be permitted to receive their wives and children again, and avenge themſelves upon the enemy. The high-prieſt reported to David the anſwer of the oracle, the purport of which was, that he ſhould purſue the enemy and prove ſucceſsful.

Encouraged by the divine revelation, David led his people in purſuit of the Amalekites as far as the Brook Beſor, where he met with a native of Egypt, who having loſt his way, was on the point of periſhing through want of food, having received no kind of ſuſtenance for the ſpace of three days. After affording the diſtreſſed man ſuch refreſhment as his neceſſities immediately required, David's people aſked him, to what country he belonged, and other queſtions; in conſequence of which they were informed, that he was a native of Egypt, and being a domeſtic to a perſon concerned in the ſiege and plunder of Sicella, had been left on the road, on account of exceſſive fatigue having rendered him incapable of keeping pace with the troops. Taking this Egyptain as a guide, David continued the purſuit, and at length came up with the enemy, who were in a ſtate utterly incapable of defence, ſome being aſleep, and the reſt overpowered with the intoxicating effects of liquor. At the head of his ſmall party, David furiouſly aſſaulted the enemy, and committed ſo dreadful a ſlaughter upon them, that, of the whole number, only four hundred eſcaped; and theſe were indebted for their ſafety to the fleetneſs of the camels on which they rode. In ſhort, after the purſuit had continued from noon till night, the Hebrews recovered their wives and children, and alſo the whole of the booty that the Amalekites had gained at the ſiege of Sicella.

David ſubdues, and makes great havock in the army of the Amalekites. 16, 17.

In the above expedition, David had only four hundred men under his command; for the other two hundred of his party were employed in the ſervice of defending the baggage. A contention now aroſe on the following ſubject: the four hundred who had engaged the enemy, inſiſted, that they were intitled to the whole of the ſpoil, to the excluſion of the two hundred that were appointed to guard the baggage, who, they ſaid could reaſonably claim no more than the reſtitution of their wives and children. The deciſion of this controverſy being referred to David, he ſaid, that "the victory was to be attributed wholly to God; and being a bleſſing upon the common cauſe of the Hebrews, thoſe who had diſcharged their duty in defending the baggage, had as juſtifiable a claim to a ſhare of the booty, as thoſe who had been more actively concerned in the defeat of the enemy." This determination, by unanimous conſent, received the authority of a law: and to this time, that part of an army appointed to guard the baggage is admitted equally to participate with thoſe engaged in battle in whatever booty is obtained from an enemy. After this victory, David ſent to his friends in the tribe of Judah preſents from the ſpoil gained from the Amalekites.

---

* This diſmiſſion was doubtleſs the cauſe of much ſatisfaction to David, who to obtain an aſylum had pretended an inveterate enmity to the whole Hebrew nation, on account of the ill treatment he had received from Saul; and being made one of the life guards to Anchus, he was reduced to the neceſſity either of revealing himſelf to the Philiſtines, or of fighting againſt his own countrymen.

The Hebrew and Philiſtine armies meeting, a deſperate concounter enſued. Saul and his ſons, Jonathan, Aminadab* and Melchi, diſplayed uncommon proofs of heroiſm and intrepidity: but being oppreſſed with numbers, they fell in the heat of the battle, in conſequence of which the whole army was thrown into confuſion, and routed, the Philiſtines attacking them on the rear, and putting vaſt numbers of the fugitives to the ſword.

The death of Saul. 2 Sam. 1—10.

When in the laſt extremity, the king called to his armour-bearer, commanding him to put him to death, leſt he ſhould fall alive into the hands of the enemy: but the man excuſing himſelf, from a principle of reſpect and veneration to his ſovereign, Saul placing the hilt of his ſword againſt the ground, forced the point of that weapon into his body but being, through the loſs of ſtrength, unable fully to accompliſh his deſign, and perceiving a young Amalekite near, he requeſted him to put an end to his life. The Amalekite complied, and having diſpatched the king, ſeized his crown and golden bracelets, and immediately retired with thoſe articles among his own countrymen. This battle, in which not a man of the royal guards ſurvived the king, was fought in the neigbourhood of the mountain of Gilboah.

Upon receiving intelligence of the death of the king and his ſons, and the total overthrow of his army, the Hebrews of the valley beyond Jordan, and of the cities in the plains, retired from the open towns into fortified places and ſtrong holds; and the Philiſtines took poſſeſſion of the places which the others had abandoned.

The day ſubſequent to that on which this memorable battle was fought, the Philiſtines came into the field, and finding among the ſlain the bodies of Saul and his ſons, after ſtriping them of their royal apparel and ornaments, they cut off their heads.

The victors depoſited, as trophies of their ſucceſs, the arms of the king and his ſons in the temple of Aſtarte,† and expoſed their bodies upon gibbets, as public ſpectacles, under the walls of Bethſhan, a city at this time known by the name of Scythopolis.

The people of Jabeſh-Gilead being informed of the barbarous outrages committed upon the bodies of king Saul and his ſons, they were ſo exaſperated at funeral rites being denied them, that a party of thoſe brave and enterprizing people travelled all night till they came under the walls of Bethſhan, when, at the imminent hazard of their lives, they took the bodies of the deceaſed, and conveyed them to Jabeſh, where they were publicly interred, with the honours due to their diſtinguiſhed characters, and a general faſting ‡ and mourning was obſerved for ſeveral days on this occaſion.

Thus as a puniſhment for neglecting to proſecute the war againſt the Amalekites, according to the ſtrict command of the Almighty, for his barbarous maſſacre of Ahimelech, the high-prieſt, and his whole family, and for his deſtruction of the ſacerdotal city, a place aſſigned as a nurſery to the prieſthood, was Saul, the firſt king of the Hebrew nation, deprived in one day of his government and life. In the days of Samuel he ruled the Hebrews § eighteen years, and continued in the government twenty-two years after the deceaſe of that celebrated prophet.

---

* Script Abinadab and Melchiſhua.

† Script. Aſhtaroth.

‡ "And they took their bones, and buried them under a tree at Jabeſh, and faſted ſeven days." 1 Sam. xxxi. 13. It is to be underſtood, that they faſted till evening on ſeven ſucceſſive days, and not that they abſtained from taking refreſhment for ſo long a period.

§ This is diſputed by Gataker, in his Diſſert. de Stylo N. I. c. xvi.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS,

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK VII.

From the Year of the World 2890 *to* 2931.

CHAPTER I.

David laments the death of Saul and Jonathan. David declared king of the tribe of Judah. Abner leads an army againſt David, whoſe general, Joab, defeats him. Abner kills Hazael, one of the brothers of Joab. Abner revolts to David, and is murdered by Joab. David laments the death of Abner.

THE man, who at the requeſt of Saul, had put an end to his life, appeared before David, his cloaths being rent, and having aſhes on his head*, and proſtrated himſelf at his feet. David aſking the meaning of this proceeding, the ſtranger replied, that he was an Amalekite; that being in the battle, he perceived the king ruſh upon the point of his ſword, but, on account of the faintneſs ariſing from the loſs of blood, being unable to put an end to his exiſtence, he had, at the earneſt requeſt of Saul, performed that office, by ſtriking the weapon into his heart. In confirmation of what he had ſaid, he produced, and preſented to David, the crown and bracelet which he had taken from the deceaſed king. Upon receiving this intelligence, David rent his garments, and paſſed the remaining part of the day in bewailing the death of Saul, and his faithful and beloved friend Jonathan, to whom he had been, as we have related, indebted for his life. Upon the confeſſion of the regicide, his narrative being confirmed by the production of the crown and bracelet, David, notwithſtanding the provocation he had received from the deceaſed, ordered the Amalekite to be taken into cuſtody, in order to be dealt with according to law. There are ſtill extant divers elegies and epitaphs compoſed by David in honour of the memory of Saul and Jonathan.

By the appointment of God David eſtabliſhes his reſidence at Hebron. 2 Sam. ii. 1, 2. He is proclaimed king 4.

After the time of mourning for the death of Saul and his ſons, David, by means of the prophet conſulted, the Almighty, as to which of the cities of Judah, he ſhould ſelect for his reſidence; and the anſwer was, that Hebron ſhould be the place of his habitation. In conſequence of this, he immediately departed from Sicella, accompanied by his two wives, and attended by his uſual guards. In a ſhort time after the arrival of David in Hebron, his whole tribe repaired to that city, and proclaimed him king with the uſual formalities.

Being informed, that the people of Jabeth had reſcued the bodies of Saul and his ſons from the gibbets whereon they had been expoſed, and given them honourable interment, David diſpatched meſſengers to expreſs his acknowledgments for their brave and generous behaviour with reſpect to the remains of thoſe diſtinguiſhed perſonages. The meſſengers at the ſame time informed the people of Jabeſh, that David had been ſolemnly proclaimed king of the tribe of Judah.

---

* This was a ſignal of deep mourning.

The death of the king and his ſons, no ſooner came to the knowledge of Abner, than he haſtened in ſearch of Iſhboſheth, the only ſurviving male deſcendant of Saul; and having found him in the camp, to ſecure him from danger, he conducted him to the oppoſite ſide of the river Jordan, and procured him to be declared king of all Iſrael, except the tribe of Judah, appointing Meanahaim, a word ſignifying the camp, as the place of his reſidence.

Iſhboſheth declared king of all Iſrael, except Judah 10.

Abner was ſo incenſed againſt the tribe of Judah for having appointed David their king, that he was determined to make war againſt them, and for that purpoſe ſelected a body of men remarkable for intrepidity and ſtrength. David being informed of Abner's deſign, he made preparations to oppoſe the enemy, giving the command of his troops to Joab, the ſon of his ſiſter Zeruiah by Suai, who was accompanied in the expedition by his two brothers Abiſhai and Hazael. The armies being drawn up in order of battle, near the fountain of Gibeon, Abner propoſed, that previous to a general engagement, a trial ſhould be made as to which army contained the beſt warriors, by an encounter being maintained between a certain number of men ſelected from each ſide. This offer was accepted, and it was agreed, that a combat ſhould be ſuſtained by twelve men choſen from either army. The champions came forth, and began the battle with darts, after which they had recourſe to their ſwords; and each man ſeizing his adverſary by the hair, they cut and ſtabbed each other till they all remained dead upon the field.

A combat between twelve men choſen from each army, and they are all ſlain. 15.

David defeats Abner. 7.

After the above encounter, the armies engaged, and for ſome time maintained a furious conteſt: but at length, Abner's party was routed, and put to flight; Joab and his brothers purſuing them, and encouraging their men to execute vengance upon the enemy. Being ſurpriſingly ſwift of foot, Hazael out ran his companions, and having ſingled out Abner, cloſely purſued him, till the fugitive, finding himſelf ſo hardly preſſed, turned, and offered Hazael a ſuit of armour, on condition of permitting his eſcape: but that propoſal being rejected, he requeſted that he might not be compelled, for the ſake of preſerving his own life, to do an act that he was averſe to; namely that of putting his purſuer to death: but perceiving that his perſuaſions were of no avail, Abner, while flying, diſcharged his lance behind him, and ſtruck his purſuer dead upon the ſpot. The death of Hazael ſo exaſperated Joab and Abiſhai, that with unremitting vigour, they continued the purſuit nearly till ſun-ſet. Being driven as far as Mathon, or the aqueduct, Abner, and the tribe of Benjamin, poſted themſelves upon an eminence, and from thence Abner addreſſed himſelf to the enemy, in words purporting, that the animoſity between people deſcended from the ſame anceſtors, and profeſſing the ſame religion, had already been attended with effects that all parties had occaſion ſeverely to deplore; that he conceived himſelf juſtifiable in having killed Hazael, ſince, notwithſtanding he had intreated him to decline the purſuit, he had provoked his own fate, by an obſtinate perſeverance; and that, having but the two alternatives, it was natural for him to preſerve his own life, by the deſtruction of his enemy. Abner concluded with requeſting, that the enmity which had already been productive of ſuch fatal conſequences might now ſubſide. Hereupon, Joab ſounded a retreat, and for that night encamped upon the ſpot where his army was then drawn up: but Abner croſſed the river Jordan, and continued his march to the palace of Iſhboſheth, the ſon of the deceaſed king. The following day, Joab cauſed the bodies of the ſlain to be buried. It was computed, that on this occaſion Abner loſt three hundred and ſixty, and David twenty men. Joab and Abiſhai conveyed the body of Hazael, to Bethlehem, where it was interred in the family ſepulchre. After the funeral of Hazael, Joab and Abiſhai joined David at Hebron.

Abner kill Hazael. 6.

The poſterity of David. 2 Sam. i. 2s 3, 4.

The occurrences above recorded gave riſe to the deſtructive civil war between the family of Saul and that of David for a long ſeries of years In the mean time, David had ſix ſons, by the ſame number of wives. By Ahinoam he had Ammon; by Abigail, Daniel; by Maachah, the daughter of Tolmai, king of Geſhur, he had Abſalom; Adonijah by Haggith; Sphacia by Abithal; and Jethrakam by Egla.

The prudence, courage, and popularity of Abner, joined with his conſummate abilities as a politician, eſſentially contributed to ſupport the intereſts of Saul's family, and preſerve the Hebrews in allegiance to Iſhboſheth: but upon receiving intelligence, that an illicit intercourſe ſubſiſted between the general and Rizpah, the daughter of Sibeth, who had formerly been one of the concubines of his late father Saul, the prince reproached Abner on the ſubject with ſo much acrimony, that he determined, in revenge, to quit the party of

Iſhboſheth, and to attach himſelf with that of David.

Abner now diſpatched a meſſenger to Hebron, with authority to inform David, that he would engage to give him poſſeſſion of the kingdom with the general conſent of the whole people, by bringing over to his intereſts the tribes that had been hitherto adverſe to his pretenſions, on condition that he ſhould bind himſelf by oath to confer upon him the office of his prime miniſter. David eagerly accepted this propoſal, deſiring Abner, as a proof of his ſincerity, to cauſe his wife Melcha, to be immediately reſtored to him. Melcha was, accordingly taken from Phalti, on whom her father had beſtowed her, after the diſgrace of David, and again delivered up to her firſt huſband: and this was done with the conſent of Iſhboſheth, who expreſſed a ſtrong conviction of the juſtice of the meaſure, knowing that David had purchaſed her with the heads of two hundred Philiſtines, and at the imminent hazard of his own life.

Abner eſpouſes the cauſe of David, who recovers his firſt wife the daughter of Saul. 2 Sam. 13, 14.

Abner now convened the elders and other principal people of the ſeveral tribes, and addreſſed them to the following effect: "When you were inclined to prefer David to Iſhboſheth, I oppoſed your wiſhes; but now you are at liberty to act as you ſhall judge moſt proper; for the prophet Samuel, under the influence of the divine inſpiration, has given us the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that David is the perſon whom God has deſtined to rule over the Hebrews, and under whoſe conduct alone we are to expect conqueſt over the Philiſtines." The whole aſſembly, perceiving from this ſpeech in what manner Abner ſtood affected, readily coincided in his views, and from that day openly ſupported the pretenſions of David; and the Benjamites, who compoſed the body-guard of Iſhboſheth, without the leaſt ſcruple adopted the ſentiments of the other tribes.

The treaty being thus far advanced, Abner, accompanied by about twenty choſen men, repaired to Hebron, the object of his journey thither being to bring to completion in a perſonal conference with David, the treaty they had commenced.

David entertains Abner.

Upon his arrival at the court of David, he was received in the moſt friendly manner by that prince, who entertained him and his attendants with the utmoſt magnificence for the ſpace of three days; at the expiration of which time, Abner requeſted to be diſmiſſed, that he might finiſh the undertaking in which he had embarked.

In the courſe of the above three days, Joab, David's general was abſent from Hebron; but he returned juſt at this juncture, and entered the city at one gate, as Abner quitted it by another. Being informed of all that had paſſed during his abſence, he inſtantly conceived the ſuſpicion that Abner, with whoſe abilities he was well acquainted, would effectually ſupplant him in the king's favour, even, perhaps, to the depriving him of the honourable office of commander of the forces.

He endeavoured, therefore, at firſt, to impreſs the mind of David with ſentiments to his diſadvantage, repreſenting Abner, as a perſon, whoſe ſole intention it was to miſlead him by his profeſſions, that he might with greater facility ſecure to the family of Saul the poſſeſſion of the throne. When he perceived that all his efforts were ineffectual, he formed the execrable deſign of aſſaſſinating his rival; and, accordingly, ſent meſſengers after Abner, to deſire him, in the name of David, to return immediately, he having omitted to mention a matter to him which was of great moment. Abner, was overtaken by the meſſengers at Beſirah*, about twenty furlongs† from Heborn, and, not ſuſpecting any miſchief, he readily accompanied them back to the latter city; at the entrance of which he was met by Joab, and his brother Abiſhai, who, the better to conceal their infamous purpoſe received him with the moſt flattering profeſſions of regard and eſteem: but when, under the pretext of private buſineſs, they had drawn him to a diſtance from his attendants, Joab ſuddenly thurſt him through with his ſword.

Joab attempted to juſtify this baſe and treacherous deed, on the plea of reſentment for the death of his brother Hazael; but his ſole motive was, the fear leſt Abner, ſhould prove a dangerous rival to him in the favour of the king. Thus we ſee, that the votaries of ambition and avarice are ever reſtleſs, while they perceive any man who is poſſeſſed of a larger ſhare of intereſt, power or merit than themſelves; and that they ſcruple not to be guilty of the moſt heinous crimes, to enable them to attain, and, preſerve thoſe advantages, which conſtitute the whole happineſs of their lives.

David expreſſed the greateſt affliction for the untimely fate of Abner, and, in the moſt ſolemn manner, declared his utter ignorance of the barbarous deſign; venting, at the ſame time, the moſt bitter execrations on the perpetrators and abettors of ſo nefarious an action. He ordered a public mourning for this occaſion; and attended his funeral in perſon, as chief mourner, accompanied by all the great officers of ſtate He cauſed the body of Abner to be interred, with the great magnificence at Hebron; and inſcribed on his tomb an epitaph of his own compoſition, in which he highly extolled the bravery and other numerous virtues of the deceaſed. By this conduct David conciliated the affection of the people in general, and particularly endeared himſelf to the friends of Abner; who unanimouſly exculpated him from all imputation of being acceſſory, to the barbarous treachery againſt Joab.

---

* Script. Sirah.

† About two miles three quarters Engliſh meaſure.

At the concluſion of the ceremony of the interment, David delivered to the ſpectators a ſhort oration in praiſe of Abner; repreſenting to them the great loſs which both himſelf and the whole nation had ſuſtained, by the death of ſo experienced and valiant a commander; appealing to Heaven on his incapacity to puniſh the offenders on account of their great influence over the army; and concluding with ſaying that, however thoſe perſons might eſcape puniſhment for a time, they would certianly, ſooner or later, experience the vengeance that was due to the enormity of their guilt.

CHAP II.

Raanah and Rechab aſſaſſinate Iſhboſheth, and preſent his head to David. By David's command, the murderers are put to death with torture. The ſeveral tribes unanimouſly acknowledge David their king. David conquers Jeruſalem.

Iſhboſheth hath a very great loſs of Abner. 2 Sam. iv. 1.

Iſhboſheth baſely murdered by Raanah and Rechab. v. 6.

THE death of Abner was a moſt terrible mortification to Iſhboſheth the ſon of Saul; for in him he loſt a dear friend and a near kinſman, who was the chief inſtrument in advancing him to his father's throne: but this prince did not long ſurvive him; for he was treacherouſly murdered ſoon afterwards by Raanah and Rechab, the ſons of Rimmon. Theſe men, who were two of the principal perſons of the tribe of Benjamin, vainly imagining that they ſhould thereby recommend themſevles to the higheſt perferments in the ſervice of David, determined to aſſaſſinate Iſhboſheth whenever an opportunity ſhould offer. Accordingly, at a time when that unfortunate prince had retired to repoſe himſelf, on account of the violent heat of the weather, they entered his chamber, his attendants being all aſleep, and, after having deprived him of life, they cut off his head, and then retired with the ſame privacy with which they had entered.

They immediately proceeded towards Hebron, where, after travelling with the utmoſt expedition during the whole night, they arrived the next day. But when they appeared before David, and preſented him with the head of Iſhboſheth, boaſting of the ſervice they had rendered him, by thus ridding him of his competitor for the crown, he, to their utter aſtoniſhment, expreſſed his abhorrence of their conduct in the following terms: "The atrocious action of which you have been guilty, calls aloud for the moſt exemplary puniſhment. Can you be ignorant of the manner in which I requited the wretch who brought me the tidings of the death of Saul, who he boaſted he had ſlain with his own hand? Yet it was at the requeſt of Saul himſelf that he committed this action, to preſerve him from the ignominy of falling alive into the hands of his enemies. Do you imagine, that I entertain ſentiments leſs worthy of my character than thoſe by which I was influenced on that occaſion, or, that I am capable of countenancing your perfidity and ſhocking barbarity towards the prince, to whom you were bound under the ſtrongeſt obligations of gratitude and allegiance? If you entertain ſo unworthy an opinion of me, you ſhall quickly be undeceived. I have nothing further to add, than to admoniſh you to prepare for that death which you have ſo highly merited." After delivering the above ſpeech, David ordered the murderers to be taken out of his preſence, and put to inſtant death. David cauſed the head of Iſhboſheth to be depoſited in the tomb of Abner, with ſuch funeral ſolemnities as were due to the exalted rank of the deceaſed.

David order murderers of Iſhboſheth to be put to death.

A ſhort time after the above occurrences, the elders ot the ſeveral tribes, the military commanders, and other principal perſons, repaired in a body to Hebron, where they ſolemnly acknowledged David as their ſovereign, vowing allegiance to him, and profeſſing their willingneſs to ſubmit their lives and fortunes to his entire diſpoſal. They reminded him, that even during the life of Samuel, they had manifeſted a predilection in his favour, having been convinced by the declaration of the prophet Samuel, that he was ſelected by the Almighty to perform the glorious atchievement of ſubjugating the Philiſtines, and to rule over the whole nation of Iſrael. David aſſured the people, that he would unremittingly exert his moſt ſtrenuous endeavours to fulfil their expectations. He then magnificiently entertained them for the ſpace of three days, and after directing them to cauſe thoſe of the ſeveral tribes, who were able to bear arms, to repair to him at Hebron, being compleatly equipped for war, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

A muſter of the armed men of the ſeveral tribes 1 Chron. XII, 23, &c.

In conſequence of the above order, there aſſembled in Hebron, ſix thouſand eight hundred men of the tribe of Judah, excluſive of thoſe who had declared themſelves in favour of David at the time of the late king's deceaſe; theſe men were compleatly armed. Of the tribe of Simeon came upwards of ſeven thouſand one hundred men;

of the tribe of Levi, four thouſand ſeven hundred; theſe latter being headed by Jehoida, and the high-prieſt Zadock, together with twenty eminent perſons of his family. Of the tribe of Benjamin the number was only four [*] thouſand, the reſt of thoſe people entertaining a ſtrong perſuaſion, that the government would revert to the family of Saul; of the tribe of Ephraim there were twenty thouſand eight hundred, they being men remarkable for bravery and vigour of conſtitution; of the tribe of Manaſſes there were eighteen thouſand; and twenty thouſand [†] of the tribe of Iſſachar, excluſive of two hundred perſons celebrated for their ſkill in the art of divination; of the tribe of Zebulon there came fifty thouſand, that number comprehending the whole tribe, and they were armed with ſhield, ſpear, ſword, and helmet; like the people of the tribe of Gad; the tribe of Naphtali [‡] produced an immenſe multitude, being under the command of a thouſand officers of diſtinguiſhed bravery and military ſkill; of the tribe of Dan came twenty-ſeven thouſand [§]; of the tribe of Aſſar forty thouſand; and a hundred and twenty thouſand from the tribes of Reubel and Gad, and the remaining half tribe of Manaſſes, from the other ſide of the river Jordan, they being provided with ſhields, helmets, ſwords, and ſpears. It is to be obſerved, that the ſword was a weapon uſed by the tribes in general.

David takes the command of the Hebrew army.

The troops above enumerated brought with them to Hebron, a plentiful ſupply of corn, wine, and various other neceſſaries; they unanimouſly proclaimed David their king, vowing allegiance and fidelity to him. Having liberally entertained the people, for the ſpace of three days, David put himſelf at the head of the army, and marched to beſiege Jeruſalem, which city was then in poſſeſſion of the Jebuſites, a people of the race of the Canaanites. Upon the appearance of the Hebrews before the place, the inhabitants, in ridicule of the aſſailants, ſtationed their lame and blind people upon the walls, ſaying, they wanted no other defence againſt ſo contemptible an enemy. Highly incenſed by this inſult, David reſolved immediately to attack the town, and in effect, he convinced the inhabitants of their imprudence in placing a vain reliance of ſafety upon thoſe fortifications which they ſuppoſed to be impregnable. At the head of a ſelect body of troops, David advanced towards the place; and upon a general and fierce aſſault he ſoon became maſter of the lower town: but the caſtle ſtill maintained a brave defence. Finding this to be a poſt of great ſtrength, and conſidering, that if he ſhould fail in his attempt to ſubjugate it, his military reputation would be injured; in order to animate the courage of his people, he promiſed pecuniary rewards to ſuch of the ſoldiers as ſhould ſignalize their intrepidity in the action, and to give the chief command of the army to ſuch of the leaders as ſhould firſt aſcend the wall, and make good his ſituation upon the parapet of the citadel. Hence was a ſpirit of emulation excited among all ranks in the Hebrew army, of whom each man performed miracles of valour: but it being the fortune of Joab firſt to gain a ſtation upon the battlements, he called from thence to David for a ratification of his promiſe. The Hebrews ruſhed into the caſtle in great numbers, and the Jebuſites ſurrendered to them at diſcretion.

David conquers Jeruſalem.

CHAP. III.

David repairs and ornaments Jeruſalem; where he eſtabliſhes his reſidence, giving the place the additional appellation of the city of David. The king of Tyre diſpatches an embaſſy with propoſals to David for concluding a treaty of alliance. David's wives and children.

IMmediately after this conqueſt over Jeruſalem, David repaired the fortifications and other buildings of the town, giving to the latter the additional appellation of the city David, and removing his court to that place, where it continued during the remaining part of his reign. Seven years and ſix months had elapſed from the time of David being declared king by the tribe of Judah to that of transferring his court from Hebron to Jeruſalem.

Jeruſalem called the city of David. 2 Sam. V. ver. 7.

About this time, Hiram, king of Tyre, diſpatched an embaſſy to David, with a commiſſion to negotiate a treaty of friendſhip and alliance with him. Theſe meſſengers brought with them rich preſents of cedar wood, and were accompanied with ſeveral ingenious mechanics, who were to be employed in conſtructing magnificent palace in Jeruſalem for the reſidence of the king.

---

[*] The ſcripture ſays, only three thouſand, 1 Chron. XII. 29.

[†] 1 Chron. XII. 32. From whence this is taken, does not make expreſs mention of twenty thouſand, but ſays, "The heads of them were two hundred, and their brethren were at their commandment;" which allowing each of them to be a centurion or captain of an hundred, (as it is plain Joſephus here ſuppoſes) makes exactly up the complement; two hundred times one hundred, being juſt twenty thouſand.

[‡] We have it 1 Chron. XII. 34 "And of Naphtali a thouſand captains, and with them with ſhield and ſpear, thirty and ſeven thouſand."

[§] 1 Chron 12, 35. 'tis ſaid, "And all the Danites expert in war, twenty and eight thouſand and ſix hundred.

David ſtrongly fortified the upper town, laying that and the citadel together, encompaſſing the whole with a wall, and giving the command of the place to Joab.

In the days of Abraham the city was called Solyma; and ſome contends that Homer points at this city, when he ſpeaks of the people of Solyma; for the word Hieron*, or Temple, ſignifies in the Hebrew ſecurity, or a fortreſs. Now the whole time of the war with the Philiſtines, from the Hebrews dividing their lands, under the command of Joſhua, to the day here ſpoken of, was reckoned to be five hundred and fifteen years.

There was among the Jebuſites a very rich man, named Orphan, who had done many good offices for the Hebrews, and deſerved ſingularly well from David himſelf, as will be ſeen hereafter. This man, upon the ſacking of the town, was preſerved by the king in all the heat and fury conſequent upon the ſiege of the city.

Excluſive of thoſe already mentioned, David eſpouſed ſeveral wives, by whom he had nine ſons, their names being Amnon, Ellus, Ebas, Nathan, Solomon, Jebar, Eliel, Phalna, and Ennephen; he had alſo a daughter named Thamar, ſhe being ſiſter, by the ſame mother, to Abſalom. He had alſo two illegitimate ſons, namely Jonas and Eliphel.

CHAP. IV.

David gains ſeveral ſplendid victories over the Philiſtines and their allies. The ark removed to Jeruſalem. For his preſumption in laying prophane hands upon the ark, Uzzah is ſtruck dead.

UPON receiving intelligence that David had been recogniſed ſovereign of Iſrael by the unanimous voice of the ſeveral tribes, the Philiſtines determined to make war againſt him, and for that purpoſe led forth a powerful army, and encamped at a ſmall diſtance from Jeruſalem, in a place called the valley of the giants. According to his uſual practice, before engaging in any undertaking of importance, David conſulted the oracle, and having received a favourable anſwer, he immediately led forth his army to oppoſe the confederated enemy, whom they attacked by ſurpriſe in their camp, and routed with prodigious ſlaughter. Becauſe this conqueſt was obtained with little difficulty, it is not to be inferred, that the enemy was contemptible in point of numbers; for their force was augmented by the Syrians, Phœnicians, and ſeveral other war like nations having formed a junction with them. The frequent and great loſſes the Philiſtines had ſuſtained in their conteſts with the Hebrews had ſo reduced their power, that without ſuch aſſiſtance as they received on the above occaſion, they could not have brought an army into the field. This overthrow however did not ſubdue the martial ſpirit of the Philiſtines, who in ſhort time, again encamped upon the ſame ſpot, with an army thrice as numerous as they had brought before.

The Philiſtines and their confederates routed.

David now again conſulted the oracle, whereby he was directed to ſtation his army in the wood called the Grove of Mourning, and to remain inactive till he ſhould obſerve a ſupernatural agitation in the leaves and branches of the trees, without the ſlighteſt breath of air to occaſion that motion; immediately upon which ſignal he might attack the enemy with the moſt perfect confidence of ſucceſs. Theſe orders David ſtrictly obſerved, and attacking the Philiſtines, they gave way on the firſt onſet, and fled in the utmoſt confuſion, the Iſraelites advancing ſo near as to be able to make uſe of their ſwords, continuing their their purſuit with great ſlaughter, as far as Gazer, on the frontiers of the country of the Philiſtines; after which they returned to plunder the enemy's camp, where they found an immenſe booty, and alſo the idols of the Philiſtines, which they utterly deſtroyed.

This war being terminated ſo ſpeedily and fortunately for the Iſraelites, with the advice of the elders and chief perſons of the ſeveral tribes, David determined to march with his whole army, accompanied by the prieſts and Levites, to Kiriath-jearim, for the purpoſe of conducting the holy ark from thence to Jeruſalem; where the people were to aſſemble in future, to offer up their oblations, and to perform all the other duties of their religion.

David marches to Kiriath-jearim to fetch the ark to Jeruſalem
2 Sam. VI. Ver. 2.

The neceſſary preparations being made, the ark was removed from the houſe of Aminidab, by the prieſts and Levites, who placed it on a carriage conſtructed for the purpoſe, to be drawn by oxen, and delivered it into the care of their ſons, and the other perſons of their families. David led the proceſſion, being followed by a numerous body of the people, dancing, and ſinging hymns of praiſe to the Almighty, in which they were accompanied by various performers on the harp, cymbal, and other inſtruments. Thus they proceeded towards

---

* The futility of this is proved by Mauſis upon Joſhua, cap x. yet Iſ. Voſſius defends Joſephus. See his epiſtle to Colvius, p. 395, 396.

Jeruſalem; and arriving at the place called the Threſhing-floor of Chidon, or Nachon, the oxen which drew the carriage chancing to ſtumble, Uzzah, who happened to be cloſe to the ark at the time, put forth his hand to ſave it from falling, and was immediately ſtruck dead by the judicial vengeance of Heaven, for preſuming to touch it: a privilege enjoyed ſolely by the prieſts and Levites. The unhappy fate of this man, greatly affected both David and the people in general; and the place was from that day, entitled Perez-Uzzah, or the tranſgreſſion of Uzzah.

zzah ſtruck ead for putng out his nd to ſave e ark from lling, Ver, 7.

The ſeverity of the puniſhment inflicted on Uzzah ſo much alarmed David, that he was apprehenſive leſt a ſimilar fate ſhould attend himſelf, if he perſiſted in his deſign of removing the ark to Jeruſalem: he, therefore, depoſited it in the houſe of Obed-Edom, a Levite of great reputation for righteouſneſs and virtue, where it remained for the ſpace of three months, during which it was obſerved that, the perſon to whoſe charge it had been committed, had acquired great wealth, and proved ſingularly ſucceſsful in all his undertakings; inſomuch that the rapid advancement of his fortune excited the admiration and envy of the whole people. The ſucceſs attending Obed-Edom during the time of the ark being under his care, diſſipated thoſe apprehenſions which David had entertained with reſpect to the removal of the ark into the city. Therefore in conformity with the directions of David, the ark was conveyed into Jeruſalem in the following manner; the proceſſion was compoſed of a certain number of prieſts bearing the ark on their ſhoulders, they being accompanied by ſeven choirs of ſinging men, preceded by David, who danced and ſung with the reſt, at the ſame time joining the conſort with his harp; and the ark was followed into the city by an immenſe concourſe of people. The ark was afterwards depoſited in a temple in Jeruſalem, which David cauſed to be conſtructed purpoſely for its reception. So numerous were the oblations offered to the Almighty on occaſion of this event, that each of the men, women, and children, of the vaſt multitude that attended, received a cake of bread, and a part of the fleſh of the ſacrifices, of which they ate plentifully; and then David diſmiſſed the congregation.

The removal of the ark to Jeruſalem, Ver. 12.

Upon his return to his palace, David was met by Melcha, the daughter of the late king, who, after congratulating him, reproached him for ſinging and dancing before the ark, thereby expoſing himſelf to the ridicule of her hand-maids, and the other domeſtics of the court. In juſtification of himſelf, David ſaid, that he could not conceive himſelf deſerving cenſure for an action which he was convinced was acceptable to that Almighty power through whoſe goodneſs he had been advanced to the throne of Iſrael. By Melcha David had no iſſue, but ſhe had five ſons by Phalti, whom Saul had compelled her to eſpouſe, in conſequence of David having incurred the diſpleaſure of that king. Theſe five ſons will be more particularly ſpoken of in the progreſs of this work.

In gratitude for the glorious ſucceſſes accompanying all his undertakings, and the uninterupted felicity he enjoyed, David entertained a deſign of conſtructing a ſplendid temple for the public worſhip of God; for he conſidered that there was great impropriety in living himſelf in a ſumptuous palace, built of cedar, and ornamented with the utmoſt ingenuity of which man was capable, while the ark remained in ſo unworthy a building as the tabernacle. He was encouraged to this undertaking, by reflecting upon an ancient prediction delivered by Moſes; and communicating his intention to Nathan, that prophet adviſed him to purſue the pious work with all poſſible expedition.

David propoſes to build a magnificent temple, in which project he is encouraged by the prophet Nathan, 2 Sam. VII. 2, 3.

The following night God was pleaſed to ſignify to Nathan, in a viſion, that he ſhould inform David, he approved of his deſign of dedicating a temple to his worſhip: but that, in conſequence of the various hoſtilities he had maintained, he was polluted with blood, and therefore diſqualified for executing the pious deſign he had ſuggeſted. The viſion authoriſed Nathan further to inform the king, that on the concluſion of a long, ſucceſsful, and happy reign, he ſhould commiſſion his ſon and ſucceſſor, Solomon, who would be peculiarly favoured by Heaven, with the important buſineſs of conſtructing the holy temple: but that if Solomon ſhould degenerate into impiety or wickedneſs, the land would be viſited with ſickneſs, or famine, and the government transferred to another family. Hereupon Nathan immediately repaired to David, and communicated to him the directions he had received in the viſion. Proſtrating himſelf before the ark, David now addreſſed himſelf to Heaven, in words to the following effect: "Almighty and everlaſting God, through whoſe infinite bounties I have been exalted to regal power and dignity; for the benefits and mercies conferred upon me, glorified be thy holy name. I bleſs thee, O God, for thy gracious providence in my favour, thy promiſes to my poſterity, and thy numberleſs protections and deliverances of the people over whom it was thy gracious pleaſure to appoint me to reign."

God refers the building of the temple to Solomon.

CHAP. V.

David ſubdues the Moabites, and the Sophenians.

NAturally averſe to a life of inactivity, David determined to proſecute hoſtilities againſt the Philiſtines; being animated to this exploit by the prediction, that having vanquiſhed all his enemies, he ſhould tranſmit the government to his ſucceſſor in a ſtate of perfect tranquillity.

Preparatory to the conqueſt he had meditated, he called a general rendezvous of his forces; and marching them into the country of the enemy, he ſeized very conſiderable tracks of land, which he annexed to the juriſdiction of the Iſraelites. He declared war againſt the Moabites, upon whom he committed a terrible ſlaughter. About one third of the Moabites, who eſcaped the rage of battle, he rendered tributaries. Near the Euphrates, he encountered and obtained a complete victory over Adrazar, the ſon of Arach, king of the Sophenians. In this action he deſtroyed twenty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe; making booty of a thouſand chariots, one hundred of which he reſerved, and the reſt he burnt.

CHAP. VI.

David obtains a victory over Adad, king of Damaſcus and Syria; and ſubdues the Idumeans. He makes a generous proviſion for Mephiboſheth, the ſon of his deceaſed friend Jonathan, and the grandſon of Saul. David makes war againſt the king of the Ammonites.

Adad joins Adrazar againſt David, and receives a total overthrow.

IN the mean time, Adad, king of Syria and Damaſcus, diſpatched away a conſiderable army to the ſuccour of Adrazar, his friend and ally, in hopes to remove the ſeat of war from the country of the Sophenians; but after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, he came to general battle with David near the Euphrates; where he loſt the greater part of his army, twenty thouſand being cut off; the reſt ſaved themſelves by flight. Nicolaus mentions Adad, in the fourth book of his hiſtory, as follows: "Adad, a valiant man, had the command of Damaſcus and Syria, but his juriſdiction did not extend to Phœnicia. There happened to be a war between Adad and David, the king of the Jews, and ſeveral battles were fought between them; but in the end, Adad was overcome at Euphrates, though he diſplayed the intrepidity becoming a great general." And the ſame author, treating further of his poſterity, ſays, "That the government was transferred from father to ſon, to the tenth generation; the ſucceſſor ſtill receiving the father's name with the empire, as the Ptolemies among the Egyptains. The third, in ſucceſſion from this Adad, and the greateſt man of the family, out of a generous zeal to repair the honour that his grand-father loſt by this defeat, poured in an army upon the Jews, and laid waſte Samaria." This hiſtorian has unqueſtionably given a faithful account; for it is certain, that, in the reign of Ahab, king of Iſrael, the laſt mentioned Adad invaded Samaria. Of Ahab, king of Iſreal we ſhall ſpeak more at large in the proper place.

Purſuing the advantage he had obtained, David over-ran Damaſcus and the reſt of Syria; leaving garriſons where he deemed that precaution neceſſary, and after ſubjecting the whole country to contribution, he returned, carrying with him to Jeruſalem the golden quivers, and other rich equipage that had been taken from Adad's guards; and he dedicated the ſpoil and trophies to God, in acknowledgement of the victory he had obtained through his favour and protection. All theſe valuable ſpoils, and a great deal more, were afterwards taken away by Syſack, the king of Egypt, upon the ſacking of Jeruſalem, in his war with Rehoboam, David's grandſon. But we ſhall have occaſion to be more particular upon this ſubject elſewhere.

He takes Bettea and Machon,

Purſuing his conqueſts, manifeſtly under the favour and protection of Heaven, David laid ſiege to Bettea [†] and Machon, two of the moſt conſiderable cities in the dominions of Adrazar, from whence he acquired ſpoil to an immenſe value, excluſive of a vaſt quantity of a kind of metal, or compoſition of metals, which was deemed to be of higher value even than gold; and this metal Solomon cauſed to be made uſe of in forming the ſpacious veſſel called the ſea, the beautiful baſons, and other rich veſſels for the embelliſhment of the holy temple.

The king of Hamath ſolicits David's friendſhip.

Upon receiving intelligence of his conqueſt over the army of Adrazar, Toi, the king of Hamath, became exceedingly apprehenſive on account of his own ſafety, and therefore, he deemed it prudent to connect himſelf in a league of amity with the victor. He commiſſioned his ſon Joram to compliment David on occaſion of his late ſucceſs, and to preſent him with a variety of rich articles, conſiſting of antique veſſels in gold, ſilver, and braſs, of curious

---

[*] II Sam. VIII. 3. Hadaderzer, and 1 Chron. XVIII. 3. Hadarezer.

[†] 2 Sam. viii. 8. Betah and Berrothai; and 1 Chron. xviii. 8. Tibbath and Chun.

curious workmanſhip, and in compleat preſervation; hoping, by theſe means, the more readily to diſpoſe David to conclude a treaty of friendſhip. He graciouſly received the ambaſſadors, and having accepted their preſents, declared himſelf diſpoſed to acquieſce in the treaty of amity they had propoſed. Theſe gifts, and the ſpoil obtained from his vanquiſhed enemies, David dedicated to the Almighty, aſcribing to his gracious providence the whole honour of his ſplendid ſucceſſes.

Abiſhai, Joab's brother, kills eighteen thouſand Idumeans, and lays the country under contribution.

David was not alone victorious in the exploits wherein he was perſonally engaged, but alſo in thoſe expeditions which he entruſted to the management of his officers. Of this an inſtance was afforded in the caſe of Abiſhai, the brother of Joab, who being commiſſioned to lead an army againſt the Idumeans, he encountered the enemy, and having put eighteen thouſand of them to the ſword, ſecured the country in perfect ſubjection by eſtabliſhing garriſons in different parts; making them tributaries to David, who taxed them by the head.

David was a man of ſuch keen penetration and ſtrict integrity in the execution of his judicial office, that in all the appeals ſubmitted to his deciſion, he never pronounced a ſentence that was not ſtrictly conſiſtent with the principles of juſtice. He appointed Joab, the ſon of Zeruiah, to be his general, and Jehoſhaphat, the ſon of Ahilud, keeper of the records; from the houſe of Phinehas, he ſelected his friends Abiathar and Zadock to be his prieſts; and he nominated Seraiah his ſecretary; his perſonal guard, into which his elder ſons were incorporated, was commanded by Benaiah, the ſon of Jehoiada.

After regulating the affairs of his government, the king directed his attention towards his deceaſed friend Jonathan; enquiring what ſons, friends, and relations he had left, with a view to make them the ſubjects for the exerciſe of his gratitude; for among his virtues was that of remembering paſt benefits, which he ever made it a point of conſcience to acknowledge and compenſate. In conſequence of his enquiries relating to the family and friends of Jonathan, a man named Ziba, a freeman, who had long been one of the houſehold of Saul, was introduced to David, as being a man likely to ſatisfy his curioſity. This man related, that Jonathan left a ſon, named Mephiboſheth, who was ſtill living, being lame of one leg, in conſequence of being let fall by the nurſe, upon the ſurpriſe and ſhock ſhe received when ſhe was informed of the reſult of the terrible battle, wherein the child's grandfather and father were ſlain; he added, that Mephiboſheth then reſided at Labatha, * being brought up in that city under the care of a man named Machir.

Mephiboſheth, the ſon of Jonathan appears before David, who aſſigns him a liberal proviſion.

The young man being ſent for, upon coming into the preſence of David, he proſtrated himſelf on the ground, and otherwiſe teſtified his reverence and reſpect. The king encouraged him with the aſſurance of favour and protection, and aſſigned to him the poſſeſſion of thoſe eſtates and other effects that had belonged to Saul and Jonathan, appointing him to eat at his own table, and to reſide in the palace. The young man having made proper acknowledgments to his generous patron and benefactor, Ziba was called, and directed by the king to ſuperintend the lands given to Mephiboſheth, and at ſtated periods, to receive the profits thereof, and deliver the ſame to the ſon of Jonathan in Jeruſalem. The king alſo appointed Ziba, his fifteen ſons, and twenty other perſons of his family, attendants to Mephiboſheth, who took up his reſidence in the palace, and continued to be honoured with particular kindneſs and reſpect from David. The only iſſue of Mephiboſheth was a ſon named Micha.

Nahaſh the king of the Ammonites dies, 2 Sam. x. 1. and David ſends a condoling compliment to his ſon Hanum, v. 2.

Nahaſh, the king of the Ammonites, a friend and ally of David's, dying about this time, and being ſucceeded by Hanum, David ſent ambaſſadors to him to condole on occaſion of his loſs, and aſſure him of the ſame friendſhip and reſpect to himſelf that had been formerly paid to his father. The heads of the Ammonites put a malicious conſtruction upon this embaſſy, which the good faith and candour of David did not deſerve. They did all they could to irritate their king, with calumnies againſt David; and to inſpire a jealouſy, that the ſervants of David were not in truth ambaſſadors, but ſpies; who under the pretext of a compliment of ſtate, were ſent to explore the ſtrength and condition of the country; and that therefore, diſregarding their plauſible pretenſions, they adviſed him to be cautious and circumſpect betimes, leſt the opportunity ſhould eſcape of fruſtrating their treacherous deſigns. Deceived by theſe unjuſt inſinuations, Hanum cauſed one half of their beards and one half of their veſts to be cut off, and with thoſe ſtigmas of diſgrace diſmiſſed David's ambaſſadors.

Upon their return to Jeruſalem, David was highly incenſed againſt Hanum for the unworthy treatment his meſſengers had experienced from him, and determined to avenge ſo flagitious an inſult, and contempt of the law of nations, honour, and hoſpitality.

Being convinced that David would not ſubmit to the inſult that had been offered

---

* Script. Lo-debar.

The kings Syrus, Zoba, Maacheb and Iſhtob, join the Ammonites.

to him in the perſon of his ambaſſadors; Hanum prepared for the defence of his kingdom: he diſpatched ambaſſadors to Syrus, king of Meſopotamia, with a preſent of a thouſand talents, as a means of obtaining his alliance. Syrus not only conſented, but alſo attached king Zoba to the cauſe of the Ammonites; and their joint forces amounted to twenty-two thouſand foot. Hanum likewiſe purchaſed the aſſiſtance of the king's Maachab and Iſhtob, and they alſo brought into the field two and twenty thouſand men compleatly equipped for war.

CHAP. VII.

Joab defeats the confederated powers. David becomes enamoured of Bathſheba, and meditates the deſtruction of her huſband. David marries Bathſheba. Solomon born. Amnon commits a rape upon his ſiſter Thamar.

COnfiding in the gracious protection of Heaven, David was in no degree alarmed at a confederacy of ſo many formidable powers againſt him. The command of the army being entruſted to Joab, he encamped before Rabatha. The Ammonites being drawn up under the walls of the town, facing the Hebrews, and the auxiliaries in the open field, Joab made a ſimilar diſpoſition of his forces, and prepared for an engagement. He gave the command of one body of the army to his brother Abiſhai, with orders to attack the Ammonites, and putting himſelf at the head of the other diviſion, which was compoſed of choſen men, he prepared to give battle to Syrus. Having agreed, that if either ſhould be hard preſſed by the enemy, the other ſhould come to his aſſiſtance, they repaired to their reſpective ſtations. Joab now gave battle to Syrus, who for ſome time maintained the conteſt with great bravery and reſolution: but great numbers of his men being ſlain, he ſought for ſafety in a precipitate retreat. The diſcomfiture of the army under king Syrus ſtruck the Ammonites with ſuch terror and confuſion, that they fled into the city, in order to avoid Abiſhai, who was then advancing to give them battle. Having thus conquered, and committed great ſlaughter upon one diviſion of the adverſe army, and put the other to flight, Joab returned in triumph to Jeruſalem.

Joab overthrows the army under king Syrus. 2 Sam. x. 13, 14.

David ſubdues the Ammonites and their auxiliaries with great ſlaughter.

The reſtleſs and refractory ſpirit of the Ammonites ſtill remaining unſubdued, they applied to Chalama, king of the Syrians, who was ſtationed on the other ſide the Euphrates, for an auxiliary force, which he granted, on condition of receiving a ſtipulated ſum, appointing Shobac, his lieutenant general, to lead an army of eighty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe to their aſſiſtance. In conſequence of the formidable reinforcement which the enemy had received, David judged it to be no longer prudent to entruſt the conduct of the war to his deputies; he therefore took the command of his whole army, and having paſſed the Jordan, engaged the enemy, of whom he killed forty thouſand foot and ſeven thouſand horſe. Shobac, the general of Chalama,* received a wound in the action, which cauſed his death. The preſumption of the Meſopotamians being effectually humbled, they ſent ambaſſadors with preſents to David, and with acknowledgments of ſubmiſſion to his power, they being alſo commiſſioned to entreat that he would decline a further proſecution of the war. David now returned to Jeruſalem.

At the commencement of the following ſpring, David again diſpatched Joab to proſecute the war againſt the Ammonites. Purſuing the enemy into the city of Rabatha, their metropolis, he laid ſiege to that place, and having committed great havoc there, he laid waſte the circumjacent country to a very conſiderable extent.

Notwithſtanding the many excellent qualities of David, he was not wholly exempt from thoſe of an oppoſite deſcription: and he incurred the diſpleaſure of Heaven by permitting the violence of paſſion to induce the commiſſion of an atrocious ſin.

David in love with Bathſheba.

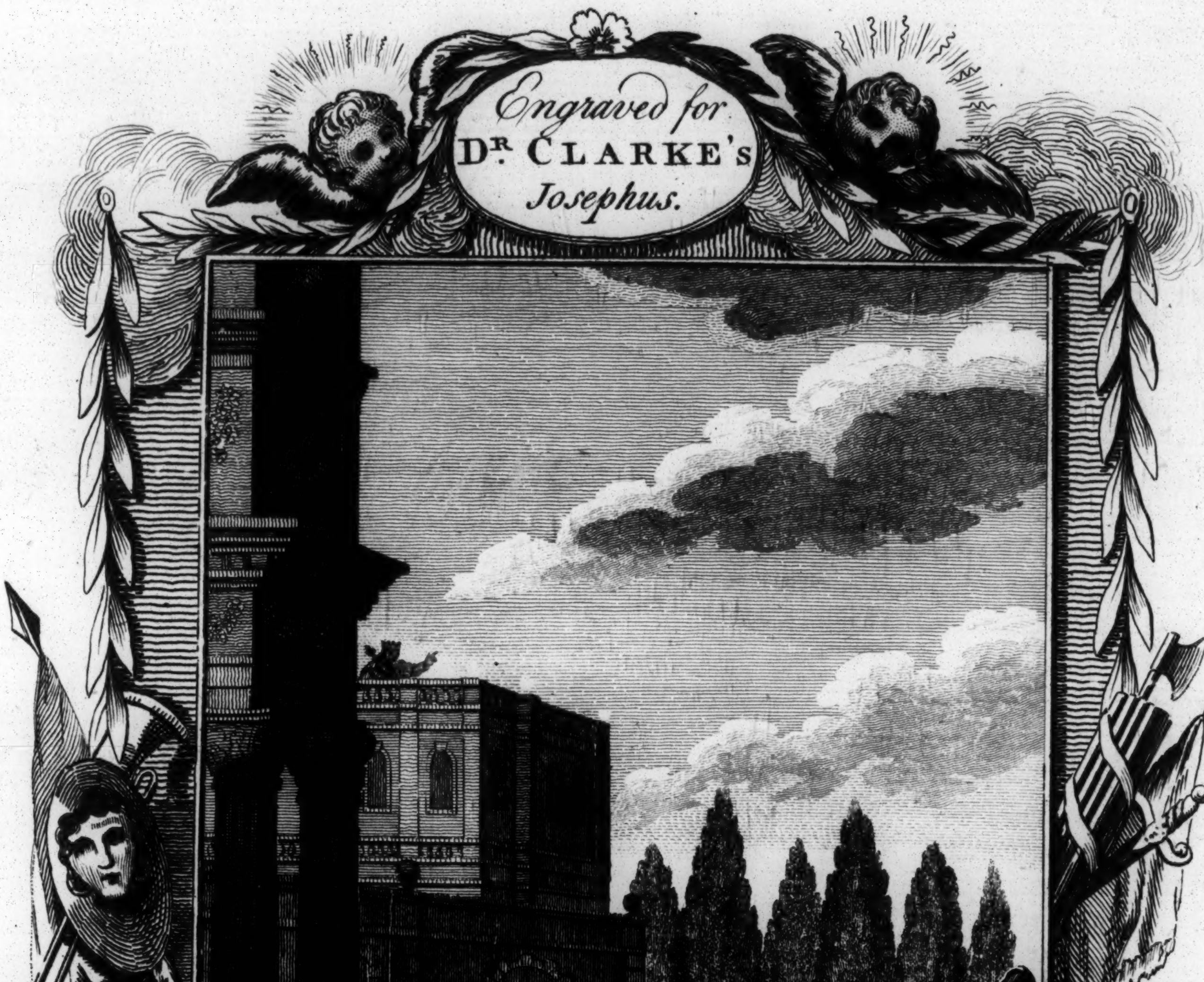
Walking upon the terrace of his palace one evening, he diſcovered a woman bathing herſelf near the ſpot, and finding her of moſt exquiſite beauty, he became violently enamoured of her. Her name was Bathſheba, and ſhe was the wife of Uriah, Joab's armour bearer. To indulge the paſſion he had conceived for this woman he cauſed her to be brought privately to his bed, in conſequence of which ſhe became pregnant. She repreſented her ſituation to the king, requeſting that he would adopt ſome means of concealing her infidelity, the diſcovery of which would render her liable to be condemned by the laws of her country to ſuffer death. Hereupon Uriah was ordered into the preſence of the king, who queſtioned him concerning the ſtate of the army, and the progreſs of the ſiege of Rabatha. David invited him to ſupper, and after the repaſt, commanded him repair to his habitation and repoſe that night with his wife. Uriah remained among the guards in the palace; and when this was known to the king, he aſked him on what account he had neglected the opportunity of viſiting his wife after ſo long and abſence. Uriah

---

* This king is called Hadarezer in 2 Sam. x. 16, and 1 Chron. xix. 16.

an-

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE's
Josephus.

Beth-sheba Bathing.

Publish'd as the Act directs May 5, 1786 by John Walker Paternoster Row.

anſwered, that he judged it not conſiſtent with the honour of a ſoldier, to indulge himſelf in the embraces of his wife, at a time when his general and fellow ſoldiers lay on the earth in the open country of an enemy. The king commanded him to remain another night, ſaying he ſhould return to the camp on the following day. He was again called to ſupper with David, and he plied him with liquors, in expectation that in the gaiety of his heart he would go to Bathſheba; but he was diſappointed, for Uriah ſpent this night as he had done the preceding one, among the guards. This proved ſo highly aggravating to the king, that he wrote to Joab, informing him, that being juſtly incenſed againſt Uriah, he was determined to puniſh him according to his demerits; but leſt any reproach ſhould fall upon himſelf, he ordered Joab to diſpatch Uriah upon ſome deſperate enterprize, in which his companions ſhould be inſtructed to betray him into the hands of the enemy. Uriah having delivered the king's letter to Joab, he ordered him to make a dangerous attack upon Rabatha, and to give the ſtratagem a plauſible appearance, appointed a party of men of approved courage to attend him, promiſing to ſupport him with the whole army, if any difficulty ſhould occur in effecting an entrance into the town: but his followers were privately directed to abandon him when ſurrounded with difficulties that would render his eſcape from the power of the enemy impracticable. Upon obſerving Uriah and his party advance to the walls, the Ammonites ſuppoſed their deſign was to enter the town by force, and therefore they ruſhed out of the place in great numbers, when being abandoned by his followers, Uriah defended himſelf with with aſtoniſhing bravery, and made great havock among the enemy: but being overpowered by numbers, he fell breathleſs on the ground, as did a ſmall number of his friends, who were not informed of the plot contrived for his deſtruction.

riah is cut pieces. 2 am. xi. 17.

Joab now diſpatched a meſſenger to inform David, that in order to bring the ſiege to a concluſion, he had cauſed a detachment from his army to make an aſſault upon the city of Rabatha, but that the men had been repulſed, and compelled to retreat into the camp, and that ſome had fallen in the action. If he ſhould obſerve the king to be diſſatisfied with this intelligence, he directed the perſon carrying the expreſs to ſay, that Uriah was among the ſlain. Upon receiving the above information, David cenſured Joab for expoſing his men before a walled and fortified town, inſtead of making uſe of mines and engines for reducing the place, ſaying, he might have been taught to act with more prudence, by recollecting the fate of Abimelech, who loſt his life at Thebes, in conſequence of an old woman caſting a part of a mill-ſtone upon his head from the battlements. Perceiving that the king was diſpleaſed with the conduct of Joab, the meſſenger informed him, that Uriah had loſt his life in the action; whereupon he obſerved that ſoldiers ſhould be prepared to meet every change of circumſtances. He then directed the meſſenger to inform Joab, that he preferred the uſe of machines and throwing up works to every other mode of carrying on a ſiege, and to add, that it was his pleaſure the city of Rabatha ſhould be laid in ruins, and every inhabitant of that place put to the ſword without diſtinction.

David marries Bathſheba. 26, 27.

On occaſion of the death of her huſband, Bathſheba lived ſome time in retirement: but the uſual term of mourning was no ſooner expired, than David eſpouſed her and ſome time afterwards ſhe was delivered of a ſon. This marriage was ſo contrary to the will of Heaven, that the prophet Nathan was informed, in a dream, of the diſpleaſure of God on the occaſion, and commiſſioned to reprimand David for his crime. Nathan, who poſſeſſed great knowledge of mankind, conſidering how little regard princes paid to the admonition of reaſon, particularly while under the influence of their paſſions, inſtead of directly informing David of what he had learnt in the viſion, introduced his inſtructions by way of alluſion, as will be ſeen in the following narrative: "Of two inhabitants of the ſame city (ſaid Nathan), one was diſtinguiſhed by his opulence, having abundance of oxen, ſheep, and other cattle: but the other was poor, his whole property conſiſting of a ſingle lamb, which he reared and fed with his children, and loved as tenderly as he did his own offspring. "It happened that the rich man had a viſitor come to ſee him, whom he could not do leſs than entertain in an hoſpitable manner; but rather than furniſh his table from his own abundant ſtore, he cauſed the poor man to be robbed of his only lamb, to furniſh a ſupper for the viſitor." Wretch that he is (cried the king) to be guilty of ſo wicked an action; he ought to make fourfold reſtitution to the injured party, and forfeit his life as a farther atonement. On which Nathan inſtantly ſaid, Thou art the man, and ſtandeſt condemned from the words of thy own mouth. After this declaration the prophet related the particulars of his viſion, ſaying that God was highly offended with the conduct of David; reminding him of his ingratitude to that providence which had advanced him to the throne, ſubjected the ſurrounding nations to his command, and repeatedly delivered him from the hands of Saul. "And now (ſaid Nathan) ſhall you, who have a number of legal wives, in defiance of all laws divine and human, compel the wife of another man to cohabit with you, and then betray the huſband to a premature death from the hands of the enemy! What, after ſuch conduct, can you expect, but that the vengeance of Heaven ſhould overtake you?"

David repents of his ſins. 2 Sam. xii. 13.

Nathan then predicted, that David ſhould live to know that one of his ſons had raviſhed his women; that this ſon ſhould harbour deſigns againſt his father's life, and that he ſhould be brought to public ſhame and condign puniſhment. The prophet concluded with ſaying, that the life of the iſſue of his illicit commerce with Bathſheba, ſhould be of ſhort duration. The admonitions and predictions of the prophet ſo affected David, that he humbled himſelf before the Almighty, confeſſing his ſins with tears and other expreſſions of ſincere repentance.

In conſideration that, except in the caſe of Uriah, he had conducted himſelf agreeably to the rules of righteouſneſs and virtue, God was pleaſed to ſhew favour to David, and to ſignify to him, by means of the prophet, that he ſhould continue in poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty.

David mourns and faſts for ſeven days. 16.

Soon after Nathan had delivered the above prophecy, Bathſheba's ſon by David was ſtruck with a ſevere illneſs; an event ſo afflicting to the father, that he retired to his chamber, and clothing himſelf in ſackcloth, remained there ſeven days, refuſing all ſuſtenance, and conſtantly praying for the recovery of the child, for whoſe mother he entertained the moſt tender affection. On the ſeventh day of its illneſs, the child died: but this circumſtance his attendants declined communicating to the king, leſt the violence of his grief ſhould be encreaſed. However, the ſorrow expreſſed in the countenances of the perſons of his family, David attributed to the right, and acquainted one of his domeſtics with his ſuſpicions, who acknowledged that the child was dead. The king now roſe from the ground, and having waſhed himſelf, and put on clean apparel, ordered a ſupper to be prepared againſt his return, and went to the tabernacle to perform divine worſhip. This unexpected conduct greatly ſurpriſed the king's relations and attendants; and being curious to know the cauſe of his patient reſignation, under the loſs of the child, whoſe illneſs had tranſported him to ſuch an exceſs of ſorrow, they intimated their wiſhes to the king, who replied, that while the infant was living, he cheriſhed the hope of his recovery, and unremittingly implored Heaven for that purpoſe: but the child being dead, it would be weak and preſumptuous to indulge affliction for a loſs that was irrecoverable. Some time afterwards Bathſheba was delivered of another ſon, who at the recommendation of the prophet received the name of Solomon.

The birth o
Solomon. 2

At this time, the Ammonites were greatly diſtreſſed, in conſequence of Joab having effectually cut off their ſupplies of proviſion, and taken poſſeſſion of all their water, except a ſingle well, which they were obliged to have recourſe to very ſparingly, leſt it ſhould be drawn dry. In ſhort, ſo calamitous was their ſituation, that they were under the moſt terrible apprehenſions of periſhing through hunger and thirſt. Joab tranſmitted to the king a particular account of the ſtate of affairs, adviſing him to attend in perſon at the deſtruction of the city, ſince it would be worthy of being recorded among the other exploits of an illuſtrious ſovereign. In compliance with the advice of his general, of whoſe loyalty and zeal he was perfectly convinced, David aſſembled his army, and marched to Rabatha, which being taken by ſtorm, he gave the plunder to his troops, reſerving to himſelf only a crown of gold, weighing a talent, and ornamented with a rich ſardonyx ſtone. The inhabitants were indiſcriminately put to death with circumſtances of exquiſite torture; and all the other cities of the Ammonites, which perſevered in oppoſition to David, ſhared the ſame fate.

Rabatha taken by ſtorm.

This ſplendid victory was followed by an event extremely afflicting to the king. David had a maiden daughter named Thamar, who was deemed incomparably the greateſt beauty of the age in which ſhe lived; ſhe was born of the ſame mother as Abſalom. With this daughter, Amnon, the eldeſt ſon of David, fell violently in love; but as ſhe was ſtrictly guarded, and was poſſeſſed of an innate modeſty, he ſaw no proſpect of ſucceſs in addreſſing her, and pined through exceſſive grief. This change in the youth, which daily increaſed to an alarming degree, being obſerved by Jonadab, who was his friend and relation, and a perſon of uncommon ſagacity and penetration, he aſked him the cauſe of his indiſpoſition, and particularly queſtioned him if it was not love. To this Amnon replied, that he was enamoured of his own ſiſter; on which, Jonadab gave him a hint how he might gratify his wiſhes. "Feign yourſelf ſick (ſaid he) and when David pays you a viſit, tell him you wiſh for the company of your ſiſter, whoſe kind attendance you think will tend greatly to the reſtoration of your health." This advice

vice was followed by Amnon, who, on ſeeing David, requeſted his ſiſter's company. This being granted, he begged her to make him ſome cakes; ſhe made and baked them in his preſence, and preſented them to him; but he refuſed to touch them, and directed the ſervants to leave the apartment, ſaying that he wiſhed to compoſe himſelf. They were no ſooner gone, than he begged his ſiſter to carry the cakes into a private room, which ſhe complied with; and he following her, made uſe of every poſſible argument to induce her to gratify his unnatural paſſion. The harmleſs maiden expoſtulated with him, called out for aſſiſtance, and entreated him not to ſacrifice the honour of his family to an extravagant paſſion "Let me be gone, (cried ſhe) and learn to regulate your deſires by the dictates of honour, religion, and law: or think how you may obtain your father's conſent; nor ſeek to gratify your paſſion by violent means." All her entreaties, however, were in vain; his paſſion made him deaf to the voice of reaſon, and notwithſtanding all her endeavours to the contrary, he forcibly violated her chaſtity.

Amnon, David's eldeſt ſon, raviſhes his ſiſter Thamar, 2 Sam. xiii. 1.

The paſſion of Amnon was no ſooner gratified, than the violent love he appeared to have had for his ſiſter, was changed into as violent a degree of hatred; and in a moſt imperious tone, he commanded her to quit his apartments. Shocked at this treatment, ſhe aſked if, after having been thus injured, ſhe was to be publicly expoſed and diſmiſſed by day-light, to tell the world how ſhe had been inſulted. This treatment (ſaid ſhe) even aggravates, if any thing can aggravate, the horror of your guilt. All her remonſtrances, and even her ſtruggles were fruitleſs for Amnon ordered his ſervants to turn her out of the houſe; and they complied. As ſhe went through the ſtreets, with her garments torn, and aſhes on her head, lamenting the ill uſage ſhe had received, ſhe was met by her brother Abſalom, who enquired into the cauſe of her grief and confuſion; upon which ſhe informed him of the ſhocking indignity that had been offered to her. To appeaſe her grief, Abſalom told her, that ſince the crime had been committed by her own brother, her diſgrace was not ſo great as it would have been, if ſhe had been ſo treated by a ſtranger. This aſſurance in ſome meaſure abated her ſorrow, and accompanying Abſalom to his habitation, ſhe reſided there a conſiderable time.

David was inexpreſſibly afflicted upon hearing of the ſhocking brutality of Amnon to his ſiſter: but he being his eldeſt and favourite ſon, the king declined to render him amenable to juſtice. Abſalom, however, determined to avail himſelf of the firſt opportunity that ſhould offer for wreaking vengeance upon Amnon: and two years after the rape upon Thamar, he invited his father and brothers to attend at a ſheep ſhearing at Belzephon *, a city in the tribe of Benjamin. The king excuſed himſelf, on account of trouble and expence; when Abſalom requeſted leave for his brothers to be preſent, which was readily granted. He then informed his domeſtics, that when Amnon ſhould be intoxicated, he would give a ſignal, immediately upon which they were ſuddenly to attack and kill him.

Abſalom determines to execute vengeance upon Amnon. 2 Sam. xiii, 27, 28.

CHAP VIII.

The death of Amnon terrifies his brothers. Abſalom retires to Geſhur. Joab intercedes in his behalf, and obtains permiſſion for his return. Abſalom goes to Hebron, and prevails upon the people to declare him king. Achitophel joins Abſalom, who, at his ſuggeſtion, commits an abominable wickedneſs.

IN obedience to the directions of their maſter, Abſalom's domeſtics put Amnon to death, whoſe fate was ſo alarming to the other brothers, that, imagining a like outrage to be intended againſt themſelves, they mounted their horſes, and returned to Jeruſalem. In the interim, David received information, that Abſalom had put all his brethren to death, which was ſo afflicting to him, that he rent his garments, and proſtrating himſelf upon the earth, he paſſionately lamented the horrid wickedneſs of the murderer, and the unhappy fate of thoſe whom he ſuppoſed to have fallen victims to his unnatural fury.

Amnon killed by order of Abſalom. 29.

When the above intelligence was received, Jonadab, the ſon of Shimei, who was brother to David, was in company with the king, whom he adviſed to conſole himſelf with the hope that there was no truth in a ſtory that appeared to be altogether improbable; but he added, that, as far as it related to Amnon it might deſerve credit, ſince it would not be extraordinary, if Abſalom ſhould have ſeized an opportunity of avenging the brutal inſult offered to his ſiſter. During their converſation, they heard the trampling of horſes, and other ſounds, indicating the approach of a company of people; and upon enquiry, they were informed of the arrival of the king's ſons from the houſe of Abſalom.

This meeting between David and his children was very affecting. The father wept at once with joy at the ſight of thoſe ſons whom he ſuppoſed to be no longer living, and through grief at the recollection of him whom he knew to be dead; while the ſons lamented the murder of their brother, but were conſoled at the thought of returning ſafe to their father: ſo that the whole ſcene was wonderfully pathetic. In the interim, Abſalom departed to Geſhur, where he remained about three years, with his grandfather by the mother's ſide, who was a man of conſiderable rank and influence.

---

* Script. Baal-Hazor.

Abſalom retires to the houſe of his brother's father in Geſhur, ver. 37.

By the expiration of this time, the anger of David towards his ſon Abſalom was in a great meaſure ſubſided, and he became diſpoſed to reſtore him to favour; and this diſpoſition of the king being obſerved by Joab, he conſidered how to improve it to the advantage of his friend. To effect his purpoſe, he had recourſe to an ancient and venerable woman, whom he cauſed to be cloathed in deep mourning, and inſtructed her to ſubmit a caſe to the king, which ſhe repreſented, by way of petition, in the following manner: That two of her ſons, who reſided in the country, having had an unfortunate quarrel, one of them was unhappily killed in the conteſt: whereupon ſome of the friends of the deceaſed, demanded juſtice upon the murderer. Wherefore ſhe ſolicited the king to ſpare the life of her ſon, who, notwithſtanding his offence, was the only comfort of her old age. She added, that her ſon's enemies were ſo determined in their malice, that nothing could protect him but the interference of the royal authority; and that ſhe had no hope of relief, but in the mercy of her ſovereign. Having acted her part with great ſkill, the king was induced to comply with her requeſt: upon which, having made many acknowledgments of his conſiderate goodneſs to a mother who ſolicited the life of an only child, ſhe yet beſought his majeſty to grant one farther favour, as a proof that ſhe ſhould not fail to reap the benefit of the royal promiſe; and this was, that he would let the pardon of her child be preceded by that of his own ſon Abſalom: for by extending his compaſſion to him, there could remain no doubt, but the intended mercy would be ratified in the caſe of her own child. She added, that as his majeſty had already the misfortune to have loſt one ſon, it would be very inhuman for himſelf to be the deſtruction of another.

An invention of Joab's in Abſalom's favour. 2 Sam. xiv. 2, 18.

David now began to conjecture, that this application was in conſequence of the advice of Joab; and interrogating her on the ſubject, he found it to be as he ſuſpected; wherefore calling Joab to him, he acquainted him that his device had ſucceeded; that his anger againſt Abſalom had ſubſided; that he was diſpoſed to pardon him, and that Joab might recal him whenever he thought proper. This was joyful news to Joab, who having made the moſt grateful acknowledgments to his ſovereign, repaired inſtantly to Geſhur, and brought back his friend Abſalom to Jeruſalem. When the king was informed of the return of his ſon, he ſent a meſſage to him, importing that he muſt for the preſent abſtain from appearing in his preſence, for he could not yet be reconciled to the ſight of him.

Notwithſtanding the trouble and anxiety in which he had been ſome time involved, the grace and diginty of the perſon of Abſalom were not in the laſt diminiſhed, he being ſtill deemed the wonder of the age. He was accuſtomed to cut his hair once in eight months, and in that ſhort ſpace of time, it would grow to the weight of two hundred ſhekels.* He lived privately in Jeruſalem about two years; and in the mean time, David had four children, namely three ſons and a daughter, ſhe being diſtinguiſhed for her beauty; ſhe became the wife of Rehoboam the ſon of Solomon, by whom ſhe had a ſon named Abia. Uneaſy at being compelled to live in a manner ſo incompatible with the dignity of his rank, Abſalom ſent to his friend Joab, requeſting he ſhould obtain permiſſion from his father to appear at court; for he hoped that an interview would be productive of a cordial and perfect reconciliation. After waiting ſome time in anxious expectation, and being diſappointed of an anſwer, he ſent ſome of his ſervants to ſet fire to a field of growing corn, the property of Joab. Having ſuſtained this injury, Joab repaired to Abſalom, complaining of the ſame, and demanding the reaſon of ſo unprovoked a proceeding. He replied, that he had cauſed the corn to be burnt as being the only means in his power of procuring a ſight of him; ſaying, he had written to requeſt his interference to effect a reconciliation with his father; for even baniſhment would be preferrable to his preſent condition.

Upon the interceſſion of Joab David pardons his ſon. 2 Sam. xiv. 21.

Joab now repaired to the king, who yielding to his ſolicitations, Abſalom was ſent for; and on his arrival, proſtrating himſelf at his father's feet, he earneſtly ſupplicated that all his offences might be pardoned. Extending his right hand to him, David raiſed up his ſon, at the ſame time ſolemnly aſſuring him that all his tranſgreſſions ſhould be buried in oblivion.

---

* In thoſe days the natural hair was accounted a great ornament; and therefore Abſalom nouriſhed his with great care. But computing the weight of it, as Bochart does, at the loweſt, is prodigious, *viz.* three pounds and two ounces: for we are not to ſuppoſe that Abſalom cut off the whole, but only ſo much as his convenience required to be removed. It is likely ſome error has crept into the text, which is the more probable, as the ancient manuſcripts do not expreſs numbers at length, but by characters.

Abſalom keeps a ſplendid equipage. 2 Sam. xv. 1.

In a ſhort time after the reconciliation between the king and his ſon, the latter was permitted to keep a ſplendid equipage, to retain fifty men as his body guard, a great number of domeſtics and dependants, beſides chariots and horſes in proportion to his numerous ſuit. He was ever attentive to avail himſelf of opportunities to ingratiate the king's favour, and inſinuate himſelf into the affections of the public. Thoſe who came to ſolicit juſtice, he addreſſed with familiarity, requeſting them to explain in what manner he could render them ſervice. To thoſe who appeared diſſatisfied with the awards of the law, he was accuſtomed to obſerve, that wicked people were about the perſon of the king, who was as liable to miſtakes as his ſubjects, hinting, that if the adminiſtration of juſtice had remained with him, a more equitable deciſion would have been made.

By theſe inſidious methods, he attached a large party to his intereſt; and, in the fourth year from the reconcilement to his father, thinking his plan then ripe for the execution, he aſked permiſſion to repair to Hebron, there to fulfil a vow which he had made during his baniſhment. David readily granting his requeſt, he invited a great number of people to attend him, and was followed by many others; among whom was Achitophel, the Gilonite, the king's principal miniſter, who was attended by two hundred inhabitants of Jeruſalem: but neither theſe nor Achitophel knew that Abſalom's motive for taking this journey, was to procure himſelf to be proclaimed king.

Abſalom proclaimed king at Hebron. 10.

Abſalom had not reſided long in Hebron before he gained ſuch an aſcendancy over the minds of the people, that, by his ſingular art and addreſs, they were prevailed upon unanimouſly to proclaim him king.

Upon receiving intelligence of theſe rebellious proceedings. David was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment; and he vehemently complained againſt the diſobedience and preſumption of his ſon, who after having obtained the royal pardon and being taken into favour, could ſo ſoon embark in ſo atrocious a conſpiracy; for it ſeems that the ſcheme was, not only to ſeize on the kingdom, which was the gift of God to David, but to attempt his life alſo. In this perplexing ſituation, the king deliberated with his friends on the ſteps moſt proper to be taken; and it was agreed, that he ſhould croſs the river Jordan, and retire to ſome place of greater ſecurity, committing to ten of his concubines the care of the royal palace. Having reſolved to leave the event of this affair to the Almighty, he ſet out, attended by immenſe numbers of people, who voluntarily embarked in the cauſe of their ſovereign; particularly his ſix hundred friends, who had heretofore ſo faithfully attached themſelves to him, when he was perſecuted by Saul. Abiathar and Zadock, the high-prieſts, together with the Levites, would gladly have taken the ark with them, and attended David; but he adviſed them not to think of removing, and enforced his requeſt by obſerving, that the preſence of the holy ark would not be neceſſary for his protection as he ſhould be immediately under that of Heaven. His laſt advice was, that they would deviſe ſome private method of informing him, from time to time, of ſuch news as it might import him to be acquainted with: and theſe inſtructions were afterwards admirably obeyed by the good conduct of Jonathan the ſon of Abiathar, and Ahimaaz, the ſon of Zadock. With regard to Ittai, the Gittite, though adviſed to the contrary, he inſiſted on a perſonal attendance on his ſovereign, whom he accordingly accompanied.

As David, ſurrounded by the weeping multitude, was walking barefooted up mount Olivet, a perſon arrived expreſs, with information that Achitophel had deſerted his duty, and taken part with the rebellious Abſalom: which news ſo ſhocked the king, that he beſought the Almighty to deprive him of his ſenſes. Achitophel was a man of ſo great penetration and ſubtilty, that there was nothing David dreaded ſo much as the pernicious effects of his counſels.

He meets his truſty ſervant Huſhai. 2 Sam. xv. 30.

David had no ſooner reached the ſummit of the mountain than he caſt his eyes on the city, and wept while he lamented the loſs of his government: on this ſpot he met with the loyal and friendly Huſhai, who, with his cloaths torn, and ſtrewing aſhes on his head, was lamenting the uncertainty of all ſublunary enjoyments. David encouraged him to ſuſtain his misfortunes with patience and reſolution, earneſtly requeſting him to return to Jeruſalem, where he might contribute eſſentially to his ſervice by affecting to eſpouſe the cauſe of his rebellious ſon, and thereby gaining information of the projects of Achitophel. In compliance with the king's requeſt, Huſhai returned to Jeruſalem, whither Abſalom alſo repaired a ſhort time afterwards.

And ſends him back again to watch Abſalom in Jeruſalem, ver. 34, &c.

David in the mean time, purſued his journey, and meeting Ziba, to whom he committed the management of the eſtate

of

David meets Ziba. 2 Sam. xvi. 1.

of Mephiboſheth, the ſon of his deceaſed friend Jonathan, he enquired where his maſter was. He replied, that Mephiboſheth was then at Jeruſalem, waiting in expectation that, in honour of the memory of Saul, the people, taking advantage of the turbulency of the times, would advance him to the throne.

Who tells him that Mephiboſheth ſtays at Jeruſalem, in hopes to be choſen king, ver. 3.

Exaſperated againſt Mephiboſheth for his ſhameful ingratitude, he revoked his grant to him, continuing Ziba in the ſuperintendance of the land for his own account; and the other conſidered himſelf amply gratified by the appointment to ſo profitable an office.

Shimei reviles David, ver. 5.

Upon the king's arrival at Bahurim, Shimei, the ſon of Gera, who was a kinſman to Saul, threw ſtones at and reviled him in the moſt approbrious language, accuſing him as the author of all the calamities whereby the public were oppreſſed, inſiſting that he ſhould immediately depart from the country, and giving thanks to God that Abſalom had retaliated upon him the indignities he had offered to his own father. The behaviour of this man was ſhocking to all preſent, and he muſt inevitably have fallen a ſacrifice to the reſentment of Abiſhai, but for the interpoſition of David, who requeſted him to moderate his paſſion, leſt his giving way to it ſhould add to the public calamities. "You have been witneſs (ſaid David) to the unworthy treatment I have received from my own ſon, and therefore be not ſurpriſed at the revilings of Shemei. Diſregarding the unprovoked upbraidings of this man, let us purſue our journey, in the full confidence that the Almighty will render us victorious over all our enemies and relieve us from all our difficulties." David deliberately proceeded on one ſide of the mountain, while Shemei went on the other, continuing to diſcharge bitter execrations againſt him.

Arriving at the banks of the river, David and his followers halted, in order to repoſe and refreſh themſelves, after the fatigue of their march; and at this place he muſtered his troops.

Abſalom and Achitophel arrive at Jeruſalem, and Huſhai hails the former as king. 15, 16.

Abſalom and Achitophel arrvied about this time at Jeruſalem, where the people received them great demonſtrations of joy, Huſhai joining in the acclamations of "God ſave the king," and expreſſing the wiſh that he might enjoy a long and proſperous reign. After expreſſing his ſurpriſe, Abſalom demanded on what occaſion the faithful and zealous Huſhai had abandoned the ſervice of his maſter, and attached himſelf to the intereſt of another. He replied, that the will of God, and the approbation of the people were not to be reſiſted: "While theſe are on your ſide (ſaid he) my attachment may be depended on: your kingdom is the gift of Heaven; and if I may be deemed worthy of your confidence, I will convince you, that my zeal for your ſervice is not leſs ardent than it formerly was for that of your father. It would be unreaſonable for a man to complain of his ſituation, while we are governed by the ſon of our former king, and the line of royalty is unbroken." This ſpeech diſperſed all ſuſpicion that Abſalom of Huſhai's ſincerity of friendſhip.

Abſalom calls a council, when Achitophel adviſes him to lie with all his father's concubines, ver. 20, 21.

Achitophel was now adviſed as to what was proper to be done in the preſent poſture of affairs; his advice was, that Abſalom ſhould lay with all David's concubines; and he enforced his advice by ſaying, that when matters were thus advanced beyond a poſſibility of reconcilement, the people would infer, that the ſtate was more ſecure. "In the preſent ſtate of things (added he) they may think an accommodation may be effected, in which caſe their ſafety would be endangered by declaring in your favour." This advice being followed, a tent was erected in the palace for the occaſion, and Abſalom, in the view of the people, lay with the king's concubines. Thus was the prophecy of Nathan, reſpecting what would befal David, verified.

CHAP. IX.

Achitophel projects the ruin of David, but is oppoſed by Huſhai. In conſequence of his diſappointment, Achitophel hangs himſelf. Abſalom gives the command of his army to Amaſa. A battle between the armies of David and his ſon, in which the former proves victorious. In his flight Abſalom's hair entangles with the bough of a tree, and being ſuſpended in the air, Joab ſtrikes him throngh the heart with his javelin.

CONſultations being now held with reſpect to the management of the war, Achitophel engaged, if he ſhould be entruſted with the command of ten thouſand men, he would produce the head of David, or conſent to loſe his own; adding, that the death of the king would at once reſtore public tranquillity, and ſecure Abſalom in poſſeſſion of the government. This propoſal was highly agreeable to Abſalom; but before he came to a reſolution, he thought it prudent to take the advice of Huſhai, who ſpoke to the following effect:

"It is unneceſſary for me to remind you, Sir, of the valour of your father, and of the numbers of brave men in his ſervice, in conjunction with whom he hath always been victorious. You are acquainted ed with his courage and his ſkill. Our advances will undoubtedly be announced to him; and it is probable, that his troops will wait to engage us, in ſome wood, valley, or behind a rock; or ſhould we advance to attack them, they would probably retreat, by degrees, till we are ſurrounded. I would wiſh you, Sir, to conſider, that in an emergency, ſuch as I ſpeak of, whether the encouragement given to the enemy, joined to the conſternation into which we ſhould be thrown, would not create a confuſion extremely favourable to your army. I would recommend, Sir, that you ſhould yourſelf take the command of the army, and marching againſt David, he muſt be compelled to ſeek for ſhelter within the walled towns and ſtrong holds, or elſe to take the open field; and in the latter caſe, your numbers will be ſufficient to effect his immediate deſtruction. But if he ſhould act only on the defenſive, it will be prudent in you to have recourſe to other meaſures, ſuch as ſtarving, mining, and battering." This advice was unanimouſly preferred to that of Achitophel. Abſalom himſelf giving his voice in favour of Huſhai's propoſitions. It is, however, to be obſerved, that this event happened in conſequence of the direction of divine providence.

David adviſed to croſs the Jordan, 2 Sam. xvii. 30.

Huſhai now haſtened to Abiathar and Zadock, and having reported to them the reſult of the conference, urged them inſtantly to diſpatch a meſſage to David, adviſing him to croſs the River Jordan that night, ſince if any alteration ſhould take place in the ſentiments of the enemy, they might attack him in his preſent diſadvantageous ſituation.

To facilitate the communication of intelligence to David, Abiathar and Zadock, the high-prieſts had provided lodgings without the city for their ſons, and had appointed a confidential female ſervant to convey to them ſuch diſpatches as they were to deliver to the king. The above information being tranſmitted to them, the young men ſet out in order to communicate the ſame to David, but having proceeded about two furlongs,[*] they were diſcovered by ſome men on horſeback, of which circumſtance Abſalom being informed, he iſſued orders for them to be taken into cuſtody.

Being appriſed of their danger, the meſſengers quitted the high road, and directed their courſe towards Behurim, a ſmall village in the neighbourhood of Jeruſalem, where they met with a woman, who was ſo charitable as to conduct them to a place of concealment; after lowering them into a well, ſhe threw the ſkins of ſome beaſts over it. Preſently afterwards, the purſuers came to the houſe, and enquired of the woman, whether ſhe had ſeen ſuch perſons as they deſcribed to her; ſhe acknowledged that ſhe had, adding, that after drinking at the gate, they continued their journey, and might be eaſily overtaken, ſince they could not have proceeded far. After a diligent but unſucceſsful ſearch for ſome time, the purſuers returned to Jeruſalem. All danger being over, the woman drew the meſſengers out of the well, and having expreſſed their acknowledgements for the ſervice they had received, they departed, and coming up with David, informed him of the meaſures intended to be adopted by Abſalom. Though they did not arrive till late, David and his people croſſed the river before morning.

Achitophel was ſo much chagrined that Huſhai's advice had been preferred to his, that mounting his aſs, he retired to his houſe at Galamon, and aſſembling his family, acquainted them what counſel he had given to Abſalom, who had rejected it; adding, that the rejection of this advice would ſoon prove ruinous to him, for that David would conquer him, and recover the ſovereign authority: "And now (ſaid he) it is leſs diſgraceful for me to meet death while I can boaſt my freedom, than to wait the re-eſtabliſhment of the king, when I ſhall be ſacrificed by the father for the ſervices I have done the ſon." He had no ſooner thus expreſſed himſelf, than he retired to a private room, and hanged himſelf, from a conſciouſneſs of his own demerits.

Achitophel goes home, and hangs himſelf, 2 Sam. xvii. 23.

David paſſes the Jordan, and goes to Mahanaim, ver. 24.

David having paſſed the river Jordan, and arrived at Mahanaim, [†] one of the moſt capital cities in that part of the country, Siphar, a prince of Ammon, Barzillai and Machir, two of the chief inhabitants of Gilead, treated him with the utmoſt liberality and affection, as did alſo all the principal perſons of that diſtrict; not only on account of his preſent diſtreſſed circumſtances, but from the recollection of his former dignity. Such was the kind affection of theſe people, that David and his retinue were amply ſupplied with meat, bread, wine, lodging, and every other article that could contribute either to their ſupport or accommodation.

---

[*] About a quarter of a mile.

[†] In Lat. Caſtra. in Heb. Mahanaim. This word is ſometimes uſed appellatively, and ſometimes for the proper name of a place; when appellatively, it may be tranſlated into Engliſh [the camp] when for the proper name of a place [CHESTER.] It derived its origin from Jacob's returning out of Meſopotamia into Canaan; as we read in Gen. xxxii. 1, 2. "And Jacob went on his way, and the angels of God met him. And when Jacob ſaw them, he ſaid, This is God's hoſt; and he called the name of that place Mahanaim." i. e. the camp, from the angels who pitched their tents by his. Afterwards a city was built here, which, from that circumſtance, obtained the name of Mahanaim.

In the mean time, Abſalom aſſembled a large army to oppoſe David, and croſſing the river Jordan, encamped near Mahanaim, a town of Gilead. Of this army Amaſa was appointed general, in the room of Joab: Zeruiah, the mother of Joab, and Abigail, the mother of Amaſa, were the ſiſters of David.

On a review of the army, David muſtered only four thouſand men; yet with this ſmall number he determined rather to act offenſively, than to wait till he ſhould be attacked by Abſalom; he therefore ſeparated his army into three diviſions, and appointed proper officers to each, giving the firſt diviſion to Joab, the ſecond to Abiſhai, and the third to Ittai, the Gittite. The king would willingly have been preſent with the army; but in this he was oppoſed by his adherents, who urged, that if they ſhould be vanquiſhed while he was in the field, their whole plan would be fruſtrated, and the conteſt at an end; whereas, on the contrary, if one of the diviſions ſhould be routed, the reſt might retreat to him, and ſome mode might be adopted to recruit the army: and, excluſive of this conſideration, the king's abſence from the field might induce the enemy to think that he had another army which had not made its appearance. By theſe arguments David was influenced to remain at Mahanaim: but he bound his adherents by every ſacred tie, to diſcharge their duty manfully; requeſting, that if Providence ſhould decree the victory in their favour, they would ſpare the life of his ſon Abſalom; for in caſe of his death, his own life would become of no value.

Abſalom encamps near his father with a mighty army commanded by Amaſa, the ſon of Jothar, by Abigail, Ver. 25.

Abſalom no ſooner remarked the diſpoſition of Joab's diviſion, which was on a plain, with a wood behind them, than he oppoſed his own troops to them in a ſimilar ſituation. As ſoon as the two armies engaged, equal valour appeared to inſpire either party; the one anxious to recover David's loſs, and the other no leſs ſo to ſupport the uſurpation of his rebellious ſon. At length the brave veterans under Joab, diſdaining to ſlacken their efforts on account of being oppoſed by a vaſt ſuperiority of numbers, broke the enemy's ranks, and having routed them, purſued the flying diviſions, through woods, over mountains, and in ſhort, wherever they ſought for ſhelter. Thoſe who were ſlain in the field were eſtimated at twenty thouſand, excluſive of which, great numbers fell in the purſuit, and many priſoners were taken.

Joab in the end puts the rebels to a total rout 2 Sam. XVIII. Ver. 6, 7, 8.

Twenty thouſand killed upon the place, ib.

Abſalom was ſo remarkable, both on account of his height, and the comelineſs of his perſon, that the attention of the conquerors was particularly directed towards him; in order therefore, to avoid being made a priſoner, he mounted his ſwifteſt mule, and rode off with the utmoſt ſpeed of the beaſt; but the wind blowing his long hair above his head, it caught to the bough of a tree, and the mule continuing her courſe, he was left ſuſpended to the branch. His ſituation being obſerved by one of David's troops, he informed Joab of the circumſtance, who ordered the man to haſten back to the ſpot, and ſtab Abſalom, adding, that his reward for that action ſhould be fifty ſhekels of ſilver *. The ſoldier however refuſed, ſaying his conſent could not be purchaſed with two thouſand ſhekels, ſince the king had ordered his ſon's life to be ſpared. Upon this, Joab ordered the man to conduct him to the ſpot, and on his arrival there, he ſtruck his javelin through the heart of Abſalom, who was yet alive when he received the ſtroke. Joab's armour bearers being preſent, they took the body from the tree, and buried it in a pit, over which they formed a kind of rude ſepulchre, by piling upon it a number of ſtones. Joab now ordered a retreat to be ſounded, Abſalom being ſlain, a further effuſion of blood being deemed unneceſſary. Some time before his death, Abſalom had cauſed a marble column to be erected in a place called the King's Valley, near Jeruſalem, intending it as a laſting memorial of himſelf, if he ſhould die without children, and giving it the name of "The hand of Abſalom." He left three ſons and a daughter; the latter became the wife of Rehoboam, the ſon of Solomon, and the mother of Abia.

Abſalom flies, and is found hanging upon a bough, by the hair of the head Ver. 9.

CHAP. X.

David grieves for the death of his ſon Abſalom, aud is reproved by Joab. The king grants pardon to Shimei. The tribe of Judah adhere to David, but the other tribes revolt. Amaſa marches in purſuit of Sheba. Joab treacherouſly kills Amaſa, whoſe head is carried to David. On account of Saul's diſobedience, a famine prevails among the Iſraelites. As a puniſhment for David's diſobedience, the land is viſited by a dreadful famine.

THE death of Abſalom was no ſooner known, than his army diſperſed, the men repairing to their reſpective habitations. Ahimaaz, the ſon of Zadock, the high-prieſt, requeſted Joab, that he might be the meſſenger to inform the king of the victory his army had obtained, ſince it was evidently the reſult of the interference of Providence; but Joab replied, that as he had hitherto carried the king only good news, he would be an improper meſſenger of the death of his ſon; he therefore ordered Cuſhi to be the bearer of this intelligence, as he had been witneſs to the event; but Ahimaaz urged that David's concern for the loſs of his ſon, would yield to his joy, on the general import of the meſſage. Hereupon Joab permitted him to go; and as he was acquainted with the neareſt road, he arrived before Cuſhi.

---

* About ſix pounds nine ſhillings and two pence Engliſh money, ſuppoſing, as we have before, that a ſhekel was worth two ſhillings and ſeven pence; but in 2 Sam. xviii 11. it is no more than ten ſhekels of ſilver, that is, one pound five ſhillings and ten pence, and a girdle; the value of which, might perhaps make up the difference,

David laments the death of Abſalom. 2 Sam. xix. 4

While David was ſitting at the gate of his palace, anxious to learn the event of the battle, a ſervant brought him intelligence that he could diſcern a man advancing haſtily toward them, but that he was not near enough to aſcertain his perſon. David began to conſole himſelf with the hope of good news, when the ſervant told him that he ſaw a ſecond perſon running, which ſtill increaſed his expectations. By this time the firſt meſſenger was come very near, and proved to be Ahimaaz, who travelled in a chariot. "This man (ſaid David) certainly brings me acceptable intelligence; and ſcarcely had he pronounced theſe words, when Ahimaaz proſtated himſelf before the king, who inſtantly demanded what news from the army. To this Ahimaaz replied, "Succeſs and victory." The king then eagerly enquired the fate of Abſalom, to which the meſſenger anſwered, that he had no ſooner been a witneſs of the victory, than he hurried away with the news; that his orders from Joab were given in haſte, and related ſolely to the advantage gained over the enemy, without regard to Abſalom, of whom, however, he knew the troops were in purſuit, from the noiſe and clamour he had heard He had ſcarcely done ſpeaking, when Cuſhi arrived, and throwing himſelf at David's feet, was interrogated with regard to the fate of Abſalom: to which he replied, "May all the enemies of my lord the king be no more ſucceſsful than Abſalom has been!" Intelligence thus fatal to the hopes of David, turned a day of joy into ſorrow and lamentation. The king was inconſolable for the loſs of his ſon; and the people were equally aſtoniſhed and grieved, that their ſovereign ſhould thus afflict himſelf for the death of a rebel, by which his life and crown were ſecured. David, however, retired to the top of one of the higheſt towers of the city, ſmitting his breaſt, tearing his hair, and grievouſly lamenting the death of Abſalom. While David was thus giving vent to his ſorrows, Joab led the army triumphantly into the city. The general was greatly diſconcerted upon finding that the king, by abandoning himſelf to affliction, caſt a gloom over the general joy, thereby giving his army the appearance of being vanquiſhed, rather than of having gained a ſplendid victory. Finding the king ſo entirely under the dominion of ſorrow, Joab judged it prudent to explain his ſentiments with a fredom becoming ſo intereſting an occaſion, and therefore he addreſſed him in terms to the following effect.

Joab freel admoniſhes David on his exceſſive and unſeaſonable grief. 5, 6, 7.

"Conſider, Sir, what may be the reſult of your conduct, and that ineffectual lamentations are highly inconſiſtent with the dignity of your ſtation and character, ſeeming to indicate a contempt both of yourſelf and of your family, and a partiality towards the enemies, that in mercy to you, the Almighty has been pleaſed to doom to deſtruction. Had Abſalom proved victorious, be aſſured, that he would have exulted in the exerciſe of his uſurped authority, denying commiſeration both to yourſelf and your army. On the contrary, he would have conſigned us to deſtruction, and yourſelf and your family would have been the firſt victims to his vengeance. This exceſs of ſorrow for the death of your moſt inveterate enemy, is contrary both to the principles and honour and the dictates of reaſon. Be it admitted, that he was your ſon, yet ſo atrocious was his malice and ingratitude, that you have abundant cauſe to thank Heaven, that you have no longer ſo dangerous a rival intitled to that ſacred appellation. Reſume your fortitude, appear before your ſubjects, and acknowledge that, next to Heaven, you are indebted to their valour and fidelity for your ſucceſs. Permit me, Sir, to ſay, that, if you fail to reſiſt this deſponding humour, your army will deſert, and your crown will be loſt; ſo that you will then have great and ſubſtantial cauſe for lamentations and complaints."

David recovers his fortitude, 8.

Such was the effect of this addreſs, that the king reſolved to moderate his ſorrow, and direct his attention to the ſecurity of his government, and the happineſs of his ſubjects. He appeared before the palace-gate, with the utmoſt complacency in his countenance and deportment; and this alteration was ſo ſatisfactory to the people, that they reſorted to him in great numbers from all parts, and repeated their vows of allegiance and fidelity to their ſovereign.

The late adherents to Abſalom now diſpatched meſſengers acroſs the country, to adviſe their friends to recollect the various obligations under which they were bound to David, for the numerous fatigues, toils and dangers which he had encountered for aſſerting the common rights and liberties of the Hebrew nation; how ungenerous they had acted in ſupporting a rebellion againſt him; adviſing an immediate ſubmiſſion; and that they ſhould unite in acknowledging him as their legal ſovereign, and that again he would take them under his royal protection.

Abſalom's people make public acknowledgments and addreſſes to David, ver. 9, 10.

In conſequence hereof, David received addreſſes in great numbers, which he diſpatched to Zadock and Abiathar, the high-prieſts, inſtructing them how to treat with the heads of the tribe of Judah, to confirm his reſtoration. Hereupon, the high-prieſts repreſented to them how ſcandalous it would be for them to remain indifferent, while others were taking the lead in an act of common juſtice to ſo benevolent a prince who was, moreover, of their own tribe. This mode of addreſs inſpired a ſpirit of emulation as to who ſhould be moſt zealous in the ſervice of the king. The high-prieſts were alſo inſtructed to enquire of Amaſa, how it happened that he, the king's nephew, by his own ſiſter, had failed to model the army to a diſpoſition fit for the reſtoration of the true government: and it was hinted to Amaſa, that David would give him the ſame poſt he held under Abſalom, and likewiſe grant him a free pardon.

Amaſa comes over to the intereſt of David.

In this mode the high-prieſts treated with the heads of the tribe; and likewiſe with Amaſa, who, by the promiſe abovementioned, was eaſily attached to the king's intereſt. The firſt tribe that ſent deputies to David, to invite him to re-aſſume the regal government, was that of Judah; and partly by the influence of this example, and partly through that of Amaſa, all the tribes agreed to receive the king at Jeruſalem. Among the foremoſt to pay the tribute of ſubmiſſion was the ſaid tribe of Judah, who advanced to meet him even to the banks of the Jordan. There likewiſe went Ziba, a freed-man of Saul's with fifteen children, and twenty ſervants; and a thouſand Benjamites, preceded by Shimei the ſon of Gera. Theſe all combined with the tribe of Judah, to throw a bridge acroſs the river, that David and his troops might paſs with greater convenience.

The tribes ſeverally acknowledge allegiance to David.

When the king had reached the river ſide, the tribe of Judah firſt paid their obedience: then Shimei, approaching the bridge, humbled himſelf at the feet of David, implored his pardon, requeſting that his ready ſubmiſſion, and unfeigned repentance, might be accepted in extenuation of his former crimes. In anſwer to this, Abiſhai, the brother to Joab, exclaimed, "Think you thus eaſily to compenſate for all the inſults that you have offered to the king whom God hath appointed to rule over you?" David, in reply ſaid, "Be at peace, no farther foment old diviſions, by ſeeking out new cauſe of diſquietude. Conſider this as the day on which I commence my reign, and obſerve what I moſt ſolemnly ſwear. Every one is now abſolutely forgiven by me; and I hereby engage, that not any perſon, of what rank or condition ſoever, ſhall ſuffer on account of any inſult offered to myſelf, or to any other on my account: and you, Shimei, may now reſt at eaſe, for your life is no longer in danger."

The zeal and fidelity of Mephiboſheth.

Mephiboſheth, the grandſon of Saul, now approached the king, in diſguiſe, on account of a vow by which he had bound himſelf when David was driven from his palace, that he would neither cut off his hair, nor change his clothes, till his ſovereign ſhould be reſtored. Ziba had traduced Mephiboſheth to David; for on the latter enquiring how he could deſert him in the day of diſtreſs, he attributed the fault to Ziba, who had diſobeyed his commands, and treated him with the utmoſt inſolence. He further ſaid that notwithſtanding the miſrepreſentations of Ziba, he would have joined his ſovereign, but that he was prevented by the infirmity of lameneſs; acknowledging that in the remiſſion of the harſh treatment received from his grandfather Saul, his family were under great obligations to the benevolent and forgiving temper of David, to whom he had himſelf been indebted for the recovery of an ample fortune, which he might ſtill have inherited, but for the treacherous and falſe inſinuations of Ziba. Perſuaded of the truth of what Mephiboſheth had ſaid, the king ſaid he would immediately order Ziba to reſtore one half of the eſtate entruſted to his management; when Mephiboſheth replied, that Ziba ſhould be welcome to the whole, ſince he had the happineſs of ſeeing his ſovereign reſtored to his throne and kingdom.

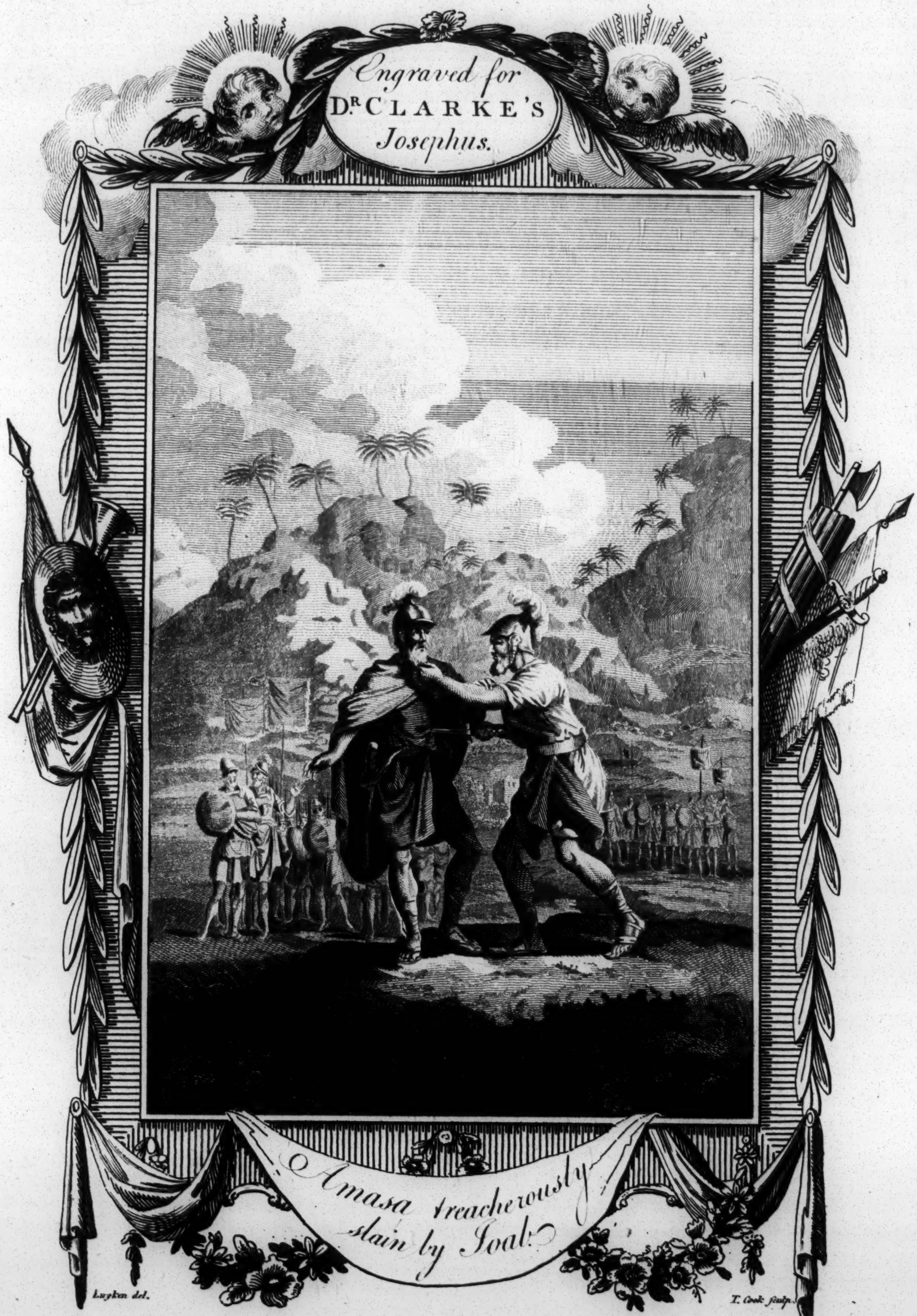
The loyalty and gratitude of Mephiboſheth.

Who is reſtored to the king's favour.

Barzillai, the Gileadite, a man of virtue and honour, had been long the ſteady friend of David, whom he had aſſiſted in deeds of heroiſm; and, on this occaſion, Barzillai could not deny himſelf the pleaſure of attending the king on his way to the river Jordan. David entreated him to accompany him to Jeruſalem, aſſuring him, that he ſhould be ſupplied with every convenience to render his old age comfortable. To this invitation Barzillai replied, that a retired and private life was now more eligible to him, than all the gaiety aud ſplendour of a palace; for that he was eighty years of age, and had outlived all taſte for the pleaſures of a court; his chief care now being to give directions for his funeral, and prepare for another world. For theſe reaſons

Barzillai's fidelity to David.

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

Amasa treacherously slain by Joab.

Luyken del.

T. Cook sculp.

Publiſh'd as the Act directs March 18th 1786. by J. Walker Pater noſter Row.

ſons he requeſted his Majeſty's permiſſion to return, and dwell at his own houſe, where he might live in the way moſt agreeable to himſelf: he ſaid farther, that he could no longer receive pleaſure from luxurious living; and with regard to dancing, ſinging, and the ſatisfaction ariſing from the accordance of voice and inſtrument, he was no longer ſuſceptible of, for he was almoſt deprived of his hearing. In conſideration of theſe reaſons, David was induced to part with Barzillai, on condition that his ſon Achimanus* ſhould go with him, and accept of ſuch favours as his Majeſty could with propriety beſtow on him. Barzillai committed his ſon to the king's care, with every acknowledgment of the honour done them, and retired to his own houſe, after offering up his warmeſt wiſhes and prayers for the long and proſperous reign of David.

razillai's ſon ccompany's David to Jeſalem. 38.

On David's arrival in Gilgal, he found that his followers conſiſted of one half of the nation, including the whole tribe of Judah. As this time there came to David, many of the chief men of the country, followed by vaſt multitudes of people, who reflected on the tribe of Judah, for their preſumption in waiting upon the king, without the concurrence of their brethren, as in reaſon they ought to have gone all in a body. To this the tribe of Judah replied, that they hoped their brethren would not be offended that they had made the firſt offer of their ſervices, as they conſidered it as a duty to which they were bound by their affinity to the king, which had made them more zealous on the occaſion than otherwiſe they ſhould have been: they averred, that they had not a view to any private advantage in what they had done, and thought that this teſtimony of their zeal ought not to give any offence to thoſe who were later in their profeſſions of loyalty and attachment. This mode of arguing was not in the leaſt pleaſing to the other tribes, who demanded "Wherefore ſhould you in particular, ſeek the favour of the king, as if he was not equally the governor of us all; for ſuch the providence of God has appointed him? We, who are eleven tribes out of the twelve, claim to be conſidered in that proportion; and we are of opinion, that you have treated us very ill, in going by yourſelves to the king, before you had given us any intimation of your intentions."

David arives at Gilal, 40.

During this debate among the principal men of the ſeveral tribes, Sheba the ſon of Bichri, of the tribe of Benjamin, of a violent and factious diſpoſition, exclaimed in a loud voice, "Wherefore do they talk to us of a part in David? What connexion can we have with the ſon of Jeſſe?" He then ordered a trumpet to be ſounded, and proclamation to be made, ſignifying that the people might depart to their tents, and from that moment it was conſidered that a war was declared againſt David; the majority appearing to adhere to the party of Sheba; but the tribe of Judah ſtill held their allegiance to David, whom they eſcorted to Jeruſalem.

On the king's arrival in the city, his firſt care was to remove from his palace all his concubines, whom Abſalom had publicly proſtituted; but he gave orders for their being properly attended and accommodated, in lodgings prepared for them, though from this time, he never held any correſpondence with them. He next promoted Amaſa to the rank of general, in the room of Joab, ordering him to aſſemble all the troops he could of the tribe of Judah, and prepare to march within three days, againſt Sheba. This commiſſion Amaſa endeavoured to execute with all poſſible expedition; but not being able to aſſemble them ſo ſoon as he wiſhed, David grew impatient, and on the third day, ſpoke to Joab,† to the following purport: "There is no time to be loſt in counteracting the deſigns of Sheba: do you, therefore, inſtantly aſſemble ſuch troops as are in readineſs, together with my ſix hundred veterans; and, taking your brother Abiſhai as your aſſiſtant, march againſt and engage him, thereby preventing a poſſibility of his arranging his forces; for ſhould there be any delay on our part, time will be given for him to increaſe his ſtrength; and when in poſſeſſion of ſome ſtrongly fortified place, we may find it a work of greater difficulty to diſlodge him, than it was to ſubdue Abſalom."

David diſmiſſes, with proper proviſion, the concubines that had been violated by Abſalom.

Immediately upon receiving the above orders, Joab and Abiſhai aſſembled their forces, and marched in purſuit of Sheba. Joab arriving at Gibeon, a village about forty furlongs ‡ from Jeruſalem, he met Amaſa at the head of a numerous army. As Amaſa was approaching to ſalute the other general, Joab, who wore a breaſt plate, let fall his ſword and then advancing, took Amaſa by the beard, under pretence of ſaluting him, but at that inſtant thruſt his ſword into his body, ſo that he died on the ſpot. This act of treachery can only be accounted for, by ſuppoſing that Joab was jealous of the advancement of Amaſa in the king's fa-

Joab treacherouſly kills Amaſa.

---

* Script. Chimham.

† The Scripture ſays it was Abiſhai he ſo addreſſed. 2 Sam. xx. 1. 7.

‡ Something more than four miles Engliſh meaſure.

vour, he being a young man of ſingular accompliſhments. It ſhould be mentioned, that Joab was guilty of another act that cannot be defended; namely, the murder of Abner, unleſs he may be juſtified on the principle of avenging the death of his brother Hazael: but with reſpect to his atrocious cruelty to Amaſa, nothing can be pleaded either in extenuation or excuſe.

After the death of Amaſa, Joab and Abiſhai proceeded in ſearch of Sheba, leaving a perſon in care of the body of the deceaſed, with orders to proclaim that he was a wicked man, and that his puniſhment had been proportioned to his demerits. Proclamation was alſo made, that the friends of the king were to follow Joab and Abiſhai. While the body of Amaſa lay expoſed, great numbers of people reſorted to view it, whereupon it was removed to a neighbouring village. Joab now traverſed the whole country, before he was informed, that Sheba had taken refuge in a fortified town called Abel-Maacha.[†] The gates of this town being ſhut againſt Joab, he determined to lay ſiege to it; and in purſuance of that deſign, iſſued orders for throwing up a trench round the place, undermining the walls, and making preparations for an aſſault to be made by means of batteries.

A woman of Abel-Maacha, calls to Joab from the walls, charging him with injuſtice in beſieging the town. 2 Sam. xx. 17, 18, 19.

While meaſures were purſuing preparatory to aſſaulting the town, a female inhabitant, zealous in the ſervice of her country, aſcended the battlements, and called out to Joab, requeſting that ſhe might ſpeak to him, without the hearing of his ſoldiers. In compliance with her deſire, the general advanced to the walls, when ſhe addreſſed him to this effect: "The Almighty hath appointed kings and governors to rule over, and preſerve the different communities of mankind in peace and concord: but without having received any injury or provocation whatever, you now appear at the head of a formidable army with the profeſſed deſign of deſtroying one of the moſt conſiderable cities, in the land of Iſrael." Joab diſclaimed entertaining ſo wicked an intention; for he wiſhed not to be driven to the neceſſity of aſſaulting the town, or of offering injury to the inhabitants; and as a proof of the ſincerity of this declaration, he ſaid, he would immediately withdraw his army after Sheba, the rebellious ſon of Bichri, ſhould be ſurrendered to him, in order to be dealt with according to juſtice. She then ſaid, if he would ſuſpend his operations for a ſhort time, the head of Sheba ſhould be thrown over the walls to him. This being agreed to, the woman addreſſed the inhabitants of the town on the expediency of averting the deſtruction with which they were threatened by the ſacrifice of Sheba, from whom, ſhe alledged, her countrymen had not received ſuch ſervices as ſhould induce them to yield him protection, at the expence of their own ſafety. It was unanimouſly agreed, that Joab's demand ſhould be complied with, and Sheba's head was accordingly cut off; after which the troops marched back to Jeruſalem.

Joab promiſes to quit the ſiege upon the delivery of Sheba, v. 21.

Sheba's head cut off, and thrown over the wall, ver. 22.

The ſiege raiſed. Joab declared general. ver. 23, &c.

Upon the return of the army, David declared Joab commander in chief of his troops; he gave the command of the body guard, and of the ſix hundred veterans, to Benaiah; the office of treaſurer was conferred upon Adoram; Achilaus and Sabathes were nominated treaſurers; Suſa was made ſecretary, and Abiathar and Zadock were continued in the high-prieſthood.

A famine in the land, and God conſulted about it, 2 Sam. xx. 1. Anſwer returned, that the blood of the Gibeonites cried for vengeance, ibid.

Soon after matters had been thus adjuſted, a moſt dreadful famine raged in the land; when David implored the Almighty to inform him of the cauſes of that calamity, and the means whereby it might be removed. The anſwer of the prophets was, that the blood of the Gibeonites, who had been treacherouſly ſhed by Saul, appealed to Heaven for vengeance; for the violence committed upon thoſe people was not only in oppoſition to the rights of natural equity, but to Joſhua's promiſe and oath, which the elders had ratified. The prophets, therefore, adviſed the king to compenſate the injury ſuſtained by the Gibeonites, in the murder of their citizens, in ſuch manner as they ſhould require, on which the Almighty would avert the preſent judgment. As ſoon as David heard this, he ſent for the Gibeonites, and demanded what recompence they would wiſh: they anſwered, "Let ſeven of the ſons of Saul, or perſons of his race, be given up to our diſpoſal." Hereupon David gave orders that ſeven of them ſhould be ſought for; but with an exception in favour of Mephiboſheth, on account of his father Jonathan. Theſe being given to the Gibeonites, they were appeaſed, and inflicted ſuch puniſhments on them as they thought proper: immediately after which rain fell in great abundance, the earth recovered its former verdure, and produced the accuſtomed plenty.

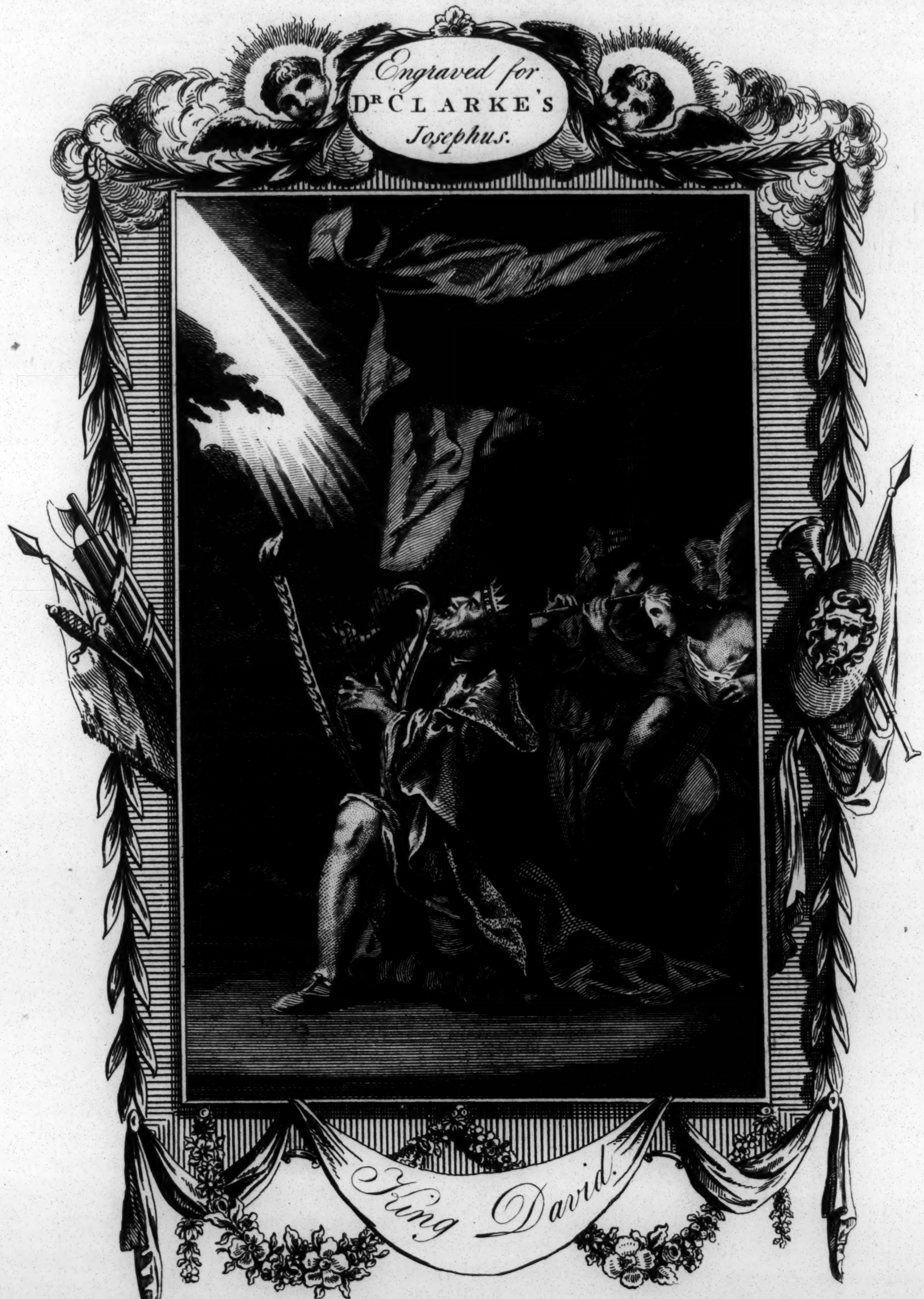
David overthrows the Philiſtines.

Soon afterwards, David marched his forces againſt the Philiſtines, whom he attacked and routed; but being too eager in the purſuit, he was obſerved, when alone and fatigued, by Achmon, the ſon of Araph, a man of the gigantic race, armed with a ſword, a coat of mail, and a lance which weigh-

---

[†] Script. Beth-Maachah.

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
Dr CLARKE'S
Josephus.
King David.

Publish'd as the Act directs March 4th 1786 by J. Walker, Paternoster Row.

chmon rikes David the round. ver. 6, 17. Abiſhai reſcues him, nd kills chmon, ibid.

weighed three hundred ſhekels[*], who turning quick on the king, beat him down, and would infallibly have killed him, but that at the inſtant came up Abiſhai, the brother of Joab, who ſtanding acroſs the king, attacked and ſlew Achmon. The great danger David had been in, and his providential deliverance, ſo much affected the army, that the officers inſiſted on his ſwearing never again perſonally to engage in war; for that the bleſſings derived to the nation by his government, were in the utmoſt danger of being loſt, from that natural intrepidity whereby he was induced to expoſe himſelf to the moſt imminent dangers.

he Philiſtines aſſemble at Gaza. 2 Sam. xi. 18.

Soon after the above engagement, the Philiſtines rallied their forces, and appointed a general rendezvous at Gaza, whither David diſpatched an army to attack them. In this expedition, Sobach, the Hittite, acquired great reputation by putting to death with his own hand, ſeveral of thoſe among the enemy who were as remarkable for ſtrength as for their gigantic ſtature. In ſhort, the ſucceſs of David's army was, in a great meaſure, owing to his extraordinary exertions of bravery. After being again defeated, the Philiſtines brought another army into the field, to oppoſe whom, David ſent a detachment of troops. An engagement taking place, Nephan, a kinſman to David, ſignalized himſelf by uncommon feats of valour, and particularly in killing in ſingle combat one of the moſt celebrated warriors in the Philiſtine army. Upon ſeeing this man fall, his companions fled, and great numbers of them were put to the ſword.

Jonathan kills a giant. 21.

In a ſhort time, the Philiſtines again recruited their army, and took poſſeſſion of a town near the ſpot where the Hebrews were ſtationed. In their army was a man of the gigantic race, being ſix cubits[†] in height, and having ſix toes on each foot, and ſix fingers to each hand. The giant, while fighting at the head of his party, was oppoſed in ſingle combat, and ſlain by Jonathan, the ſon of Shimei, which exploit gave the conqueror great celebrity for his prowefs in war. The Philiſtines were defeated; and the victory may be ſaid to have been deciſive in favour of the Iſraelites; for their repeated diſcomfitures had ſo reduced the ſpirits of the enemy, that they were not at any ſubſequent period, able to collect ſufficient courage to hazard an engagement with their victorious adverſaries.

David being at peace compoſes hymns in honour of God. 2 Sam. xxii.

The war being concluded, and peace re-eſtabliſhed on a permanent baſis, David devoted nearly the whole of his time to the compoſition of pſalms and hymns in honour of the Almighty. Theſe divine ſongs, which were written in various meaſures, the king ordered ſhould be ſung by the Levites on the Sabbaths and other ſolemn feſtivals, being accompanied with muſical inſtruments, among which were the phaſtery, having twelve ſtrings, to be played upon with the fingers, an inſtrument with twelve ſtrings which ſounded upon being touched with a quill, and cymbals of conſiderable ſize made of braſs.

David was attended by a number of perſons diſtinguiſhed for their talents, courage and integrity; and among them were eight-and-thirty[‡], who had, on divers occaſions, ſignalized themſelves in a very peculiar manner. I ſhall particularly mention five of theſe, as being ſufficient to afford an opportunity of judging of the characters of the reſt.

Iſſem, [§] the ſon of Achem, ſtands firſt on the liſt: he ſeveral times broke the enemy's ranks, and in one encounter killed nine hundred of them with his own hand.

The ſecond is Eleazar, the ſon of Dodo who reigned in Araſam. This hero, when the Iſraelites, were overpowered by numbers, and put to flight, ſingly reſiſted the enemy, of whom he put great numbers to death, and fought with invincible bravery, till his hand was in a manner faſtened to his ſword by the congealed blood. Animated by the example of Eleazar, the Hebrews rallied, and returned to the charge with ſuch fury, that they gained a compleat victory.

Sebas, [**] the ſon of Illus, the third of theſe heroes, being engaged with the Philiſtines, at a place which bore the name of *the Jaw*, obſerving the Iſraelites retreating, ſtood forth alone againſt all the oppoſing troops, on whom he dealt deſtruction at every blow, breaking their ranks, putting them to flight, and finally obtaining a compleat victory. The above inſtances prove, with what ardour of heroiſm theſe men were capable of fronting the enemy in the field.

They alſo diſtinguiſhed themſelves on another ſingular occaſion. David being at Jeruſalem, when the Philiſtines were encamped in a valley extending from the city to Bethlehem, about twenty furlongs[¶] he aſcended a tower, to beg the advice of the Almighty reſpecting the conduct and iſſue of the war. Being very thirſty, he ſaid to ſome friends who ſurrounded him, "How happy ſhould I be to have a draught of that water from the well adjoining to the gate of Bethlehem." The three men above-mentioned hearing theſe words, immediately departed, and forcing their way through the camp of the Philiſtines, got to the well, drew the water, and returned in the ſame manner. The boldneſs of this enterprize ſo aſtoniſhed the Philiſtines, that ſcarce any of them had reſolution to oppoſe their progreſs. When they gave the water to David, he offered up his thanks to Heaven for the ſafe return of thoſe who had procured it; but ſaid, that he could not in conſcience drink it, as it had been purchaſed at ſuch imminent hazard; wherefore he poured it on the ground, as an oblation to the Deity.

---

[*] Between eleven and twelve pounds troy.

[†] This man muſt have been at leaſt three yards in height.

[‡] The Scripture mentions but thirty-ſeven. 2 Sam. xxiii. 39.

"[||] Adin, the Ezmite, who liſt up his ſpear againſt eight hundred, whom he ſlew at one time." 2 Sam. xxiii. 8.

[**] Script. Shamah, the ſon of Ajee

[¶] A little more than two miles Engliſh meaſure.

Abiſhai, the brother of Joab, claims the fourth place among theſe diſtinguiſhed men, in right of his having ſlain five hundred * of the enemy in one day.

Benaiah, one of the line of the prieſthood, is the laſt I ſhall mention of theſe gallant heroes. This man being challenged by two brothers, both diſtinguiſhed among the Moabites for their valour, engaged and vanquiſhed them. After this, he encountered an Egyptain, a man of amazing bulk and ſtrength, and though he was himſelf unarmed, and his opponent, well provided in all reſpects, yet he cloſed with him, wrenched his ſpear out of his hand, and killed him with it. Another feat which he performed, may, for its ſingularity, be poſſibly deemed ſuperior to the former. A lion having fallen into a pit, a large quantity of ſnow was driven into it, and covered up the mouth of it, on which the beaſt roared inceſſantly to be releaſed from his confinement. Benaiah hearing the noiſe, deſcended into the pit and killed the lion with a club. The above five may be juſtly ranked as eminent warriors, and the other thirty-three were allowed to be their equals.

The king now reſolved to number the people of Iſrael, to aſcertain what forces could be raiſed on an emergency: but he did not recollect an ordinance of Moſes, which decreed that, on every ſuch occaſion, half a ſhekel for each man ſhould be offered to God by way of oblation. David diſpatched orders to Joab to take the account, which he declined as an unneceſſary buſineſs; but the king would not be refuſed, ſaying that he would have it done immediately. In compliance with the advice of the Scribes, and the heads of the tribes, a computation was made of the number of perſons inhabiting the whole country. At the end of nine months and twenty days, Joab repaired to the king at Jeruſalem, and informed him, that the number of the Iſraelites capable of bearing arms was nine hundred thouſand, excluſive of the tribes of Benjamin and Levi, of whom they had not then taken an account. He reported that the tribe of Judah alone contained four thouſand men capable of engaging in war.

The people numbered. Samuel xxi 9.

God pardons David, but offers him the choice of three things, ver. 10—13.

While the above buſineſs was in progreſs, the king repented of the orders he had iſſued; and he was informed by the prophet that he had incurred the diſpleaſure of the Almighty; in conſequence of which he fervently implored and obtained forgiveneſs. Soon afterwards the prophet Gad came to David, ſaying he was commiſſioned by the Almighty to offer three alternatives, one of which he muſt fix upon: they were, a famine for ſeven years; to be harraſſed by and driven before the enemy for three months; or a peſtilence for three days. Being driven to this extremity, the king reflected, that if he ſhould prefer a famine, he might incur the cenſure of being more regardful of his own then his people's intereſt; for whatever might be their ſufferings it was not likely that he himſelf could ſuſtain any conſiderable inconvenience, ſince his magazines were amply ſupplied; that he ſhould be equally liable to reproach, if he choſe that the Hebrews ſhould fly before the enemy, becauſe his perſonal ſafety might be provided for in caſtles or fortreſſes; and that the calamity of a peſtilence threatened kings and governors in common with the people under their juriſdiction. While deliberating on this ſubject, the prophet came to David, urging him to come to a ſpeedy determination; whereupon he ſaid, that, if it ſhould be agreeable to the divine will, he would rather prefer that his kingdom ſhould be afflicted with a peſtilence, ſince he ſhould expect greater mercy from God than from man. The prophet having made a report of the king's anſwer, the Iſraelites were immediately afflicted with the moſt dreadful diſtempers, whereby immenſe numbers of them were carried off. Some were afflicted with ſuffocations, ſome with the moſt excrutiating internal pains, others with ſwimmings of the head, langours, faintings, and various other diſeaſes, all ſo ſudden and fatal in their effects, that ſeventy thouſand people died between daybreak and dinner-time. While his people were afflicted with theſe dreadful calamities. David humbling himſelf before the Almighty fervently ſupplicated, that the divine mercy might be extended to them. Being thus engaged in prayer, he perceived

David deliberates, and cauſes the peſtilence, ver. 14.

The Iſraelites ſeized with plague. ver. 15.

Seventy thouſand perſons ſwept away betwixt break of day and dinner time. ibid.

The king taketh himſelf to ſackcloth and prayers, ver. 17.

An angel with a dra ſword, mov ing toward Jeruſalem. ver. 16.

---

* Three hundred are mentioned in Scripture.

ceived an angel advancing towards Jeruſalem with a drawn ſword in his hand; whereupon he exclaimed, "Almighty God, let thy vengeance fall upon the ſhepherd: but have pity on the flock, which hath not offended. Let thy wrath be poured forth againſt me, and my family; but ſpare my ſubjects." Upon the interceſſion of David, the Almighty was pleaſed to ſtop the ravages of the [redacted] and the prophet Gad directed the king to repair immediately to the threſhing-floor of Araunah, and there erect an altar, and offer up ſacrifice upon it.

He obeyed the prophet's order, and Araunah, who was threſhing his corn, obſerving the king and his ſons approach, went forth to pay his reſpects to him. Araunah was a Jebuſite, and ſo zealous an adherent to David that, at the hazard of his own life, as we have already mentioned, he provided for his ſafety when the city was conquered.

Araunah addreſſed himſelf to David, deſiring to be informed whether he could render him any ſervice; to which the king replied, that he was come to purchaſe his threſhing-floor, for the purpoſe of building upon it an altar to be dedicated to God. "Not only my threſhing-floor (ſaid Araunah) but my ploughs, my oxen, and my burnt-offerings, are all at the ſervice of my king, without expence; and I pray that your ſacrifice may be acceptable to God." This generoſity was highly pleaſing to David, who ſaid it would be wrong to offer a ſacrifice which coſt him nothing; wherefore he muſt purchaſe the floor, for which he gave fifty ſhekels of ſilver.* This being done, David was reſtored to the favour of the Almighty, after ſacrificing burnt-offerings, and peace-offerings on the place. This was the very ſpot on which Abraham would have offered up his ſon Iſaac, but for the appearance of the ram in his place; of which we have already written.

David buys Araunah's threſhing-floor, and ſacrifices upon it, ver. 24.

The prayers of David being heard, and his ſacrifice proving acceptable, he determined to give the name of the "Altar of the people," or "the Iſraelites altar," to the whole place, and thereon to cauſe a temple to be erected: and this reſolution was ſtrengthened by one of God's prophets who predicted to David that the temple ſhould be erected by his ſucceſſor. Hereupon, David gave orders for numbering the ſtrangers in his dominions, who appeared to be about a hundred and eighty thouſand, of whom a hundred thouſand were employed to carry materials for building, and eighty thouſand to do the ſtone-work: beſides which, thirty-five thouſand were directed to act as overſeers of the workmen. Vaſt numbers of cedar-trees, the largeſt and beſt that could be ſelected, were procured from Tyre and Sidon, and an immenſe quantity of iron and braſs was brought together on the occaſion. To his particular friends David uſed to ſay, that theſe things were only procured in readineſs, againſt the time his ſon might want them; which would forward the work, and ſave much time and labour: but that his ſon was not yet of an age to engage in ſuch an arduous taſk.

CHAP. XI.

David gives Inſtruction to Solomon in reſpect to building a temple Adonijah, David's fourth ſon, claims a right to the ſoverignty, but being oppoſed by the people, abandons his pretenſions. David's Addreſs to the people. His advice to his ſon Solomon.

David commands Solomon to build a temple. 1 Chron. xxii. 6, 13.

COmmanding his ſon Solomon into his preſence, David ſolemnly injoined, that upon his advancement to the throne, he ſhould immediately proceed to the conſtruction of a Temple for divine worſhip, ſaying that he would have performed that undertaking himſelf, but that he had been expreſly forbidden by Heaven, on account of the ſeveral wars in which he had been engaged having rendered him a man of blood; adding, that God had been pleaſed to reſerve the taſk for his youngeſt ſon, who according to prediction, would be a prince of peace, and live under the peculiar care and protection, of Heaven, exempted alike from wars with foreign powers, and domeſtic feuds and animoſities. "Previous to your birth (ſaid David) it was predicted, that you ſhould be advanced to the ſovereignty; and therefore, I earneſtly recommend, that, in gratitude to the divine providence whereby you are deſtined to ſuch exaltation, you will regulate your whole life in exact conformity with the dictates of piety, honour and juſtice, yielding due veneration to the laws and precepts of Moſes, and defending them from violation by the people under your government. With reſpect to the conſtruction of a temple to the honour of the Almighty, let no difficulties prevent your zealous perſeverence in that glorious undertaking, for the commencement of which it ſhall be my care to provide the neceſſary materials by the time you aſcend the throne. I have already made a proviſion of ten thouſand talents * of gold, and one hundred thouſand of ſilver, beſides braſs, timber and ſtone in vaſt abundance. You will be amply ſupplied with whatever materials may be neceſſary; and many thouſands of carpenters, maſons and other artificers will attend your command. I admoniſh you to proceed with all the celerity that the nature of the undertaking will admit; for the completion of the building will infallibly ſecure to you the protection and bleſſing of Heaven."

---

*The Scripture, 2 Sam. xxiv. 24. from whence this is taken, ſays fifty ſhekels of ſilver; but 1 Chronicles xxi. 25, where this fact is again recorded, ſays, ſix hundred ſhekels of gold by weight; betwixt which there is an immenſe difference. That David gave Araunah more than fifty ſhekels of ſilver, is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, ſince fifty ſhekels of ſilver, (admitting a ſhekel to be worth two ſhillings and ſeven pence in our money, which is the higheſt valuation any writer has put upon it, would amount to no more than ſix pounds ſeven ſhillings, and two pence; a very inconſiderable ſum for a prince of David's riches, and no ways equivalent to the value of oxen for burnt offerings, threſhing inſtruments, and the wheat for the meat offering, beſide that large tract of ground on which the temple ſtood. On the other hand, ſix hundred ſhekels of gold, according to Calmet's tables, weighed eleven pounds four ounces, ſeventeen penny weights, and twelve grains troy weight, and in value amounted to five hundred and forty ſeven pounds, ten ſhillings a ſum that ſeems much better proportioned to the value of the purchaſe; we therefore adhere to the later account as trueſt. This variation in Scripture, as alſo ſeveral others that we meet with, cannot any other ways be accounted for, than by imputing them to the errors of the Hebrew ſcribes, in tranſcribing the copies of the Bible, whereby the ſacred text has ſuffered corruption in ſome hundreds of places; or reconciled, otherwiſe than by a faithful reſtoration of the true readings; the adjuſting of which would be a work highly becoming the labours of the moſt learned men in Europe, and well worthy the proſecution, ſince the famous M. Le Clerc, and ſome others have undertook to lead the way.

After the above addreſs, David recommended the princes of the Hebrews to aſſiſt his ſon Solomon in bringing the fabrick to perfection, and alſo to attend to the duties of religion in preference to any other concerns, as the beſt means of providing for the proſperity and peace of the community. The king commanded, that when the temple ſhould be compleated, the ark and all the holy veſſels and utenſils ſhould be removed into the building, agreeably with thoſe commands which the Almighty had been pleaſed to deliver to their forfathers, who had neglected to obey the injunction laid upon them for raiſing a temple immediately upon their arrival in the land of promiſe.

David orders the ark, &c. to be depoſited in the temple when finiſhed, Chron. xxii. 19.

David who had now compleated his ſeventieth year, was greatly afflicted with the infirmitres of age, his blood being ſo chilled as much to impede circulation. A conſultation of the king's phyſicians being held, they were unanimouſly of opinion; that relief might be afforded by his ſleeping with a young and healthy perſon, the genial warmth of whoſe body might yield comfort to the patient, whoſe complaint was of ſuch a nature, that all additional coverings to his bed had but little effect towards communicating warmth to him. A maiden named Abiſhag, remarkable for her health and beauty was accordingly put to bed to the king, ſhe being in no danger of loſing her chaſtity ſince David had ſurvived the predominancy of all irregular appetites. In the progreſs of our work, we ſhall ſpeak more particularly of this virgin.

David is no cold, and worn out with age, 1 Kings i.

David adviſed to make uſe of a war young bedfellow, v.

Abiſhag is the perſon t ſupply the office, v. 3.

David's fourth ſon, who was born next after Abſalom, was Adonijah, his mother's name being Haggith. This youth reſembled Abſalom both in the gracefulneſs of his perſon, and his enterpriſing and ambitious ſpirit. Upon the death of Abſalom, Adonijah exerted every poſſible effort to render himſelf popular, in order that the hopes he entertained of ſucceeding to the ſovereignty might be the leſs liable to diſappointment. He retained a numerous retinue, with horſes, chariots, and guards; but unſuſpicious of his deſigns, David made no enquiry as to the reaſon of his living in a ſtile of ſuch pomp and magificence. The principal adherents of Adonijah were Joab, the commander in chief, and Abiathar, the high-prieſt, while Nathan, the prophet Benaiah, the captain of the guard, the high-prieſt Zadock, Shimei, and the officers in general eſpouſed the cauſe of David.

David's fourth ſon Adonijah

claims the government by ſucceſſion, v. 5.

In the ſuburbs of Jeruſalem, near the fountain in the royal gardens, Adonijah prepared a ſumptuous entertainment, to which he invited all his brothers, except Solomon, Joab, Abiather, and the principal men of the tribe of Judah, were alſo preſent; but neither Zadock, Nathan, Benaiah, nor any man of their party, received an invitation. This affair being reflected on by Nathan, he

Adonijah makes a mighty entertainment, v. 9.

---

* An Hebrew talent, according to Dom. Calmet's tables, weighed an hundred and fourteen pounds, fifteen pennyweights troy; and its value in gold was five thouſand four hundred and ſeventy five pounds Engliſh money. Ten thouſand talents therefore muſt weigh one million, an hundred and forty thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty five pounds, and amount in value to fifty four millions, ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. Its value in ſilver according to the aforeſaid author, was worth three hundred and forty two pounds, three ſhillings, and nine pence Engliſh money; an hundred thouſand therefore muſt weigh eleven millions, four hundred and ſix thouſand, and two hundred pounds troy, and amount to thirty four millions, two hundred and ſixty eight thouſand, and ſeven hundred pounds; but in 1 Chron. xxii. 14. from whence this is taken, it is juſt the reverſe, viz. a thouſand talents of ſilver, and an hundred thouſand talents of gold, which would amount to five hundred and forty ſeven millions, and five hundred thouſand pounds, a ſum ſo incredibly great, as may juſtly render the reading of the place ſuſpicious.

ſaid to Bathſheba, Solomon's mother, "Obſerve how Adonijah is already aſſuming the ſtate of royalty, while David is ignorant of his proceedings: it becomes you, therefore, equally for your own ſake, and your ſon's, to intereſt yourſelf in this buſineſs. Go then to David, and, when alone, remind him that he has ſworn that Solomon ſhall be his ſucceſſor; adding that Adonijah behaves as if he was already king. During this diſcourſe, I will come into the room, and confirm what you ſay." This advice pleaſed Bathſheba, who ſought the king, paid her reſpects, and obtaining permiſſion to deliver her buſineſs, did it as Nathan had directed; recounting the ſtory of the entertainment, who were invited, and who omitted; adding, that the public were anxious to know whom he would appoint to ſucceed him; and that the life of herſelf and ſon depended on his determination. At this moment, Nathan's attendance was announced and orders being given for his admiſſion, he ſaid to the king, with an air of aſtoniſhment, "Have you this day transferred the ſovereign rule to Adonijah, and appointed him to ſucceed you?" The prophet then told him of the feaſt; who were invited, and who left unaſked: "And there are they (ſaid he) feaſting and carouſing, and drinking healths to Adonijah, their new ſovereign: but neither myſelf, Zadock nor Benaiah, was unacquainted with the affair. Now I could adviſe your majeſty to ſignify to the public whether theſe proceedings have the ſanction of your approbation." When the prophet came in, Bathſheba retired; and being now ſummoned to appear, the king ſaid. "The oath I formerly made to you, Bathſheba, I now repeat, in the preſence of Almighty God. Solomon, your ſon, ſhall ſucceed to the government; and this day ſhall the buſineſs be accompliſhed." Hereupon Bathſheba wiſhed the king long life, and departed.

David ſending for Zadock and Benaiah, he deſired them to accompay Nathan, and, being conducted by the guards, place Solomon on the king's mule, and attending him to the fountain called Gihon, without the city, anoint him with holy oil, and proclaim him king. David farther ordered, that he ſhould paſs through the city, eſcorted by troops, and attended by crowds, crying, "Long live king Solomon!" David then commanded Solomon to rule over all his people with a ſtrict regard to the principles of religion and juſtice.

A prayer to God, for a bleſſing on Solomon, being now pronounced by Benaiah, they all departed to execute the king's commands. Being placed on the king's mule, Solomon was attended to the fountain, anointed, and accompanied back again, amidſt the ſhouts of the people, who prayed that his reign might be long and proſperous. He was now conducted to the palace, and being ſeated on the throne of David, the whole city joined in expreſſing their ſatisfaction, by dancing, ſinging, and playing upon muſical inſtruments

Alarmed at the ſound of the trumpets, and the acclamations of the populace, Adonijah and his gueſts quitted their dinner, at which time Jonathan, the ſon of Abiathar, the high-prieſt, gave an account of the orders iſſued by the king in favour of Solomon, and the honours conferred upon him by the people; in conſequence whereof the company diſperſed, and retired to their reſpective habitations. Senſible that his crime was of ſuch magnitude as ſcarcely to leave him the hope of forgiveneſs, Adonijah fled to the horns of the altar for ſanctuary, and there implored for pardon. With equal humanity and prudence, Solomon ſent a pardon to Adonijah, accompanied with an admonition to be more cautious of his future conduct; for a repetition of his late procedure might be attended with fatal conſequences. Adonijah now repaired to the palace, and made his ſubmiſſion to the king, who recommended him in future to behave more conſiſtently with the duty of a good ſubject.

Solomon pardons Adonijah. 1 Kings i. 52, 53.

In order that Solomon might be formally declared and acknowledged king over all Iſrael, David cauſed all the princes, prieſts, and Levites, to aſſemble in Jeruſalem; and the number of thoſe people appeared to be as follows: thirty-eight thouſand men upwards of thirty years of age, twenty-three thouſand of them being appointed to aſſiſt in building the temple; there were ſix thouſand judges and clerks; four thouſand porters belonging to the houſe of God; and four thouſand ſingers and players upon muſical inſtruments. Theſe people were divided into families; and the prieſts were four-and-twenty, eight of whom were the deſcendants of Ithamar, and the other ſixteen were of the houſe of Eleazar. Each family of the prieſthood was appointed to diſcharge the functions of religion, from Sabbath to Sabbath, in regular ſucceſſion. Abiathar and Zadock, the high-prieſts, and the principal men of the different tribes attended David while lots were drawn of the four-and-twenty families, the names of which were entered on a roll according to the rotation in which they were drawn; and this mode of diſtribution is ſtill in uſe. By the command of David, the tribe of Levi was diſtinguiſhed into four-and-twenty diviſions, and they were to officiate at the altar in ſucceſſion, like the prieſts, as the

The tribes caſt lots, and the firſt that comes out is called the firſt family, and ſo in order to the laſt. 1 Chron. xxiv. 5, 19.

The tribe of Levi is divided alſo into twenty four parts, to ſucceed in order, as the prieſts, ver. 20, &c.

lots ſhould fall. A preference however was given to the poſterity of Moſes, to whom was committed the care of the gifts preſented by princes and other benefactors, and in ſhort every ſpecies of the ſacred treaſure. The king commanded that the whole of the tribe of Levi, together with the prieſts, ſhould alternately attend the ſervice of God, both night and day, according to the ordination of Moſes.

The army diſtributed into twelve diviſions, each to do a months duty at Solomon's palace. 1 Chron. xxvii. 1.

The king alſo new modelled the army, ſeparating the troops into twelve equal diviſions, each conſiſting of twenty-four thouſand men, and having a commander in chief, together with tribunes, centurions, and officers of inferior rank. The ſeveral diviſions of the army were appointed to perform monthly duty in rotation at Solomon's palace. The commanders in chief of the ſeveral diviſions, who were men of approved honour and probity, were inveſted with the power of acting in the capacity of judges in all controverſies between the men ſubject to their reſpective juriſdictions. He alſo appointed proper perſons to ſuperintend the public revenue, as well as the flocks, herds, vineyards, and the reſt of the royal property.

Having adjuſted the important concerns above-mentioned, David ſummoned a general aſſembly of the princes of the tribes, the officers of the army, magiſtrates, and overſeers of the revenue; and from his throne, which was placed on an eminence, he addreſſed them in the following manner:

David addreſſes the principal men of the tribes on the ſubject of the temple. 1 Chron. xxviii. 1—10.

"Countrymen and brethren, it now becomes me to inform you, that I have long had an intention of building a temple ſacred to God, towards the expence of which I have amaſſed an immenſe treaſure in gold, and one hundred thouſand talents of ſilver: but my deſign hath been ſtopped by the will of God, ſignified by his prophet Nathan: and the reaſon aſſigned is, that God will not have the foundation of his houſe laid by hands which have been dipped in blood, as mine undoubtedly have been, though the blood I ſhed was that of your enemies in wars that I was compelled to maintain, in aſſertion of the juſt rights and liberties of my people. The prophet farther informed me, that the commencement and completion of this great work ſhould be left to my ſucceſſor. You are not unacquainted that to our father Jacob were born twelve ſons; yet, by the conſent of them all, was Judah choſen to rule over them. You alſo know, that I had five brothers; yet when the providence of God deſtined me to the government, no complaint was heard on the part of my brethren: in like manner, I now demand of you all to become the faithful ſubjects of my ſon Solomon; and I entreat that you will obey him without complaint or heſitation; ſince the ſovereign authority with which he is inveſted, is delegated to him immediately from Heaven. Suppoſe, now, that the Providence of God had decreed a ſtranger to rule over you, would you have been weak and baſe enough to have repined at the diſpenſation? How thankful then ought you to be, that this diſtinguiſhed honour is conferred on one who may be deemed your brother, he being on ſo near a relation? The firſt wiſh of my heart is, that the merciful promiſes of Almighty God may ſoon be verified: and all my ſubjects become partakers of, and long enjoy, thoſe bleſſings which it has been deſtined for the reign of Solomon to beſtow on them. My beloved ſon, all I have promiſed will be made good, and your utmoſt wiſhes will be gratified, while you rule over your people according to the precepts of juſtice and religion, paying the obedience due both to the laws of God and man, and copying the example of your forefathers. But if you depart from this line of conduct, you muſt expect ruin and miſery to be the inevitable conſequence."

David delivers to Solomon a draught and model of the temple, with directions for utenſils, &c. 11, &c.

On the concluſion of this addreſs, David preſented Solomon a drawing exhibiting the model of the intended ſtructure, with directions for the diviſions of the different apartments, private cells, the formation and preciſe weight of the veſſels of gold and ſilver, and other holy utenſils; enjoining him to apply himſelf with all poſſible diligence in compleating the temple. On account of the youth and inexperience of Solomon, David exhorted the princes and the tribe of Levi to aſſiſt in the undertaking, which he ſaid would be completed with leſs difficulty than might be apprehended; adding, that excluſive of the articles he had already ſpecified, he had ordered three thouſand talents of the pureſt gold * to be taken from his own treaſury for the purpoſe of embelliſhing the holy place, the chariot of the Lord, and the cherubims placed over the holy ark.

After the princes, the prieſts, and the Levites had expreſſed the utmoſt ſatiſfaction at what David had ſaid, towards accompliſhing the great deſign, they propoſed to ſupply five thouſand talents of gold †,

---

* Three thouſand talents weighed three hundred, forty two thouſand, one hundred and eighty ſeven pounds, and ſix ounces, and their value in gold amounted to ſixteen millions, four hundred and twenty five thouſand pounds, Engliſh money.

† Five thouſand talents weighed five hundred and ſeventy thouſand, three hundred and twelve pounds, and ſix ounces, and their value in gold amounted to twenty-ſeven millions, three hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds Engliſh money.

one

arge contri-
tions for
he temple,
Chron.
XXIX. 2.

one hundred thouſand talents of ſilver, ‡ and an immenſe quantity of braſs and iron. Jalus, who was of the line of Moſes, was appointed to receive the contributions, conſiſting of gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, and a variety of other valuable articles, which he depoſited in the public treaſury. The people unanimouſly approved the deſign, which afforded great ſatisfaction to David, who now addreſſed himſelf to the Almighty, fervently imploring a continuance of bleſſings upon the Hebrew nation, and that the life of his ſon Solomon might be diſtinguiſhed by unſpotted innocence and integrity. He then called upon the people to join him in thankſgivings for the bleſſings they had received, and they accordingly proſtrated themſelves upon the earth, and devoutly worſhipped God. After this ſolemnity, the people addreſſed themſelves to David in acknowledgement of the ſignal advantages they had derived under his government.

Solomon anointed, owned, and declared a ſecond time king; and Zadock the high-prieſt, ver. 22.

On the following day a great ſacrifice was performed, the victims being a thouſand calves, a thouſand lambs, and a thouſand rams, as a burnt-offering; after which an oblation was made of a great number of other animals, as a peace offering. This day, in ſhort was dedicated to univerſal joy and feſtivity. Solomon was again anointed and declared king, when the public joined in acknowledging him their lawful ſovereign; and by common conſent Zadock was nominated to the high prieſthood. Solomon being then conducted to the palace, he was ſeated on David's throne; and thenceforward the Hebrews paid him due allegiance.

CHAP XII.

The dying advice of David to his ſon Solomon. His death and funeral. Antiochus beſieges Jeruſalem.

OPPRESSED with age and ſickneſs, and conſcious that his diſſolution was near, David ordered his ſon Solomon into his preſence, and addreſſed him to the following effect:

David's laſt advice to his ſon Solomon, 1 Kings ii. 1—10.

"I am now preparing to depart to a world, where, in due time, you muſt follow. To die is to pay the common debt of nature, and that debt once paid, puts a final period to all our concerns with this life. While I have power, I muſt not omit to remind you of the doctrines I have ſo frequently inculcated: Fail not to obſerve a ſtrict regard to the adminiſtration of public juſtice; zealouſly adore that eternal Being, to whom you are indebted for the regal dignity, as well as for your exiſtence; pay a rigid regard to his commands, as they are tranſmitted to us by Moſes; for, if through fear, vanity, intereſt, or any other human infirmity, you ſhall violate his laws, you muſt no longer expect a continuance of the protection of divine Providence. But if you religiouſly conform yourſelf to the pleaſure of the Lord, the government will be eſtabliſhed to yourſelf and your ſucceſſors in perpetuity. I muſt now mention the iniquity of Joab, in the aſſaſſinations of thoſe brave warriors, and dutiful ſubjects, Abner, the ſon of Ner, and Amaſa, the ſon of Ithra. I had myſelf inflicted upon him the puniſhment due to his crimes, but was reſtrained by a conſideration of his great popularity. But you, may act towards him as your judgment ſhall direct. It is my requeſt, that you will exert yourſelf in offices of friendſhip towards the ſons of Barzillai, the Gileadite: and this I mean you ſhould do, as a requital of the obligations I received from him during the period of my baniſhment; for theſe ſervices, I conſider as a debt which my whole family are bound to acknowledge. With Shimei, the Benjamite, the ſon of Gera, you may find ſome proper occaſion to account for thoſe opprobrious and unmerited cenſures during my perſecution at Bahurim. On our interview at the river Jordan, he obtained my pardon; but in caſe of future tranſgreſſions, you will determine as to the propriety of puniſhing thoſe injuries."

King David dies. His character.

Having concluded his diſcourſe, David expired, in the ſeventieth year of his age, after a reign of ſeven years and ſix months over the tribe of Judah, at Hebron, and thirty-three years over the whole people of Iſrael, at Jeruſalem. David was a man poſſeſſed of every qualification neceſſary to the exalted ſtation he filled. No man was more remarkable for bravery and fortitude; he took the lead in all deſperate expeditions, either for the defence or protection of his people. The valour of his ſoldiers was more animated by his example, than by the authority of his command. He was judicious in the appointment of his councils; and poſſeſſed a ſingular degree of penetration, whereby he was enabled both to improve preſent advantages, and obviate threatened dangers and difficulties. His manner of living was temperate and abſtemious; he was humane, compaſſionate,

David an unexceptionable ruler, ſave only in the matter of Bathſheba and Uriah.

---

‡ The Scripture, 1 Chron. xxxix. 6, 7. varies from this account, and ſays, "That the chief of the fathers, and princes of the tribes of Iſrael, &c. gave for the ſervice of the houſe of God, of gold, five thouſand talents, and ten thouſand drams; and of ſilver, ten thouſand talents; and of braſs, eighteen thouſand talents: and one hundred thouſand talents of iron."

He died rich and was buried at Jeruſalem. ibid.

Solomon depoſited a mighty treaſure in David's monument.

and affable; he was an impartial and penetrating judge, and a man of great piety. Except in the caſe of Bathſheba and her huſband Uriah, his character was free from reproach. His riches exceeded the poſſeſſions of any former prince. The remains of king David were depoſited in Jeruſalem, with a degree of pomp and magnificence ſurpaſſing the powers of deſcription. In reſpect to the memory of his father, Solomon depoſited in David's ſepulchre an immenſe treaſure of the value of which ſome judgment may be formed of what follows.

Hyrcanus compounds to raiſe the ſiege for three hundred talents.

Antiochus beſieged Jeruſalem.

King Herod finds another maſs of hidden treaſure.

About thirteen hundred years after the deceaſe of David, in the time of Hyrcanus, the high-prieſt, Antiochus, ſurnamed the Pious, who was the ſon of Demetrius, laid ſiege to Jeruſalem. In conſideration of being paid a certain ſum * he offered to abandon the ſiege; and having no other reſource, Hyrcanus broke open David's tomb, and from that repoſitory paid the ſum demanded for the compoſition. Many years afterwards king Herod diſcovered a cell in the ſepulchre, from whence he obtained treaſure to a prodigious amount. But the remains of David were laid in a place concealed with ſo much art and ingenuity, that all the endeavours both of Hyrcanus and Herod to diſcover it proved ineffectual.

---

* In Book I. Chap. ii. of the wars of the Jews, Joſephus ſays the ſum agreed on was three hundred talents, which in weight amount to nineteen thouſand nine hundred and ſixty pounds, eleven ounces, five penny weights; but does not tell us whether of gold or ſilver. If of the former, as is more probable, the ſum in value was equivalent to nine hundred fifty eight thouſand, one hundred twenty five pounds. If of ſilver, to fifty nine thouſand eight hundred eighty two pounds, ſixteen ſhillings and five pence. But learned men, and perhaps not without reaſon, believe the whole ſtory to be no more than a fiction of the Rabbins, and blame Joſephus for his credulity in giving into it.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS,

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK VIII.

From the Year of the World 2931 *to* 3048.

CHAPTER I.

Solomon ſucceeds to the throne, to the univerſal joy of the people. Adonijah prevails upon Bathſheba to ſolicit Solomon's conſent to his marriage with Abiſhag. Solomon cauſes Joab and Shimei to be put to death. He removes Abiathar from the high-prieſthood, and transfers that dignity to the family of Phineas.

olomon en-
ers upon the
overnment
ith univer-
l joy,
Kings ii. 12.

AT an early period of life, Solomon, the ſon of David, ſucceeded to the government, being inveſted with the ſovereign authority by the eſpecial appointment of Heaven, and with the publicly declared conſent of his father. On occaſion of his advancement to the throne, he received the cordial congratulations of the people, who expreſſed the moſt earneſt wiſhes, that he might enjoy a long reign of uninterrupted proſperity.

With that artful and inſinuating addreſs of which he was a complete maſter, Adonijah, who, as we have related in the preceding book, made an attempt upon the government during the life of his father applied to Bathſheba, the king's mother, hoping that through her interference he ſhould be enabled to promote his own ſiniſter views. She aſſured him, that ſhe was diſpoſed to yield him every aſſiſtance within the compaſs of her power. Being thus encouraged, he addreſſed her in the following manner:

Adonijah's
addreſs to
Bathſheba.

"It is ſcarcely neceſſary for me to obſerve, moſt illuſtrious princeſs, that if I were inclined to oppoſe the preſent ſyſtem of government, a priority of claim, and the ſuffrages of the people would inſure ſucceſs to my pretenſions. But ſince it is the pleaſure of the Almighty, that your ſon Solomon ſhould exerciſe the powers of the ſovereignty, I ſhall be content to remain in the character of a private man and a loyal ſubject. But, permit me to ſolicit, that you will exert your intereſt in my behalf, by endeavouring to procure your ſon's conſent to my nuptials with Abiſhag. It is true, that my propoſed wife was taken to the bed of David, but the king was then ſo far declined in years, that he doubtleſs left her an unblemiſhed virgin."

Bathſheba ſaid, ſhe was diſpoſed to promote his ſuit, adding, that ſhe did not doubt of the king's concurrence in the joint requeſt of his mother and brother. Repairing to Solomon, he received her with open arms, and leading her into his bedchamber, ſeated her in a chair of ſtate on his right hand. Being ſeated, Bathſheba ſaid, ſhe had a requeſt to make, the refuſal of which would give her great concern. The king deſired her to proceed, under an aſſurance of his ready compliance. She then ſaid, her object was to obtain his conſent to a marriage between Adonijah and Abiſhag. Surpriſed at hearing this propoſal, the king deſired his mother to retire; and when ſhe was gone, he ſeriouſly deliberated on what ſhe had ſaid, concluding that Adonijah's motive in wiſhing to form an alliance with Abiſhag, was to facilitate his advancement to the throne, and that he had attached to his intereſt Joab, the general, and Abiathar, the high-prieſt. Hereupon the king ordered Benaiah, the captain of his guards, to put his brother Adonijah immediately to death; and calling Abiathar, the high-prieſt, into his preſence, he told him, that the loſs of life was a puniſhment due to him: but in conſideration of the ſervice he had rendered David, and the aſſiſtance he had afforded towards the recovery of the holy ark, he would remit a rigorous execution of juſtice and be content with baniſhing him for the reſt of his life. Abiathar being thus depoſed from the high-prieſthood, that dignity was transferred from the houſe of Ithamar to Zadock, he being of the family of Phineas, in conformity with the prediction of God to Eli, the grand-father of Abiathar. The firſt of the houſe of Ithamar who was inveſted with the pontifical dignity was Eli; and from his time the following perſons of the ſame family led private lives: Boccias, the ſon of Joſeph; Jonathan, the ſon of Boccias, Mareoth, the ſon of Jonathan; Arapha the ſon of Moreoth; Architob, the ſon of Arapha; and Zadock, the ſon of Architob.

Solomon orders Adonijah to be put to death, ver. 25.

Upon being informed of the death of Adonijah, Joab became apprehenſive for his own ſafety, being conſcious that he merited a ſimilar fate, for having engaged in a conſpiracy againſt the king; and therefore he fled to the altar for ſanctuary. Solomon now commanded Benaiah to cite Joab to appear in a court of judicature, and anſwer to the accuſations alledged againſt him. But Joab perſiſted in a refuſal to obey the ſummons, ſaying, if he was doomed to ſuffer, he would yield up his life before the altar. The determination of Joab being repreſented to the king, he demanded Benaiah to return, and ſtrike off his head in the place where he had taken refuge, as a puniſhment for having treacherouſly murdered Abner and Amaſa; further charging him to exculpate both his father and himſelf from the imputation of unjuſtifiable ſeverity towards Joab. Having diſcharged the king's order, Benaiah was appointed to ſucceed Joab as generaliſſimo.

At this period Solomon commanded Shimei to erect a houſe in Jeruſalem, and not to paſs the river Kedron *, on the penalty of forfeiting his life; and to the ſtrict obſervance of this injunction he was bound under the ſolemnity of an oath. Shimei readily acquieſced, and repaired to Jeruſalem. About three years had elapſed, when two of his domeſtics quitted his ſervice, and hearing that they were at Gath, he went thither in order to induce their return. This circumſtance was reported to the king, who being highly incenſed againſt Shimei, ordered him into his preſence, and addreſſed him to this effect: "Thou haſt baſely violated a ſacred engagement, whereby thou wert bound to confine thyſelf to the limits of this town; and for this perjury thou art ſentenced to die. Be informed, that the iniquities of mankind will, at an early or a later period, infalliably meet a due retribution; and that the impending judgment is directed by the Almighty, as a puniſhment for your late offence, and for the injuries to my reverend father, at the time of his greateſt calamities." In obedience to the command of Solomon, Shimei was put to death.

CHAP. II.

Solomon eſpouſes the daughter of the king Egypt. The gift of wiſdom is conferred upon him. He builds a magnificent temple; and alſo erects a ſtately palace. He fortifies Jeruſalem. The Hebrews ſubdue the Canaanites. His immenſe riches. By his attachment to women, Solomon is ſeduced into idolatrous practices. Adad foments an inſurrection againſt Solomon. A prediction that ten of the twelve tribes ſhould declare allegiance to Solomon.

BEING now ſecurely eſtabliſhed in poſſeſſion of the government, Solomon contracted marriage with the daughter of the king of Egypt. He repaired, enlarged, and conſiderably ſtrengthened the walls and fortifications of the city of Jeruſalem, and applied himſelf to the adminiſtration of public juſtice. His youth was no obſtruction to an unremitting perſeverance in the ſeveral duties of his exalted ſtation, and a religious obſervance of the ſalutary inſtructions delivered to him by his dying father. Though at ſo early a period of life, his penetration and judgment were arrived to a degree of maturity that would have done honour to the gravity of advanced age and extenſive experience.

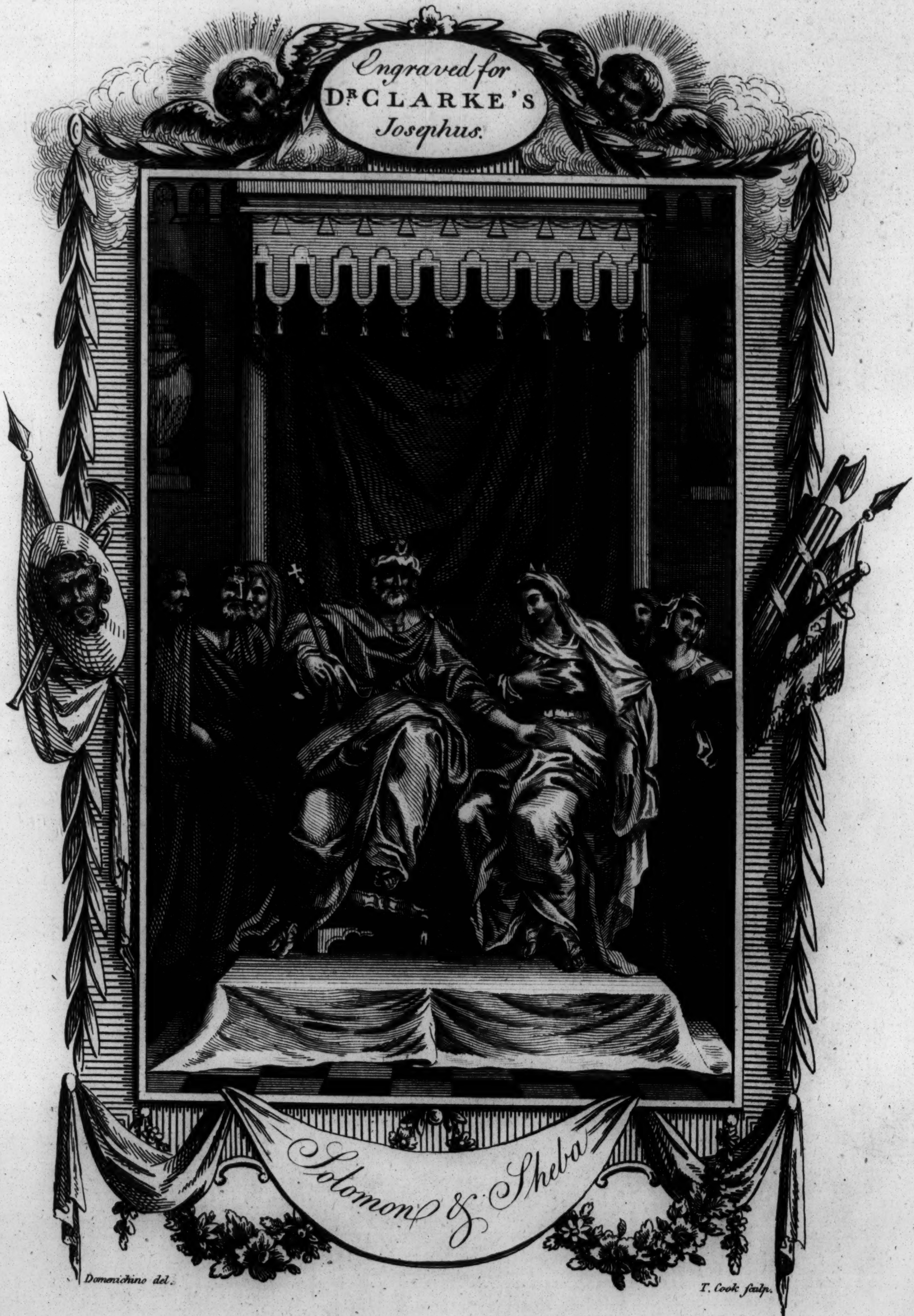
Solomon eſ pouſes the daughter of Pharoah, 1 King, III.

In gratitude for the bleſſings he enjoyed, Solomon determined to addreſs himſelf to

---

* Script Hedron.

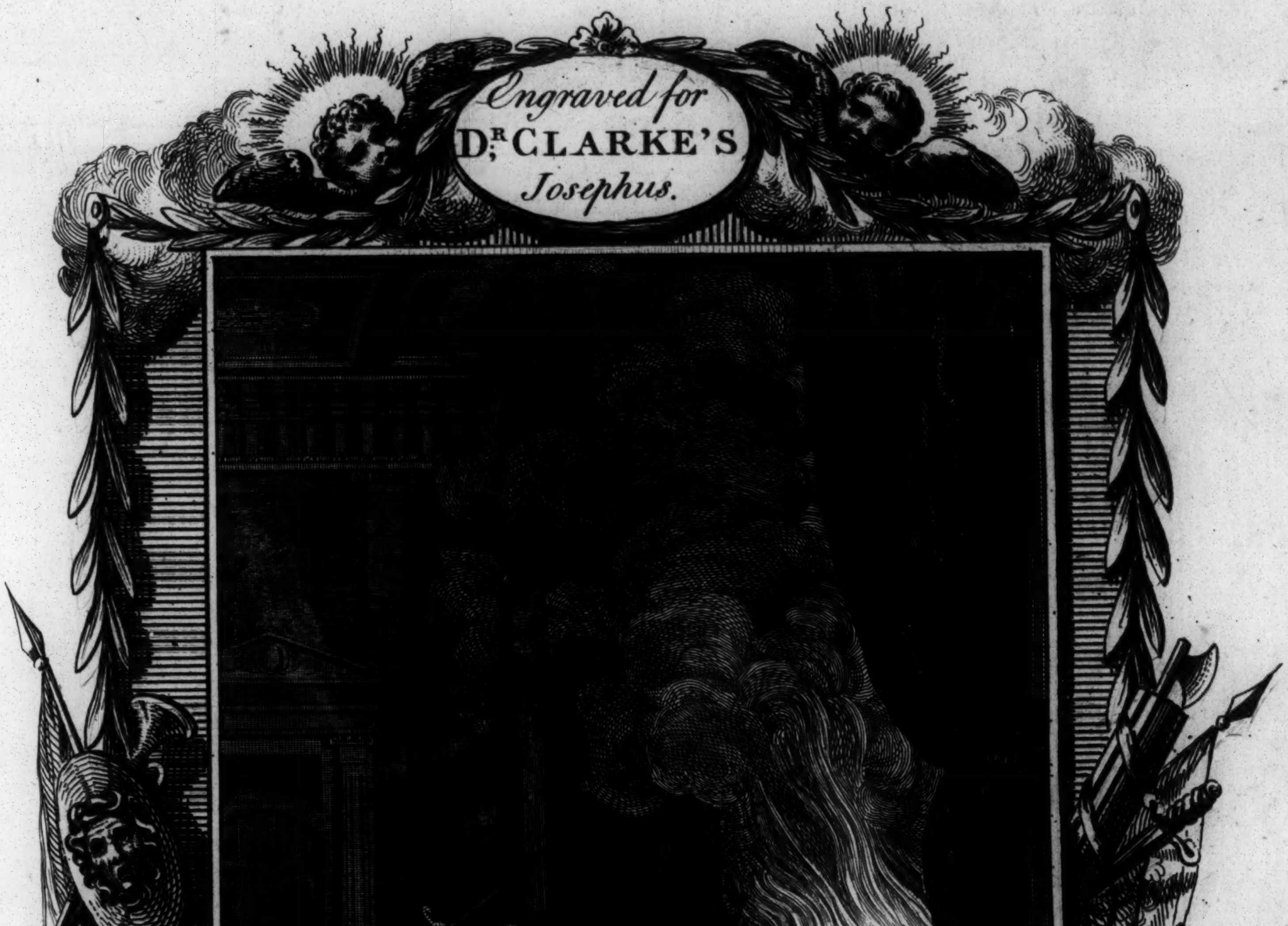
God


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.
Solomon & Sheba

Domenichino del. T. Cook sculp.

Publiſhed as the Act directs Feby. 11th. 1786 by John Walker Paternoſter Row.

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

JOAB beheaded, by order of King Soloman.

Van Stadt del.
T. Cook sculp.

Publish'd as the Act directs Decr. 23.1785 by J. Walker Pater noster Row.

BRITISH MUSEUM

God in prayer, and to perform ſacrifice; and he accordingly repaired to Hebron, and made an oblation of a thouſand victims upon the brazen altar erected by Moſes. So acceptable was this inſtance of piety to Heaven, that on the following night God viſited Solomon in a dream, and told him he would grant whatever he ſhould requeſt. Upon this, the king determined to aſk a gift that the bountiful donor would beſtow with the greateſt ſatisfaction, and that would moſt eſſentially operate to his own advantage; he therefore addreſſed himſelf to the Almighty in the following manner: "I beſeech thee, O gracious God, to beſtow upon me a perfect judgment and a right comprehenſion of things, to the end that I may invariably regulate my whole conduct in exact conformity with the dictates of truth and juſtice." This prudent choice was ſo agreeable to the Almighty, that he promiſed Solomon both riches and glory, in addition to a greater ſhare of wiſdom than ever man had poſſeſſed, and further that, on condition of his acting in all things conformable with the divine will, and adopting the virtuous example of his father, the ſovereignty ſhould continue in his family for ſeveral generations. After receiving theſe aſſurances in the viſion, the king awaked, and quitting his bed, worſhipped and gratefully expreſſed his acknowledgments to the Lord. The king then returned to Jeruſalem, where he performed ſacrifice, and gave an entertainment to the people.

d is ſo well eaſed with choice, at he gives m riches d glory, er and ove, ver. –14.

olomon akes, worips, and turns to eruſalem, er. 15.

The caſe of a ve child, d a dead ne; and hich was e mother of e live child, er. 16, &c.

About this time, a caſe of great difficulty was ſubmitted to the deciſion of Solomon; and the circumſtances were as follow: two proſtitutes, who were inhabitants of the ſame houſe, appeared before the king, when the complainant ſtated, that while ſhe was aſleep, the defendant took her infant from her arms, and ſubſtituted in the room thereof the body of her own dead child, that ſhe had overlaid and ſmothered; that upon diſcovering the impoſition early in the morning, ſhe inſiſted upon her child being reſtored, but that her adverſary refuſed to comply with her natural and juſt demand. She ſaid, ſhe knew the child to be her own by infallible marks; and, though ſhe had no witneſſes to ſupport her claim, ſupplicated the king for juſtice. Solomon demanded of the other woman what ſhe had to ſay reſpecting the charge alledged againſt her. She averred, that the complaint was not founded in juſtice, for that the child in queſtion was the iſſue of her body. The firm and reſolute manner in which the parties ſupported their reſpective claims, occaſioned the auditors to ſuſpend their opinion as to which had ſpoken truth: but the controverſy was at length determined by the following expedient. The king commanded the living child and the body of the dead one to be produced, and that one of his guards ſhould with his ſword ſeparate the bodies as nearly as poſſible in halves, and then deliver one half of either to each of the claimants of the living infant. Upon hearing theſe words, the real mother burſt into tears, and earneſtly ſupplicated, that the award might be revoked, declaring that rather than the life of the infant ſhould be ſacrificed, ſhe would relinquiſh all claim to it in favour of her opponent. The pretended mother appeared to be ſatisfied with the deciſion, and even to derive ſatisfaction from the diſtreſs of her adverſary. On the evidence of her maternal affection, Solomon reſtored the child to the real mother, and ſeverely reproved the iniquity of the other woman in having, after the loſs of her own, endeavoured to effect the deſtruction of that of her companion. This determination was conſidered as ſo ſignal an inſtance of Solomon's penetration and wiſdom, that he was thenceforward conſidered as acting under the immediate direction and impulſe of Heaven.

Solomon adjudges the child to the right woman.

Solomon appointed proper perſons for the adminiſtration of public affairs in his ſeveral provinces. Uri, the ſon of Hur, was appointed to the government of Bethlehem, and the whole country inhabited by the Ephramites. Aminadab, the king's ſon-in-law, had the command of Dora, and of the ſea-coaſt. The great plain, and the country extending to the river Jordan, were under the direction of Baanah, the ſon of Achil. The ſon Geber had the government of the Gileadites and the Gaulonites, as far as Mount Libanus; within which command there were ſixty large and well fortified cities. Achinadab, the huſband of Baſima, Solomon's daughter, had the government of all Galilee up to Sidon. Under Baanah was the government of the ſea coaſt about Aſher. Jehoſaphat commanded the mountains Itabyr and Carmel, and all the Lower Galilee, to the farther ſide of Jordan. The whole country of the Benjamites was under the government of Subes; and the land beyond Jordan was under Tabar. Theſe were Solomon's governors, and he had one lieutenant-general to ſuperintend them all. Public tranquillity being perfectly eſtabliſhed, the ſeveral tribes aſſiduouſly applied themſelves to the cultivation of the earth, whereby they acquired immenſe riches in a ſhort time. The additions and improvements which the tribe of Judah made to their poſſeſſions, exceeded thoſe of the other tribes. Excluſive of the officers above-mentioned, the king nominated others to ſuperintend the Syrians and

Solomon's governors and great officers, 1 Kings iv. 1, 19.

Vaſt proviſions for the king's table, 22, 23. His chariots, horſes, &c. 26.

and other barbarous nations, between Egypt and the Euphrates, and to receive their tribute. The proviſions furniſhed daily for the king's tables, conſiſted of thirty chomers * of fine flour, ſixty meaſures of meal, ten fat oxen, twenty oxen from the paſtures, and an hundred fat lambs, excluſive of fiſh, birds, deer, and other rarities. His chariots were exceedingly numerous, and for the horſes belonging to them, forty thouſand ſtalls were provided. His guard was compoſed of twelve thouſand horſemen, ſix thouſand of whom were quartered in Jeruſalem, and the others in villages adjacent to that city. It was part of the buſineſs of the commiſſary for conducting the expences of the houſhold, to provide nouriſhment for the horſes of the king's guards and other attendants.

Not only the Egyptians, but the moſt celebrated of the Hebrews, as Athan, Heman, Calcol, and Dodan, the ſons of Hemahon, were infinitely inferior to Solomon in the knowledge and wiſdom which were communicated to him by divine inſpiration. The writings of this wonderfully accompliſhed prince comprehended a thouſand and five books of odes and poems; three thouſand books of parables and ſimilies; the hiſtory of plants from the cedar to the hyſſop; and the hiſtory of the fiſhes of the ſea, the beaſts of the field, and the birds of the air. He had a perfect knowledge of theſe ſubjects, which he had ſtudied with unwearied attention. Theſe extraordinary gifts were not beſtowed upon him in vain; for he compoſed charms and incantations for expelling the diſeaſes of the human body; he left ſeveral manuſcript forms of conjuration, by means of which people obtained an effectual relief from evil ſpirits, which never returned; and his directions for removing complaints of this nature are to this time much practiſed by the people of our nation. I was preſent when a countryman of mine, named Eleazar, diſpoſſeſſed divers perſons before Veſpaſian, his ſons and ſeveral officers and ſoldiers. A ring, under the ſeal of which a certain root was conveyed, was applied to the noſtrils, and it being ſmelt to by the demoniac, the evil ſpirit was inſtantly drawn out by the noſe. In this operation the man was thrown down by the ſpirit. Eleazar repeated charms and incantations invented by Solomon, whoſe name he frequently introduced, adjuring the devil to trouble the party no more. Eleazar afterwards placed a veſſel of water near a man who was poſſeſſed, and adjured the devil upon quitting the patient, to overturn it, which was accordingly done. This was rightly underſtood by the people as an incontrovertible proof of Solomon's wiſdom.

Hiram, the king of Tyre, ſends a gratulatory embaſſy to Solomon, 1 Kings v. 1.

Upon the acceſſion of Solomon to the throne, Hiram, the king of Tyre, who had ever entertained a great affection for David, diſpatched ambaſſadors with a commiſſion to congratulate Solomon on occaſion of his advancement. Upon the return of the ambaſſadors, Solomon ſent the following letter to Hiram:

King Solomon to king Hiram, greeting.

"Be it known unto thee, O king, that my father David had it a long time in contemplation to build a temple to the Lord; but being perpetually in war, and under a neceſſity of ſubduing his enemies, and making them all his tributaries, before he could attend this great and holy work, he hath left it to me, in a time of peace, both to begin and finiſh it, according to the direction of Almighty God. Bleſſed be his great name for the preſent tranquillity of my dominions; and by his gracious aſſiſtance, I ſhall now dedicate the beſt improvements of this liberty and leiſure to his honour and worſhip; wherefore I make it my requeſt, that you will let ſome of your people accompany ſome of mine to Mount Libanus, to aſſiſt in cutting down materials towards this building; for the Sydonians underſtand it much better than we do. As for the workmen's reward, or wages, whatever you think reaſonable, ſhall be punctually paid them."

Solomon's letter proving greatly ſatiſfactory to Hiram, he diſpatched the following reply to it:

King Hiram to king Solomon.

"No event could have afforded me greater pleaſure, than that I experience in conſequence of the government of your excellent father being transferred to a ſucceſſor of ſuch diſtinguiſhed virtue and wiſdom. Glorified be the name of the Almighty for giving the Hebrews ſo admirable a governor. Your requeſt ſhall be chearfully complied with. Such numbers of the fineſt cedar and cypreſs trees as your neceſſities may require, I will order to be cut down; and they ſhall be conveyed to ſuch ports as you may appoint, to be removed from thence to Jeruſalem, by your own people. In return, I ſhall requeſt ſuch a ſupply of grain as may be convenient for you to ſpare, that article being much wanted in our iſland."

---

* A chomer, or Côre, contained about ſix hundred and five pints Engliſh meaſure; thirty of which amounted to eighteen thouſand, one hundred and fifty Engliſh pints. In Scripture the word is tranſlated meaſures.

The duplicates of theſe letters are ſtill extant, both in our own and the Tyrian records, of which thoſe who are doubtful may be convinced by an application to the keepers of the regiſters.

Hiram's letter proved ſo agreeable to Solomon, that he ordered him an annual preſent conſiſting of two thouſand meaſures of wheat, two thouſand veſſels of oil, and two thouſand veſſels of wine, each veſſel containing ſeventy-two quarts. The friendſhip thus commenced between the kings, daily increaſed, and continued to be manifeſted by a conſtant interchange of offices of kindneſs.

Solomon or-
ers Hiram a
yearly pre-
ſent of wheat,
oil, &c.
Kings, v. 11.
and 2 Chron.
10, 16.

Solomon commanded thirty thouſand workmen to be ſelected, ten thouſand of whom he ordered to cut wood upon Mount Libanus for the ſpace of one month, at the expiration of which time, they were to be relieved by a ſecond ten thouſand, who were to do duty for a like period, and then to be ſucceeded by the third ten thouſand. Thus they were at liberty to remain at their reſpective habitations for two months, and, according to the rotation, every fourth month they were to return to labour. Adoniram was appointed ſuperintendant or inſpector-general of theſe workmen. There were beſides, ſeventy thouſand foreigners, whom David had intended for conveying ſtones and other materials, eighty thouſand maſons and ſtone-hewers, and thirty-two thouſand overſeers. They were ordered to ſearch for the largeſt ſtones for the foundation, and to prepare them for uſe on the mountains where they were procured, and then to convey them to Jeruſalem; and in this part of the buſineſs Hiram's men were commanded to aſſiſt.

The king
provides
workmen;
aſſigns their
number, taſks,
&c. 1 Kings,
v. 13, &c.

Solomon began this important undertaking in the fourth year of his reign, and in that month which is called Artemiſius by the Macedonians, and Jar by the Hebrews; five hundred and ninety-two[*] years after the Iſraelites had come out of Egypt; one thouſand and twenty years from the period when Abraham removed from Meſopotamia into the land of Canaan; fourteen hundred and forty years after the flood and three thouſand one hundred and two years from the creation of the world. It was two hundred years after building the city of Tyre, and in the eleventh year of the reign of king Hiram.

The foundation was ſunk to an aſtoniſhing depth, and compoſed of ſtones of ſingular magnitude, and ſo hard a quality as to reſiſt the worm, and the inclemency of the weather: and being cloſely mortiſed in to the rock with great ingenuity, they formed a baſis adequate to the ſupport of the intended ſtructure. The temple was ſixty cubits[†] high, and ſixty cubits in length, and the breadth was twenty cubits; above this, was another ſtage, of equal dimenſions, ſo that the height of the whole ſtructure was one hundred and twenty cubits. The walls were compoſed entirely of white ſtone: and the front of the building was towards the eaſt. The porch was twenty cubits in length, and ten in the breadth, and one hundred and twenty in height. Round the outward walls were erected thirty cells, or ſmall houſes, communicating with each other, and forming galleries, and at the ſame time anſwering the purpoſes of buttreſſes, by ſupporting the walls. Theſe cells were each five cubits broad, and of the ſame length, and twenty cubits high. Over theſe were two other floors of the ſame proportion, and the uppermoſt of the cells were on a level with the lower ſtory of the fabric. They were faſtened together by large beams, ſo diſpoſed as to make them appear of one piece, and as if they gave additional ſtrength to the walls. Under the beams was a variety of carving, gilding, fret-work, and other curious ornaments. The walls and ceilings were lined with cedar, and the wainſcots were embelliſhed with the pureſt gold. The building was formed of ſtones put together with ſuch ingenuity, that the ſmalleſt interſtices were not perceptible. In ſhort, the whole was ſo wonderfully executed that it rather appeared to be the work of the Divine Being, than the produce of human ſkill.

The order of
the whole fa-
brick.

The ſecond ſtory had not, like the lower part, a large door towards the eaſt, but had ſeveral ſmall doors to enter by the ſides Solomon cauſed winding ſtairs to be cut in the wall, which led to the upper part of the building. The temple was entirely lined with cedar; and the timbers were joined with iron cramps, whereby the ſeveral parts were cloſely compacted together, and great ſtrength was given to the whole building. The king cauſed the temple to be divided into two parts, the more inward of which was a ſpace of twenty cubits ſquare, and this part was called the holy of hollies, being inacceſſible, and dedicated peculiarly to God. The other di-

The partition
of the temple.

---

[*] Joſephus departs from the Scripture in this account of years. See 1 Kings vi. as alſo in ſome parts of the building of the temple; for the comparing of which we refer the reader to 1 Kings vi, vii, and 2 Chron. ii, iii, iv.

[†] A Jewiſh cubit, according to Calmet, was near twenty-two Engliſh inches; ſixty cubits therefore muſt amount to ſomething more than an hundred and nine feet; that is, thirty ſix yards and a foot.

viſion, which was forty cubits[*] ſquare, was called the holy temple, and it was aſſigned to the uſe of the prieſts. In the wall, dividing the interior from the other part of the temple, was placed a large cedar door, richly ornamented with carving and gilding; and before this door was hung a veil of the fineſt ſilk and linen, curiouſly ornamented with hiſtorical and other repreſentations, in purple, ſcarlet, and a variety of other colours.

The two cherubims. 2 Chron. iii. 10—13.

Solomon cauſed two golden cherubims, of equal ſize to be made, and they were placed in the holy of hollies, and dedicated to God. Theſe cherubims were each five cubits in height, their wings, which were five cubits in length, being ſtretched out, touched the walls on the ſouth and north ſides, and the other wings, touching each other, formed a covering for the holy ark. Theſe cherubims were wrought with ſuch exquiſite ſkill and ingenuity, that to give an accurate deſcription of them would be a very arduous taſk. The doors were twenty cubits broad, and of a height proportioned to the walls, and they were overlaid with beaten gold, with which precious metal even the floor of the temple was entirely covered. Before this, as at the other entrance, was hung a rich curtain of curious workmanſhip. In ſhort, nothing was omitted that could contribute to the magnificence and ſplendour of this aſtoniſhing ſtructure.

Being informed that a native of Tyre, whoſe name was Hiram, was highly celebrated for his ingenuity in the manufacture of gold, ſilver, and other metals, and alſo for his ſkill in architecture, he ſent thither to engage him. His father was an Iſraelite by extraction, and his mother was of the tribe of Naphthali. This artificer was appointed to execute the moſt curious and difficult parts of the work. He caſt two braſs pillars, being four fingers thick in the metal, eighteen cubits in height, and twelve in circumference. On each pillar were two chapiters, each five cubits high, they being covered with a kind of net-work of braſs; and below them were lillies of the ſame device, and beneath them depended two rows of pomegranates, each row containing an hundred. The pillars were placed at the entrance of the porch of the temple, that on the right hand being called Jachin, and the other Boaz.

The brazen ſea. 2 Chron. v. 2—5.

Hiram made a veſſel of molten braſs, ſomewhat reſembling a globe ſevered in the middle, and, on account of its great magnitude, it was called the brazen ſea. This veſſel meaſured ten cubits from ſide to ſide, and the metal was four fingers thick, and was ſupported by a twiſted pillar, of one cubit in circumference. At the baſe of this pillar were placed the figures of twelve bulls or oxen, three facing the eaſt, three the weſt, three north, and three ſouth. This veſſel would contain three thouſand baths, each bath being eſtimated nearly equal to ten Engliſh pottles.

He made ten brazen baſes, of equal dimenſions, with ſquare ſides: the length of them was five cubits each, the breadth four, and the height ſix. To each baſe were made four pillars or ſupporters, and the parts, which were ſeparately caſt, were ſo nicely compacted, that each baſe and its pillars appeared to be one entire piece of work. The figures of a bull, a lion, an eagle, and other repreſentations were wrought upon the baſes; the pillars and the plates of the borders, were adorned with correſponding images. The whole was mounted on a carriage with four wheels, each a cubit and a half over, the wheels, ſpokes, nave and every other part being caſt, and put together with ſurpriſing ingenuity. Emboſſed work was introduced, in repreſentation of hands, ſhoulders, the paws of lions, talons of eagles, and branches of palm trees, for the purpoſe of making good the angles; and reſts were formed for receiving the lavers. To each of theſe baſes was made a laver of the ſame metal, being four cubits high, and of an equal meaſure in diameter. The lavers, each of which would contain forty baths, being placed on the baſes, were depoſited in the temple, five being diſpoſed on the north, and five on the ſouth ſide, facing the eaſt. The brazen ſea was alſo depoſited in the building; and it was aſſigned to the uſe of the prieſts, who were to waſh their hands and feet therein, previous to their approaching the altar. The lavers were made uſe of for cleanſing the entrails, and other parts of the victims deſtined for the burnt-offerings.

The brazen altar. 6.

He conſtructed a brazen altar, twenty cubits in length, twenty broad and ten in depth, on which the burnt offerings were made; and provided water pots, fleſh-hooks, and boilers, of the ſame metal; and, in ſhort, all the utenſils appertaining to the ceremonials of religion. Solomon cauſed an immenſe number of tables to be made of various forms and ſizes, and of ineſtimable value; and one, which was larger than the reſt, was entirely compoſed of pure gold and on this was placed the ſhew-bread: on the other tables were placed twenty thouſand veſſels and cups of gold, and forty thouſand of ſilver.

The table of Shew-bread, &c.

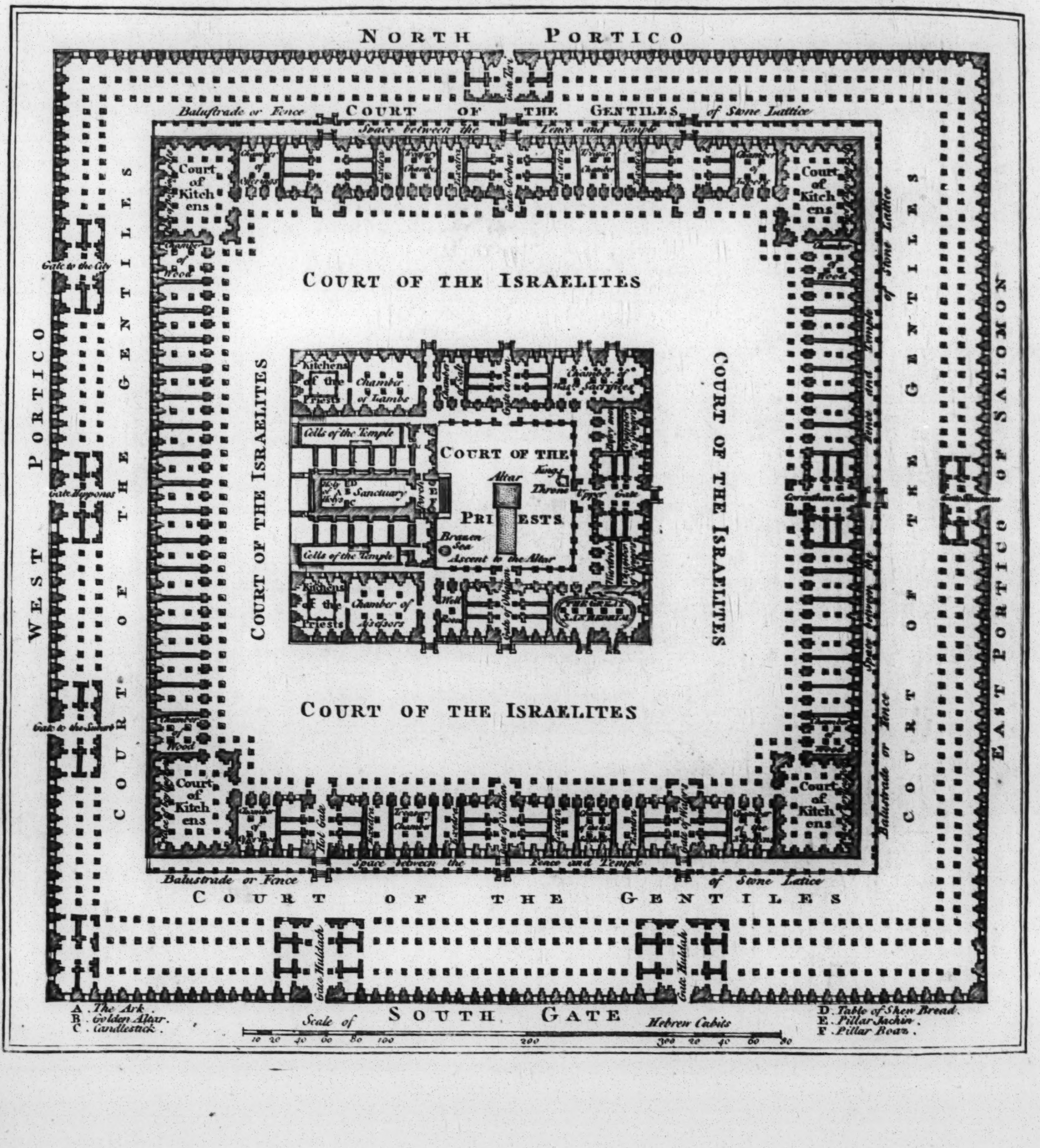
In conformity with the injunction of Moſes

---

[*] Forty cubits amounted to ſomething more than ſeventy-two feet; that is, to upwards of twenty-four yards.

BRITISH MUSEUM

PLAN of the TEMPLE of JERUSALEM.


NORTH PORTICO
Gate Tivi
Balustrade or Fence
COURT OF THE GENTILES
of Stone Lattice
Space between the Fence and Temple
Court of Kitchens
Chamber of Wood
Gate Corban
COURT OF THE ISRAELITES
Kitchens of the Priests
Chamber of Lambs
Chamber of Salt
Chamber of Sacrifices
Cells of the Temple
Holy of Holys
A
B
C
D
E
F
Sanctuary
Porch
COURT OF THE PRIESTS
Altar
King's Throne
Upper Gate
Brazen Sea
Ascent to the Altar
Wardrobe
Chamber of Assessors
Well
Gate of Oblation
THE GREAT SANHEDRIM
Gate to the City
Gate Hipponos
Gate to the Suburb
WEST PORTICO
COURT OF THE GENTILES
Corinthian Gate
Gate Shushan
EAST PORTICO OF SALOMON
Gate of Waters
Hot Gate
Treasury Chamber
Gate Huldah
SOUTH GATE
A. The Ark.
B. Golden Altar.
C. Candlestick.
D. Table of Shew Bread.
E. Pillar Jachin.
F. Pillar Boaz.
Scale of Hebrew Cubits
10 20 40 60 80 100 200 300 20 40 60 80

Moſes, Solomon provided twelve thouſand candleſticks, one of them according to the direction of the law, held lights which were kept conſtantly burning. This candleſtick was placed on the ſouth ſide, oppoſite the table for the ſhew-bread, which was on the north; and in the middle was the golden altar. The ark of the covenant was kept in the holy of hollies, which was divided from the fore-part of the temple.

Solomon alſo cauſed eighty thouſand wine cups, ten thouſand goblets, and other veſſels of various forms to be made in gold, and twenty thouſand in ſilver. He alſo provided twenty thouſand of the golden meaſures, called the Moſaical Hin and Aſſaron,* and forty thouſand of the ſame in ſilver; eighty thouſand golden diſhes and plates for ſteeping flour in upon the altar, and double that number in ſilver; twenty thouſand golden cenſers for incenſe, and fifty thouſand other cenſers for conveying fire from the great to the ſmaller altar.

This illuſtrious monarch alſo cauſed to be made one thouſand pontifical robes, embelliſhed with ephods, ſuits of precious ſtones, and other appendages; but there was no other crown than that on which Moſes had inſcribed the ſacred name of the Almighty; and this crown is to be ſeen at the preſent time. For the prieſts were made ten thouſand veſts of ſilk, and a like number of girdles. Agreeably with the directions of Moſes, two hundred thouſand trumpets, and the ſame number of ſilken ſtoles, were provided for the uſe of the Levites, a part of whoſe official duty was to chaunt hymns to the honour and praiſe of God; and further, there were four hundred thouſand harps, pſalteries, and other muſical inſtruments for accompanying the ſingers, they being made of a compoſition of gold and ſilver.

In ſhort, nothing was omitted that could contribute to give the utmoſt poſſible degree of perfection to this glorious magnificent ſtructure. The part of the temple where only the prieſts were to be admitted was encloſed with a fence of three feet in height; and the ſpace for the reception of ſuch of the laity as came within the qualifications required by the law, was a court of a quadrangular form, ſurrounded with ſpacious porticos or galleries, and having four ſuperb gates, plated and inlaid with gold, which opened to the eaſt, weſt, north and ſouth.

Preparatory to the erection of this ſtupenduous edifice, immenſe labour was employed in filling up the circumjacent vallies; for the face of the earth was raiſed no leſs than four hundred cubits,† in order to bring it to a level with the ſummit of the rock on which the building was raiſed.

This wonderful edifice was ſurrounded with a double cloiſter, ſupported by two rows of pillars, each of them being hewn in one entire piece from the rock. The cloiſters was wainſcotted with cedar, the roof was fretted, and the doors were of ſilver-work. The holy temple of Jeruſalem was compleated in ſeven years; ſo that, conſidering its unexampled and aſtoniſhing magnificence and ſplendour, the work of many ages may be ſaid to have been compriſed within that period.

The temple was no ſooner brought to a ſtate of perfection, than Solomon diſpatched letters to the elders, and the principals of the different tribes, requeſting them to ſummon the people to repair to Jeruſalem to view the ſtructure, and aſſiſt in depoſiting the holy ark therein. The people accordingly aſſembled in the ſeventh month, which the Hebrews call Huri and the Macedonians Hyperbereteus, it then being the time for celebrating the feaſt of the tabernacles, which the Hebrews accounted the moſt ſolemn of their feſtivals. The holy ark, the tabernacle of Moſes, and the ſacred veſſels appertaining to the altar, were conveyed into the temple by the prieſts, they being preceded by the king, an immenſe concourſe of people, and the Levites, the latter carrying the ſacrifices and oblations, and ſprinkling the earth as they paſſed with the blood of the victims, and perfuming the air with incenſe, which was of ſo grateful and reviving a quality, that notwithſtanding the people had danced and ſung all the way to the temple, they had not the leaſt ſenſation of fatigue; and hence it was concluded, that the Almighty had deſcended to conſecrate the temple that was dedicated to his worſhip.

The ark depoſited in the holy of holies.

Having reached the holy of hollies, the people drew back, when the prieſts conveyed the ark into the oracle, where they fixed it under the two cherubims, which had been made with the points of their wings extending each to the other, ſo that the ark, which ſtood juſt beneath, appeared to be covered and protected thereby. In the ark were depoſited the two ſtone tables, which had the ten commandments engraven on them, as they had been delivered by God on Mount Sinai. In the ſanctuary were alſo placed the candleſticks, table, and golden altar, diſpoſed in the ſame manner as they heretofore had been in the tabernacle, when daily ſacrifices were offered up. Directly oppoſite to the door, was placed the brazen altar, that the grandeur of the worſhip on the other ſide might be the better ſeen. In the temple were likewiſe depoſited, all the remainder of the holy utenſils and veſſels.

---

* According to Calmet, the Hin contained ſomething more than ten Engliſh pints. The Aſſaron was equal in meaſure to the Gomor, or Omer, and contained, as the above writer ſays, ſomething more than ſix Engliſh pints.

† Seven hundred and twenty-eight feet, or two hundred and forty yards, and two feet.

A cloud deſcends in token of God's approbation. 2 Chron. v. 13.

The moſt reſpectful care having been taken to place the ark in a proper manner, and the prieſts being retired, a cloud deſcended which ſo obſcured the view, that they ſcarcely ſaw each other; but its effects were ſo benign, that it appeared as not proceeding from a common cauſe, but an intimation of the Divine pleaſure, and of the deſcent of God to dwell in the temple.

As the people were deliberating on this event, Solomon aroſe, and with equal dignity and devotion, prayed as follows; "O God, who dwelleſt in eternity, thou who haſt created this world, the Heavens, earth, air, and the ſea, from nothing; who filleſt all nature with thine unbounded and incomprehenſible greatneſs; look with compaſſion on us, who have built a temple to the glory of thy name. May our prayers be heard, O God, and our ſacrifices accepted. Though thou art omnipreſent, be particularly with thy ſervants. Nothing is hid from thee: from thy throne in Heaven, then, attend to our petitions. Have mercy, upon us, O God, who heareſt thoſe that conſtantly worſhip thee, and reverently love and ſerve thee."

This prayer being ended, Solomon addreſſed the people on the providence and power of the Almighty, informing them, that in viſions and dreams, ſtrange things had been made known to David, his father, reſpecting himſelf, the name given him, his ſucceeding to the government, the raiſing the temple, his family being eſtabliſhed, and the welfare of the people at large: "And now (ſaid he) as many of the prophecies are fulfilled, be you thankful to the Lord, not only for preſent enjoyment, but for future benefits, and conſider the bleſſings beſtowed as a prelude to greater yet to come."

Solomon's ejaculation upon the goodneſs of God, whom he implores to bleſs the people. 2 Chron. vi.

Thus ſaying, Solomon lifted up his hand, and looking towards the temple, exclaimed "What, O God! are the moſt ſplendid works of man, compared with the leaſt of thy bounties! How ſhalt thou, who wanteſt not our ſervices, be requited by thoſe who have nothing to beſtow! All we can offer is the tribute of our thanks and gratitude, a diſtinction by which men are honoured above thy other creatures; which thanks I now render, for myſelf my family and my people, for all the bleſſings, beſtowed upon us. Accept then, O God, my moſt ſincere acknowledgments for thy mercies to my deceaſed father, who was exalted from the ſheepfold to the throne, and for thy infinite bounties to myſelf. Be pleaſed, Almighty Father, to preſerve the government in our family for a ſucceſſion of ages, agreeable to thy promiſe to my father David; and continue to the Hebrew nation thy divine protection. Condeſcend, O God, to let thy holy ſpirit deſcend upon this temple. I am conſcious, that even the Heavens and the whole earth are too confined for thy majeſty and glory: but yet, permit me to implore, that this fabric may receive thy conſtant protection, and be made the place of thy peculiar reſidence. Preſerve this building from the aſſaults of our enemies, and let thy poſſeſſion of it be its conſtant defence. If the ſins of the people ſhould provoke thy diſpleaſure, let their humble ſupplications and unfeigned repentance in this thy houſe be accepted as an atonement for their offences. This mercy I implore not for the Hebrews alone, but for all people who ſhall offer up their prayers in this holy place. Thus will it be manifeſt to the whole world, that the Hebrews are thy choſen people, that their temple is the place of thy habitation, and alſo that we are not deſirous of excluding others from the enjoyment of the diſpenſations of the author and fountain of happineſs."

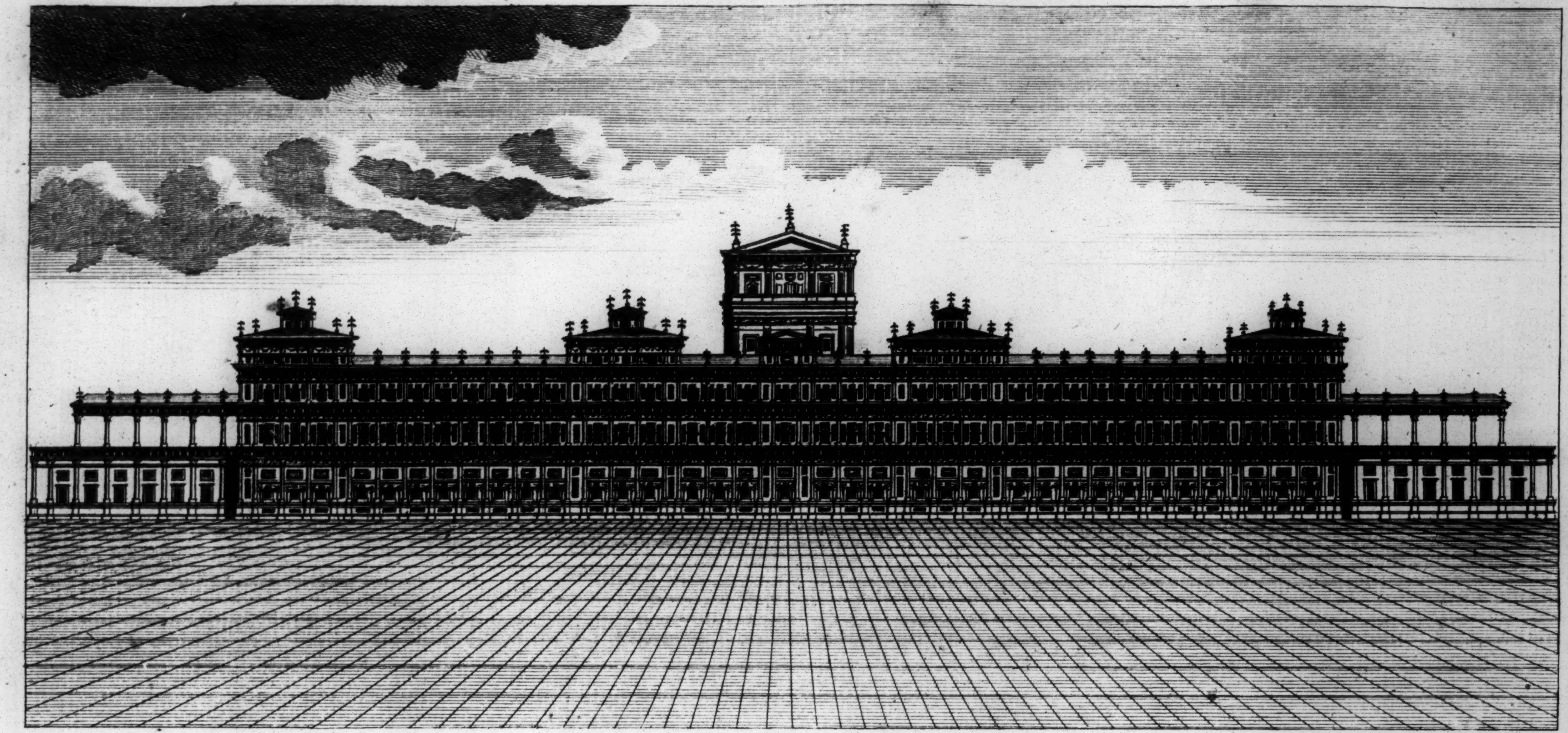
The king now proſtrated himſelf on the earth, and having remained ſome ſhort time in that poſture of adoration, he aroſe, and proceeded to offer up divers ſacrifices, which were denoted to be acceptable by a flaſh of fire deſcending upon the altar, and conſuming the offerings. This prodigy being ſeen by the multitude, they conſidered it as a certain proof that God acknowledged the temple, and approved the worſhip, which had ſuch an effect upon them, that they all bowed themſelves to the ground, in adoration of the Deity.

A fire from Heaven deſcends upon the altar. 2 Chron. vi 1.

The king then recommended the people to regulate their whole conduct through life according to the laws and precepts of Moſes, as an infallible means of promoting their proſperity and happineſs, which were only to be preſerved, as they had been acquired, by the conſtant practice of religion and juſtice.

Having concluded his exhortations, Solomon diſmiſſed the aſſembly, after offering up in ſacrifice twelve thouſand calves, and a hundred and twenty thouſand lambs, on which all the people were entertained. The blood of theſe beaſts was the firſt ever ſhed in the temple. At this time alſo was celebrated the feaſt of the tabernacles, the whole expence of that ſolemnity, which was held before the temple, and continued

Engraved for Dr. Clarke's Josephus



An exact representation of SOLOMON's TEMPLE.

Publish'd March 25: 1786, by J. Walker, Paternoster Row.

BRITISH MUSEUM

ed a fortnight, being diſcharged by the king.

A ſhort time afterwards, God appeared again to Solomon in his ſleep, when he was informed, that his prayers and ſacrifices were accepted, that the Almighty would continue to be his protector, and would conſent to reſide in the temple while himſelf, his ſubjects, and their poſterity ſhould diſcharge their religious duties with the zeal that had been manifeſted by his father David. On this condition it was promiſed, that he ſhould attain the utmoſt ſublunary happineſs; that the poſſeſſion of the throne ſhould remain in his family; and that the ſceptre ſhould ever be ſwayed by a prince of the tribe of Judah: on the contrary, that if they ſhould depart from their preſent worſhip, they ſhould be no more a diſtinct people, but being harraſſed by war, and other calamities, ſhould wander as exiles and vagabonds through the world. Solomon learnt from the voice of God, that, if his people apoſtatized, the new building ſhould be deſtroyed, and burnt by Barbarians, and Jeruſalem laid in aſhes by an unrelenting foe; ſo that amazement ſhould ariſe from the extremity of the diſtreſs, that a people lately ſo favoured of Heaven, and ſo diſtinguiſhed by their riches and ſplendour, ſhould at once ſink to ſuch utter contempt; when they themſelves would acknowledge, that the forſaking their God, and abandoning the religion of their forefathers, and their country, had brought that judgment upon them.

The temple being finiſhed, Solomon began to build a royal palace, which was thirteen years in compleating. He was not ſo anxious reſpecting the latter, as the former, which as we have heretofore ſaid, was finiſhed in ſeven years, owing to the particular aid and bleſſing of God. The court of Solomon was greatly inferior to the temple, as the latter was deſigned for the immediate worſhip of God, the other for the reſidence of an earthly monarch: but it was adapted to its deſign, and a credit to the prince and people who built it.

eſcription
f Solomon's
alace.
Kings vii.

The following is a deſcription of this ſumptuous edifice. On ſeveral rows of pillars an extenſive building was erected, reſembling a court of juſtice. Its length was one hundred, its breadth fifty, and its depth thirty cubits. It was ſupported by ſixteen ſquare columns, encloſed with corinthian work in cedar wood; and for ſafety and ornament had double doors, curiouſly wrought. A building was erected in the midſt of this hall, which was thirty cubits ſquare, being ſupported by ſtout pillars: and here a throne was placed, where the king uſed to give judgment in perſon. Next to the hall were the queen's apartments, with drawing rooms, which were adorned with cedar, and built on ſtones of ten cubits ſquare, which were in part plain, and partly overlaid with marble, after the mode cuſtomary in temples and palaces.

Three depths of elegant hangings adorned the room, in which were carved images of trees, plants, and other repreſentations, ſo finely executed as to appear conſtantly in motion. Figures of various colours, on a white ground, filled up the ſpace to the ceiling. There were rooms for retirement, rooms of ſtate, and long galleries, all gilt and furniſhed in the moſt ſuperb ſtile. The ſervices of plate for the king's table were of pure gold. To deſcribe the chambers, courts, vaults, turrets, and various offices, would be a work of great labour. In ſhort, the whole fabric was a compoſition of gold, ſilver, marble and cedar, precious ſtones being diſperſed on the walls and ceilings, in a ſtile of ornament like that of the temple. A large throne of ivory was erected, being curiouſly carved and engraved. It was aſcended by ſix ſteps, at either end of which was the figure of a lion, and above the ſteps were the repreſentations of two lions, one on either ſide. On this throne were two arms, as if to ſupport the king when he was ſeated on it: and beneath was the figure of a bullock wrought in pure gold.

The temple and palace were near twenty years in building; and towards the conſtruction of thoſe ſuperb edifices, Hiram, king of Tyre, contributed vaſt treaſures of gold and ſilver, and large quantities of cedar and cypreſs wood; in return for which Solomon ſent him annually a large ſupply of corn, wine and oil. He likewiſe offered to his acceptance twenty cities ſituated on the borders of Galilee near Tyre: but having ſurveyed, and not liking them, he declined Solomon's offer, with reſpectful acknowledgments. In conſequence hereof, that part of the country where theſe cities ſtood, was called Chabalon, a word in the Phœnecian language ſignifying, it does not pleaſe me.

Menander mentions Solomon and Hiram.

Hiram had ſo great an opinion of the wiſdom of Solomon, that he failed not to conſult him in all caſes of difficulty and importance, and always received ſatisfactory anſwers. Menander, the hiſtorian who tranſlated the Tyrian annals from the Philiſtine into the Greek language, ſpeaks of Solomon and Hiram as follows: "Hiram, the ſon of Abibale, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of Tyre. He lived three and fifty years, and reigned four and thirty. He annexed a piece of ground, called the great field, to the iſland, and dedicated a golden pillar to Jupiter in his temple. He cut down materials in abundance upon Mount Libanus, for the covering of holy places; and pulling down ancient temples, he built new ones to Hercules and Aſtarte. He erected a ſtatue for Hercules in the month of Peritius; and then in an expedition againſt the Eyceans, for not paying the duty of a tribute, as they ought to have done, he overcame them, and returned home. In his days, there was one Abdemonus, a young man, that took upon him to give Solomon, the king of Jeruſalem, an explanation of all dark and myſterious queſtions that ſhould be put to him." Dius writes alſo to this effect: "Abibale being now dead, Hiram, his ſon, ſucceeded him, who by filling up void places on the eaſt quarter of the town, enlarged the borders, and brought the temple of Olympian Jupiter, that before ſtood apart, and at a diſtance, into the compaſs of the city; enriching and adorning it with golden offerings to a very great value; after which, he ordered the cutting down of cedars upon Mount Libanus for the uſe of holy places." He ſays farther, "That Solomon, the king of Jeruſalem, often ſent problems and riddles to Hiram, upon the forfeiture of a great ſum of money, if he failed expounding them. Thoſe difficult caſes were afterward not only unriddled by Abdemonus, a Tyrian, but new propoſitions were ſtarted by him, which Solomon himſelf not being able to reſolve, he was obliged to refund the greateſt part of the money."

Dius ſpeaks of Hiram.

Solomon builds five cities beſides other places of pleaſure, 2 Chron. viii, 2—6.

Solomon now repaired the walls of Jeruſalem, to which he added towers and others ſecurities. He likewiſe built, in the land of the Philiſtines, the cities of Aſar, Magedon, and Gazara. This laſt city, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, had heretofore taken, razed it to the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword; but afterwards he gave it to his daughter, on her marriage with Solomon, who cauſed it to be rebuilt as a city of ſtrength. He alſo built Betachora, Baleth and other places of pleaſing retirement, diſtinguiſhed for good water, and pure air. Having taken poſſeſſion of the entrance of the deſert towards Syria, he there erected the fortified city of Thamadora, by which name the Syrians ſtill call it; but the Greeks call it Palmyra. This city having ſeveral ſprings and fountains, was intended for a watering-place to thoſe who paſſed through the deſert. It was ſix days journey from Babylon, two from upper Syria, and one from the Euphrates.

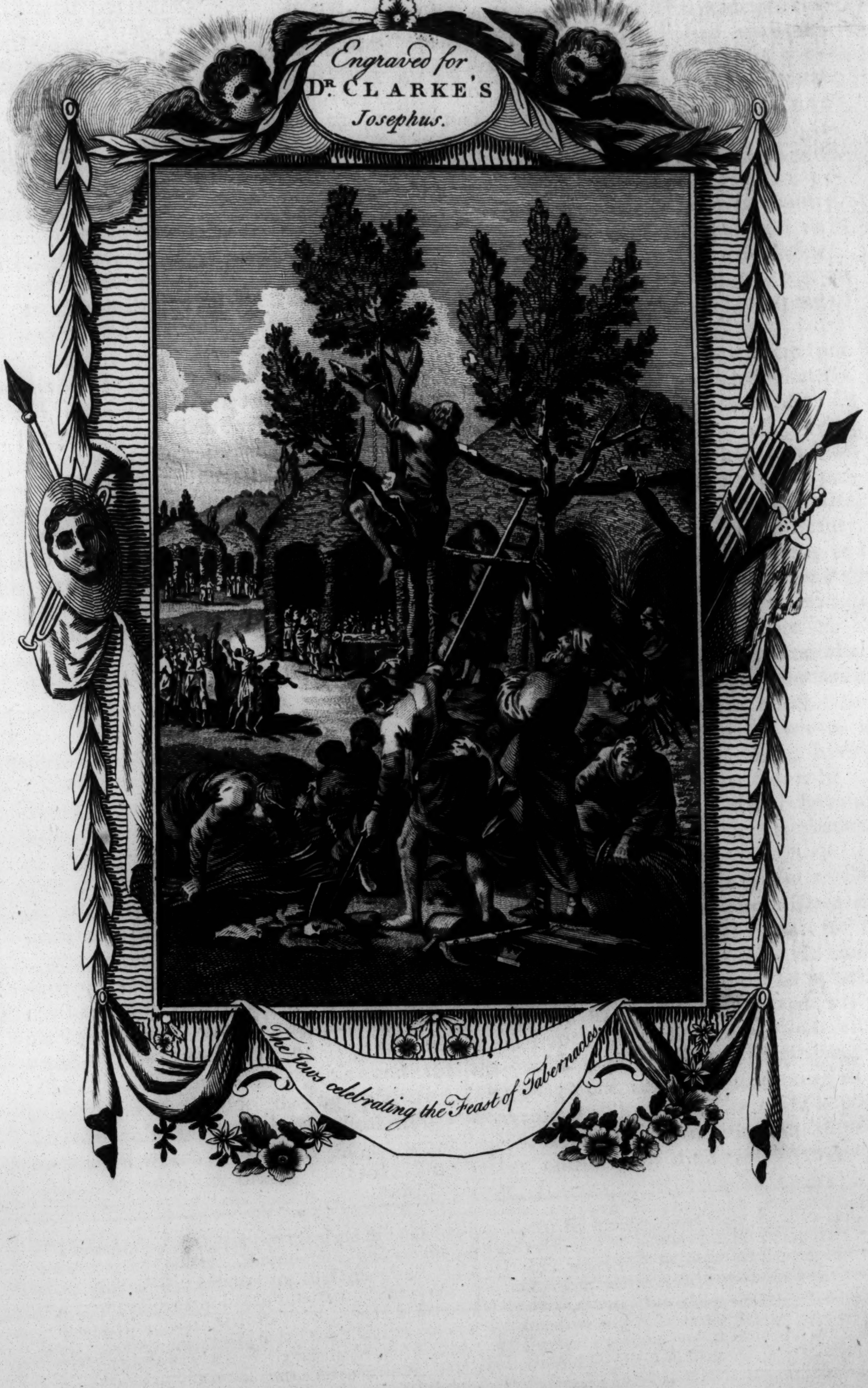
As many people have wondered how it ſhould happen, that all the kings of Egypt, from Minæas, the founder of Memphis (long before our father Abraham's time) to Solomon, above thirteen hundred years, ſhould be called Pharaoh, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that in the Egyptian language Pharaoh ſignifies king. I conceive that they are educated with other names, but, aſſuming the rank, they take that of the king. Thus it was with the kings of Alexandria, who were all called Ptolemy, after the firſt monarch. Thus, likewiſe, with the Roman emperors, whoſe family name was ſunk in that of Cæſar. Herodotus of Halicarnaſſus, reckons three hundred and thirty kings of Egypt, without naming them, as they were all called Pharaoh. A woman afterwards ſucceeding to the throne, he diſtinguiſhes her by her proper name of Nicaulis, as Pharaoh was the name common to the men only. I do not find that there was any king of Egypt called Pharaoh, after Solomon's father-in-law; nor have I any doubt, but Nicaulis was that queen of Egypt and Ethiopia who went to viſit Solomon.

Between Mount Libanus and the city Amathe, there yet dwelt a number of Canaanites, who refuſed ſubmiſſion to the king of Iſrael; but at length Solomon compelled them to pay an annual tribute of a fixed number of ſlaves, who were to till the land, and to do other laborious exerciſes; for the Hebrews engaged in no ſervile offices, it being thought diſhonourable for thoſe who had ſubdued ſo many nations, to do the work of captives. The diſpoſition of the Iſraelites was turned to arms, military exerciſes, and the uſe of horſes, and chariots. The Canaanites were kept to conſtant work, ſix hundred perſons being appointed to ſuperintend them, and to ſee they did their duty.

At Ezon-Geber, a bay of Egypt, on the Red Sea, the king conſtructed a number of ſhips. This port is now named Berenice, and is near the city of Elan, formerly deemed to be in the Hebrew juriſdiction. King Hiram greatly aſſiſted king Solomon in preparing his navy, ſending him mariners and pilots, who conducted Solomon's officers to Ophir, called the land of Gold, where they collected four hundred talents of that metal which they carried to Solomon.

So great a character had Solomon now obtained for his virtue and knowledge, that Nicaulis, queen of Egypt and Ethiopia, who was alſo diſtinguiſhed for her wiſdom, was deſirous of viſiting, him, with a view of being aſſured whether the rumours concerning his extraordinany talents were not exaggerated. She therefore proceeded towards Jeruſalem, with a numerous equipage having in her train ſeveral camels laden with precious ſtones, gold, and perfumes.

Solo-


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

The Jews celebrating the Feast of Tabernacles.

Publish'd as the Act directs Nov.r 3, 1780 by John Walker Paternoster Row.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Solomon received her with all the reſpect and diſtinction due to her exalted rank; and with ſo little difficulty reſolved the intricate queſtions ſhe propoſed to him, as perfectly to convince her that his wiſdom was even greater than fame had repreſented it. The ſplendour and elegance of the royal palace, and the extraordinary ſagacity diſplayed by the king, in contriving the ſtructure, raiſed the admiration of this illuſtrious princeſs; and the grove of Lebanon, which was reckoned the maſter-piece of the building, ſhe contemplated with peculiar delight. She alſo received great ſatisfaction from from being preſent at the daily ſacrifices, and obſerving the zeal and devotion of the prieſts and Levites in the diſcharge of their official duty. Having frequently ruminated on theſe ſubjects, ſhe at length addreſſed the king to the following purport:

"Moſt illuſtrious ſovereign, when common report verges on the extreme of good or evil, we are conſtrained to withhold our confidence: but ſo far from tranſgreſſing the limits of truth, common fame has not even done juſtice to your mental faculties, or the dignity with which you exerciſe the regal powers. The ſubjects of Solomon muſt be ſingularly happy in the daily experience of his extraordinary wiſdom and goodneſs: and praiſed be the Almighty for ordaining ſo excellent a prince to reign over this nation."

An interchange of preſents between Solomon and the queen. 1 Kings x. 10.

Having delivered the above addreſs, the Queen preſented to Solomon twenty talents [*] of gold, together with precious ſtones, ſpices and perfumes to a great amount. Tradition ſays, that ſhe gave him a root of balſam, which was the firſt brought into Judea, where that plant is now cultivated with the greateſt ſucceſs. Solomon made returns ſuitable to the gifts he had received, after which the queen departed to her own country.

About this time Solomon's fleet returned from Orphir, which was alſo called the land of gold, with a rich ſupply of precious ſtones, and abundance of pine wood. The latter was uſed partly for pillars to ſupport the temple and the palace, and partly for making pſalteries, harps, cymbols, and other muſical inſtruments, on which the Levites played, while chaunting forth the praiſes of God. This fleet brought to Solomon ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix talents [†] of gold, beſides rich preſents from the kings and governors of Arabia, and the adventures of the merchants. Of this gold the king cauſed two hundred targets to be caſt, each weighing ſix hundred ſhekels; [‡] and they were hung up in the great hall of the grove of Lebanon. The king's drinking cups were made of beaten gold, curiouſly embelliſhed with precious ſtones; and all his utenſils for common uſe were of the ſame valuable metal. Money was not the medium of this ſovereign's traffic; for his ſhips being navigated from the ſea of Tarſus, they traded with different foreign nations, bringing in exchange for the produce of his own country, gold, ſilver, ivory, negroes, apes, and various articles unneceſſary to be particularized. This voyage, going and returning, was on the average, reckoned to occupy the ſpace of three years.

Divers great princes preſent him with gold, ſilver, purple robes, ſpices, horſes, chariots, &c. 2 Chron. ix. v. 23, 24.

The fame of Solomon's wiſdom and grandeur was now ſo extended, that the ſovereigns of many kingdoms wiſhed to ſee him; and loſt no opportunity of proving their reſpect by the preſents they ſent him, conſiſting of gold, ſilver, purple robes, perfumes, and ſpices, with chariots, horſes, and mules, the laſt of uncommon beauty. The king had now a thouſand chariots, and twenty thouſand horſes,[||] which were rode by young men admirably ſkilled to manage them. Theſe youths were all dreſſed in purple, and when the ſun ſhone on their hair, which was intermixed with threads of gold, it had a moſt beautiful effect. Solomon uſed to ride, dreſſed in white, in a chariot, attended by theſe men, having arms and quivers, to a pleaſant houſe he had at Ethan, near the city, in which he much delighted, for the beauty of its gardens, walks and fountains.

Solomon was of ſo quick a penetration, that it may be ſaid he ſcarcely ſuffered the moſt minute improvement, either for uſe or ornament, to eſcape him. He cauſed all the public roads leading to the palace at Jeruſalem, to be regularly paved with a black ſtone; and to this he was induced by the double conſideration of diſplaying his own magnificence, and contributing to the conveniency of the public. He kept but few chariots at Jeruſalem, but diſperſed great numbers in different towns, which were called the Chariot-towns, and at theſe places they were kept free of expence. The profuſion of ſilver which was at Jeruſalem is not to be deſcribed; and cedars, which had before been known only in Judea, were now to be met with as frequently as mulberry-trees. He commiſſioned certain Egyptian merchants to purchaſe a number of chariots, with two horſes to each, at the rate of ſixty ſilver drachmas * for every carriage and pair of horſes: and theſe he ſent as preſents to the king of Syria, and other ſovereigns beyond the Euphrates.

---

[*] Twenty talents weighed two thouſand two hundred and eighty-one pounds, three ounces, and amounted in gold to one hundred and nine thouſand, and five hundred pounds Engliſh money. The Scripture ſays, the queen preſented to Solomon a hundred and twenty talents of gold. See 2 Chron. ix. 9.

[†] Six hundred and ſixty-ſix talents weighed nine hundred and ſixty-five pounds, ſeven ounces, and ten penny weights; and the value in gold was three millions, ſix hundred, and forty ſix thouſand, three hundred and fifty pounds Engliſh money.

[†] The weight of ſix hundred ſhekels was eleven pounds, four ounces, ſeventeen penny weights, and twelve grains, the value thereof in gold being five hundred and forty-ſeven pounds Engliſh.

[||] Twelve thouſand are mentioned in 1 Kings, vi. 26. and x. 26. and likewiſe in 2 Chron. ix. 25. Vide Bochart's Hieroz. lib ii. cap. 9. part I.

Solomon's degeneracy into idolatry. 1 Kings, xii. 1, 13.

It is indiſputable, that Solomon was greatly ſuperior to any monarch who had graced a throne, in piety, wiſdom, juſtice, power, and other eminent advantages: but it is equally certain, that by acting contrary to the law of Moſes, and the religious and legal inſtitutions of his anceſtors, he blaſted the hopes which his exemplary conduct in the early part of life had inſpired. His ungovernable attachment to women was ſuch, that, not contented with thoſe of his own country, he had intercourſe with the Tyrians, Sidonians, Ammonites, and others, in direct violation of the law of Moſes. The prohibition of the Hebrews intermarrying with foreign women, was made on the wiſe conſideration, that women profeſſing an idolatrous religion might ſeduce men from the worſhip of the true God. Solomon contracted marriage with no leſs than ſeven hundred women, who were deſcended from the moſt exalted families; and one of them was daughter to the king of Egypt: he had alſo three hundred concubines. Such was his attachment to the female ſex, that, in order to evince his tenderneſs and affection, he adopted the idolatrous mode of worſhip that was practiſed and recommended by his women. But his compliance with this impious example was not his firſt violation of the law, which he tranſgreſſed by cauſing the figures of the twelve bulls to be placed round the pedeſtal of the brazen ſea, and afterwards the repreſentations of the lions to be fixed on the ſteps of his throne. In his father, Solomon had an eminent inſtance of righteouſneſs, virtue, and honour; and the example of that illuſtrious prince was recommended to him by a divine viſitation during his ſleep: but his diſregard of the inſtructions communicated to him by divine inſpiration, was the cauſe of his being brought to an ignominious death.

By the agency of a prophet, the Almighty was pleaſed to communicate to Solomon, that he ſhould experience retribution for all his iniquities: but that conformably with the promiſe given to his father, he ſhould not be deprived of the ſovereignty, which ſhould deſcend to his ſon, who ſhould, however, be puniſhed for the crimes of his parent. He was further informed by the prophet, that ten of the tribes ſhould revolt from his ſucceſſor in the government; but that, from a regard to David and the temple of Jeruſalem, the other two ſhould preſerve their allegiance.

Adad a powerful enemy to Solomon. 1 Kings, xi. 14.

A ſhort time after the delivery of the above denouncing meſſage, God raiſed a powerful and implacable enemy againſt Solomon in the perſon of Adad, an Idumean by birth, who was of royal extraction. Upon the conqueſt of Idumea by Joab, David's general, he cauſed all the male inhabitants of the country, who were capable of bearing arms, to be put to death. Adad, who was then young, eſcaped the maſſacre, and retired into the dominions of the king of Egypt, who gave him a moſt friendly reception, appointing him an annual revenue, together with houſes and lands; and, in ſhort, he had ſo high an eſteem for the youth, that, in proceſs of time, he gave to him in marriage his ſiſter Taphines, who brought him a ſon, which Pharoah cauſed to be educated and brought up with his own children.

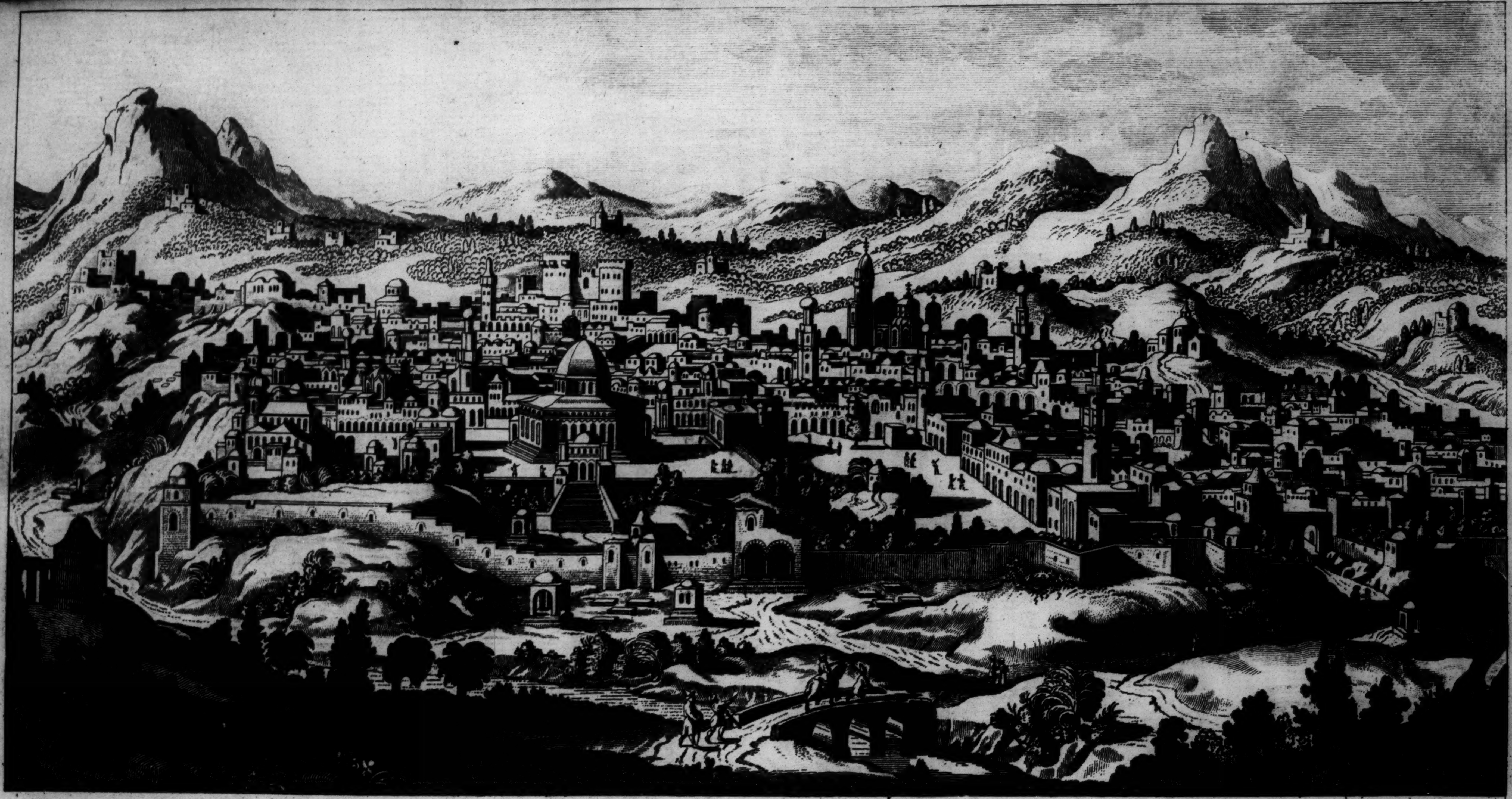
Intelligence of the deceaſe of David and Joab being conveyed into Egypt, Adad requeſted Pharoah's permiſſion to return to his own country; his intention being to foment an inſurrection, as a means of avenging the maſſacres perpetrated there during the early part of his life. Though Pharoah repeatedly urged him to explain his motive for relinquiſhing a ſituation where he had been ſo kindly protected and highly favoured, he was not able to obtain a ſatisfactory reply.

Adad conquers part of Syria.

The iniquities of Solomon calling now aloud for vengeance, the Almighty inclined Pharoah to yield to the ſolicitation of Adad, who repaired into Idumea with a reſolution to raiſe a rebellion againſt Solomon: but obſerving the garriſons to be exceedingly ſtrong, and the whole country in an excellent ſtate of defence, he judged that he could not effect his purpoſe by ſurpriſe, and therefore adjourned to Syria, where he united with a man named Rezon, the leader of a deſperate banditti, who was a fugitive from his maſter Adadazar, king of Zobah. In conjunction with this man, he ſubdued that part of Syria, and having procured himſelf to be proclaimed king, he com-

---

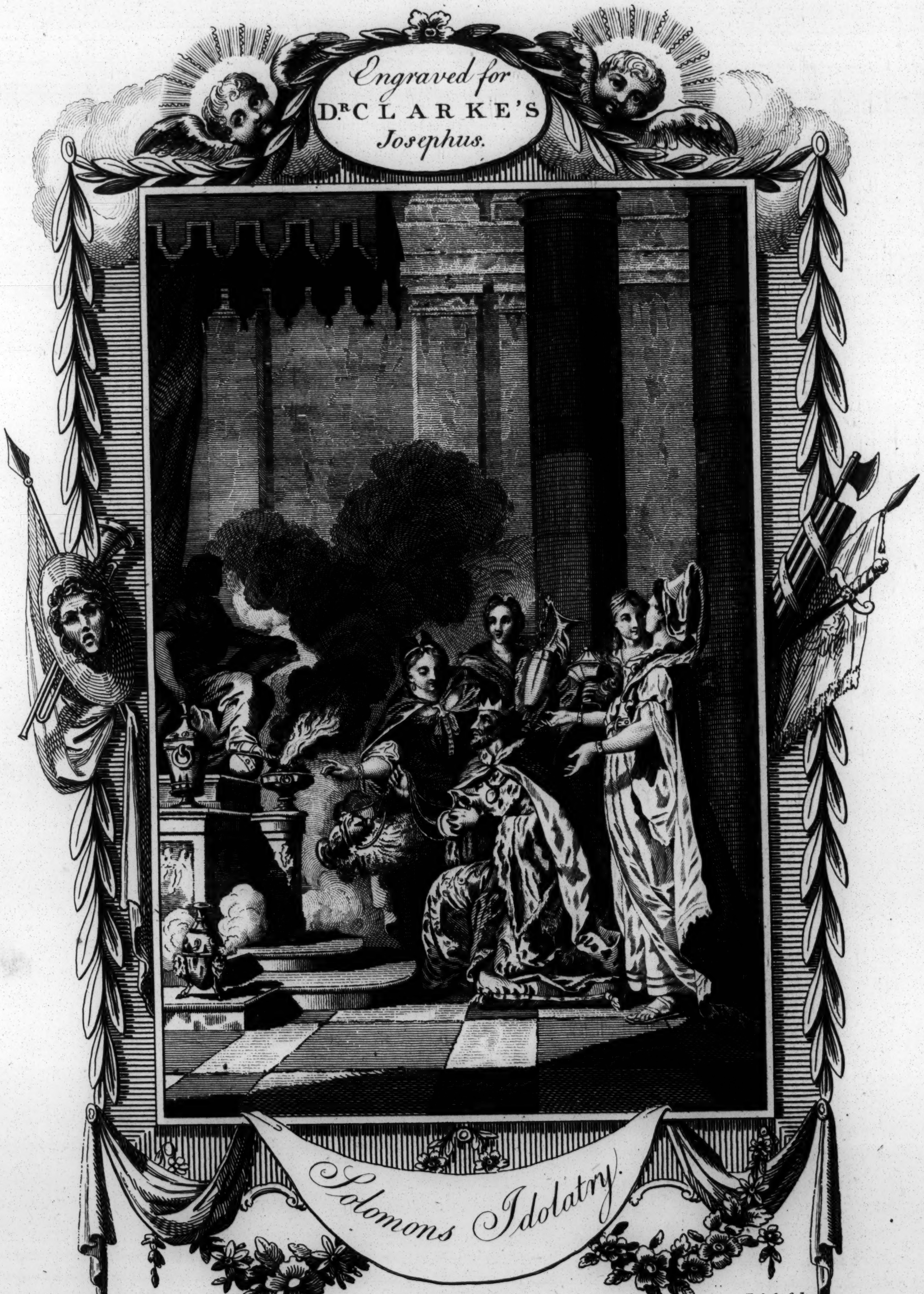
* The Hebrew drachma was of the ſame weight with the Grecian and Roman, and its value was ſixpence three farthings and three fourths: ſix hundred therefore muſt amount to about ſeventeen pounds of Engliſh money.



JERUSALEM.

BRITISH MUSEUM

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

Solomons Idolatry.

Arrigoni pinx. T. Cook ſculp.

Publiſhed as the Act directs Feby. 18th 1786. by J. Walker Paternoſter Row.

mitted great ſlaughter upon the Iſraelites, and obtained immenſe booty, during the reign of Solomon.

At this time a dangerous conſpiracy was excited againſt Solomon, in his own dominions, by Jeroboam, ſon of Nebat, who being left at a very early time of life to the direction of his mother, as he advanced towards manhood, the king noticed him as a youth of an active and perſevering diſpoſition, and therefore appointed him ſuperintendant of the improvements making to the walls of Jeruſalem; and as a reward for the punctual diſcharge of his duty in this office, inveſted him with the military command of the tribe of Joſeph. As he was departing on ſome occaſion from the city, he was met by the prophet Ahijah, the Shilonite, who having called him to a retired ſpot, took hold of his garment, and rent it in twelve parts: he ordered him to take ten of the pieces, according to the will of the Lord, who, as a puniſhment for having attached himſelf to prohibited women and ideal gods, had determined to take the government from Solomon; adding, that in conſideration of the promiſe to David, two of the tribes would continue their allegiance to the ſon of Solomon. The prophet exhorted Jeroboam to a rigid obſervance of the laws, and the pious example of David, and carefully to avoid thoſe iniquities which had produced the reprobation of Solomon, as the certain means of eſcaping a ſimilar fate.

Being of an ambitious and turbulent temper, the prediction of the prophet greatly elevated the ſpirits of Jeroboam, who immediately avowed his deſign of aſſuming the government, and exerted his utmoſt endeavours to excite the people to rebellion; but being appriſed of his intentions, the king iſſued orders for taking him into cuſtody by ſurpriſe; in conſequence of which he abſconded, and took refuge in the dominions of Shiſhak, king of Egypt.

CHAP. III.

The death of king Solomon. He is ſucceeded by Rehoboam. Ten of the tribes declare in favour of Jeroboam, who ſeduces them into idolatry, and arrogates to himſelf the office of high-prieſt. He is reproved by the prophet Jadon. The apoſtacy of Rehoboam.

death of mon. ings xi. 43.

SOLOMON was unqueſtionably the richeſt, and, except with regard to the crimes he was ſeduced into by his ungovernable attachment to women, in the decline of life, the wiſeſt ſovereign upon earth. Having reigned eighty [*] years, he died at the age of ninety-four, and was interred in Jeruſalem.

Solomon's ſucceſſor in the government was his ſon Rehoboam, by Naama an Ammonitiſh woman. Upon the king's death, ſome of the principal people ſent into Egypt to inform Jeroboam of that circumſtance, and adviſe his immediate return. He accordingly haſtened to Sichem, whether Rehoboam likewiſe repaired, for the purpoſe of declaring himſelf the ſucceſſor to the government in a general aſſembly of the people. Jeroboam joined ſeveral of the princes and other perſons of conſequence in an application to Rehoboam, purporting their moſt friendly advice to be, that he ſhould govern with lenity, rather than with rigour; obſerving, that, in ſome inſtances the deceaſed king had been guilty of oppreſſion; and that his ſafety and happineſs, and the proſperity of his ſubjects, equally required him to regulate his conduct in ſuch a manner as ſhould ſecure an acquieſcence in the meaſures of his government from an unfeigned affection to his perſon, rather than a dread of his power. He poſtponed giving an anſwer to this addreſs for the ſpace of three days, which delay occaſioned an alarm and apprehenſion among the people, who conſidered, that an immediate compliance with ſo reaſonable a requeſt would not have been refuſed by a prince diſpoſed to promote the welfare of his ſubjects.

Aſſembling the counſellors of his deceaſed father, he requeſted their advice, as to what reply he ſhould make. On this occaſion they prudently adviſed him to behave with humility and condeſcenſion; obſerving, that ſuch conduct would doubtleſs have a more favourable effect than a rigid adherence to the formalities of ſtate. But ſo infatuated was this youthful prince by the ſplendours of royalty, that rejecting the ſalutary counſel he had received, he applied for the ſentiments of ſome perſons of his own age and diſpoſition, who recommended him to ſay, that the people ſhould feel greater weight from his little finger, than they had done from the loins of his father; that if tyranny had been exerciſed before, their oppreſſion ſhould be aggravated; and if his predeceſſor had made uſe of whips as the inſtruments of chaſtiſement, he would exerciſe upon them a diſcipline with ſcorpions.

---

[*] In this account of the age and reign of Solomon, our author ſeems to have been greatly miſtaken; inaſmuch as he gives an addition of no leſs than forty years, not warranted by any authority of Scripture; where we are informed, that he came to the throne very young, and that he reigned in Jeruſalem over all Iſrael forty years. See 1 Kings ix. 42. and 2 Chron. ix. 30.

On the third day the people attended to receive an anſwer from the king, which he delivered preciſely in the words recommended by the young men. Thus by the providence of the Almighty, was the prediction of the prophet Ahijah fulfilled. Upon hearing the king's anſwer, the people, as with one voice, cried out, "We diſclaim all allegiance to the houſe of David. Let him, if he deſire it, hold poſſeſſion of the temple that was conſtructed by his father; but we are no longer the ſubjects of Rehoboam." This was a prelude to a general inſurrection, and the people were ſo violently exaſperated, that upon Adoram, one of the officers of the king's treaſury, being ſent to appeaſe the tumult, by aſcribing the popular complaints to the advice of ſome inconſiderate young men, they refuſed to liſten to any thing that could be urged in extenuation of Rehoboam's conduct, and ſtoned his meſſenger to death. Apprehending his life to be in danger, the king mounted his chariot, and repaired with the utmoſt expedition to Jeruſalem.

The people renounce allegiance to Rehoboam.

The tribes of Judah and Benjamin, continued in allegiance to Rehoboam; but the other ten tribes declared, they would never more acknowledge the ſovereignty of a deſcendant of the houſe of David.

Having collected an army of one hundred and eighty thouſand men, Rehoboam propoſed to proſecute a war againſt the ten tribes, that had deſerted his cauſe, till he ſhould compel them to obedience. During the preparations for this intended enterpriſe, a prophet of God exhorted him not to engage in a civil war, urging, that the defection of the tribes was an event, which for juſt ends had been produced by the providence of the Almighty.

Jeroboam builds him two palaces, 1 Kings xii 25.

Jeroboam conſtructed a palace at Sichem, where he eſtabliſhed his reſidence, and he afterwards built another at Penuel. On the approach of the feaſt of the tabernacles, he reflected, that if his people ſhould repair to Jeruſalem to celebrate that feſtival, the ceremonies of religion might ſo far operate on their minds, as to induce them to acknowledge allegiance to their late ſovereign, whereby both his life and government would be in imminent danger. On theſe conſiderations he determined to erect two temples, one at Bethel, and the other at Dan, a town ſituated near the head of the Leſſer Jordan. Having conſecrated the golden image of a calf in each of theſe buildings, he aſſembled the ten tribes under his command, and addreſſed them to the following effect:

He builds two temples and ſets up two golden calves, ver. 28.

"It is unneceſſary, my friends and countrymen, to mention the omnipreſence of the Deity; in whatever place we are, he hears and accepts the prayers we offer to him; I therefore conceive, that for the exerciſe of your religion, it will be totally needleſs to undertake a tedious journey to Jeruſalem. The builder of the temple was but a mortal like ourſelves; the golden calves which are placed in the temples at Bethel and Dan, have been conſecrated as well as the temple at Jeruſalem. You will be at no loſs for the want either of prieſts or Levites; let ſuch as are inclined to execute the ſacerdotal function, qualify themſelves by ſacrificing a calf and a ram, by which ceremony alone, Aaron, the firſt of the order, was initiated to the prieſthood." By thus ſeducing the Hebrews from obedience to the laws of God and their country, Jeroboam was the primary cauſe of the civil wars, bondage, and other calamities, which, in the progreſs of our work, they will be found to have experienced.

On the approach of the feſtival of the ſeventh month, Jeroboam came to a reſolution of performing worſhip at Bethel, according to the manner practiſed by the two tribes at Jeruſalem. He cauſed an altar to be erected before the golden calf, and himſelf aſſuming the character of high-prieſt, and being attended by the prieſts whom he had appointed, he proceeded to the ceremony of the holocauſt; but at the time he was preparing to put the fire to the offering, a prophet named Jadon arrived from Jeruſalem. Having reached the middle of the multitude, he addreſſed himſelf to the following purpoſe:

"Altar, altar, thus ſpeaketh the Almighty! From the houſe of Judah ſhall ariſe a man named Joſiah, who upon thee ſhall put to death the falſe prophets, impoſtors, and ſeducers of his time; and on thee ſhall their bones be conſumed by fire. That no doubt may be entertained reſpecting the truth of this prediction, I will confirm the authority of it by a miracle. The altar ſhall fall in ruins, and the fat of the victims ſhall be ſpilt on the ground." Jeroboam was ſo enraged by this ſpeech of the prophet, that extending his arm, he ordered ſome perſons immediately to ſeize him; but on the inſtant, his arm was blaſted and ſo benumbed, that he was unable to reſtore it to its former poſition. The altar broke into pieces, and the fat of the ſacrifices fell to the ground, as the prophet had predicted. Being by theſe miracles convinced, that the preſage was the effect of divine inſpiration, the king requeſted the prophet to ſupplicate the Almighty for the reſtoration of his arm to its former uſe, which being complied with, the withered limb was perfectly recovered. Having expreſſed

preſſed his gratitude for the miraculous cure he had received, Jeroboam invited the prophet to dine with him, which he declined, ſaying, the Almighty had interdicted him from taſting either of bread or wine during his ſtay in the city, and had further commanded, that on his departure, he ſhould not purſue the ſame road by which he came. The abſtinence and reſerve of the prophet, induced the king more particularly to attend to what he had ſaid, than he would otherwiſe have done; and the more he reflected on his predictions, the more his uneaſineſs increaſed.

An impoſtor who had aſſumed the character of a prophet, and ingratiated the favour of the king, by pretending to foretel events which he knew would flatter his pride, vanity, and ambition, being informed by his ſons of the miracles wrought by Jadon, he became exceedingly uneaſy at being ſupplanted in the royal favour. Though oppreſſed with the infirmities of age, he roſe from his bed, and mounting his aſs, rode in ſearch of the ſtranger, whom he overtook, while repoſing himſelf under the ſhade of an oak. After the cuſtomary ſalutations, the impoſtor complained of the unkindneſs of the other, in not doing him the favour to call at his habitation for refreſhment. He replied, that God had enjoined him, neither to eat nor drink in the city. The impoſtor ſaid, that being himſelf a prophet, the prohibition did not extend to him, and that he had an expreſs direction from the Almighty to invite him to dinner. Unſuſpicious of the treacherous deſign of this man, Jadon returned with him. While they were ſeated at table, and engaged in converſation, the Lord appeared to Jadon, and informed him, that as a puniſhment for his diſobedience, he ſhould be torn to pieces by a lion, and that his remains ſhould not be depoſited in the ſepulchre of his forefathers.

Jadon's miſerable death foretold.
1 Kings xiii. ii. 20—24.

On his way towards Jeruſalem, Jadon was ſeized, and deſtroyed by a furious lion*, which offered no injury to the beaſt he rode, but remained ſometime couching near the body of the deceaſed, apparently as if to guard it. Some travellers having reported to the falſe prophet, the diſaſter that had befallen Jadon, he diſpatched his ſons to remove the body into the city, where he cauſed it to be interred with great ſolemnity and ſplendour. He acknowledged to his ſons, that whatever the deceaſed had ſaid reſpecting the city, the altar, and the falſe prieſts, was ſtrictly true; and commanded that, whenever he ſhould die, they ſhould depoſit his remains in the ſame ſepulchre with thoſe of Jadon; obſerving, that when the bones were mingled, they could not be diſtinguiſhed, ſo that his own would eſcape thoſe indignities uſually ſhewn towards the remains of fictitious prophets.

Immediately after the funeral of Jadon, the falſe prophet repaired to the king, and finding him in an uneaſy ſtate of mind, reproached him with weakneſs, in having given confidence to the illuſory reports of a lunatic. Upon this, Jeroboam mentioned the deſtruction of the altar, and the recovery of the uſe of his arm; obſerving, that, if Jadon was not a man peculiarly favoured by Heaven, theſe miracles could not be accounted for. The wicked impoſtor pretended, that the labour of conveying ſacrifices to the altar, might have occaſioned a temporary numbneſs in his arm, which had naturally recovered, after a ſhort interval of repoſe. And with reſpect to the altar, he ſaid, that, being newly built, and the materials not ſufficiently ſettled, the great weight of the ſacrifices might reaſonably be imputed as the only cauſe of its fall. He then informed the king, that Jadon had been deſtroyed by a lion; concluding with an obſervation, that neither in the miſerable fate that had befallen him, nor in any circumſtance of his life, could he trace any cauſe to juſtify a ſuppoſition that the man had poſſeſſed divine inſpiration. Such an effect had theſe artful inſinuations upon Jeroboam, that he relinquiſhed all conſiderations of obedience to the Almighty; and, in ſhort, ſo utterly abandoned himſelf to vice, that every act of his life ſeemed to proceed from a deſire of ſurpaſſing his former iniquities.

Jeroboam's degeneracy. 33.

While Rehoboam was king of the two tribes, he built and ſtrongly fortified the cities of Bethlehem, Etan, Jekoa, Bethzar, Shoca, Adullam, Ipa, Mareſha, Ziph, Adoriam, Lachiſh, Azekah, Zorah, Ajalon, and Hebron, in the tribe of Judah, beſides ſeveral other towns of equal conſideration in the lot of Benjamin. Over theſe places, he appointed governors, and eſtabliſhed garriſons in them, plentifully ſupplying the inhabitants with corn, wine and oil, and every other article neceſſary, both for defence and maintenance.

Rehoboam builds and tifies ſeveral cities. 2Chron xi. 5, 10.

Diſguſted with the intolerable oppreſſion of Jeroboam, and at his compelling them to pay adoration to the golden calves he had ſet up, great numbers of the prieſts and Levites, as well as of the laity, repaired to Jeruſalem for the benefit of worſhipping the true and eternal God; ſo that, in the ſpace of three years, the power and influence of Rehoboam was augmented in a very conſiderable degree. Rehoboam's firſt wife was his kinſwoman, who bore him three children. He married another relation named Maachab,* the daughter of Thamar, who was daughter to Abſalom; and by this wife he had a ſon named Abiah, whom he deſigned for his ſucceſſor in the government; and to his care he intruſted his treaſure, appointing him alſo to ſuperintend his fortifications and places of ſtrength. Rehoboam had eighteen wives and thirty-ſix concubines; and by theſe women he had twenty-eight ſons, and ſixty daughters. That proſperity is apt to produce corruption of manners, is an obſervation that has been verified in numberleſs inſtances: and it was ſo with regard to Rehoboam, who, in proportion to the increaſe of his power, gave additional latitude to the practice of vice and every ſpecies of licentiouſneſs. Such is the depravity of human nature, that the conduct of the people in an exalted ſphere of life, will ever be found to have a powerful influence over the manners of thoſe in an inferior ſtation. By not adopting the example of their ſuperiors, people would ſubject themſelves to the imputation of tacitly condemning their actions, an imitation of which is generally to be underſtood as an inſtance of political prudence. And thus we find, that the iniquitous example of Rehoboam, ſeduced his ſubjects into a violation of the ſacred commands of the Almighty.

---

* By this puniſhment was given a ſtriking admonition to all the prophets, rigidly to adhere to the ſacred commands of God; and alſo to Jeroboam, as to what he might expect, ſince ſo exemplary a judgment had fallen upon a leſs guilty offender.

Rehoboam's wives and children. 2 Chron. xi. ver. 18, &c.

CHAP. IV.

Shiſhak, king of Egypt, beſieges Jeruſalem, and after the ſurrender of the city he plunders the temple. Rehoboam dies, and his ſon Abias ſucceeds to the government. Abias predicts to Jeroboam the ruin of himſelf, and his whole family.

Shiſhak marches againſt Rehoboam.

THE Almighty was pleaſed to appoint Shiſhak, king of Egypt, and not Seſoſtris, as Herodotus erroneouſly aſſerts, as the inſtrument of avenging the iniquities of Rehoboam. In the fifth year of Rehoboam's reign, Shiſhak marched againſt him with a formidable army, eſtimated to conſiſt of twelve hundred chariots, ſixty thouſand horſe, and four hundred thouſand foot; the ſoldiers being chiefly Africans and Ethiopians. Having rendered himſelf maſter of ſeveral fortified towns, and ſtationed garriſons in them, Shiſhak beſieged Rehoboam in Jeruſalem. Driven to this exigency, the king ſupplicated God to grant him victory over his enemy; but his prayers were rejected; and his apprehenſion and terror were increaſed, upon being informed by the prophet Sameas, that the Almighty had reſolved to withdraw his protection from a people who had impiouſly apoſtatized from the religion of their anceſtors. Such an effect had theſe words upon the king and the people, that they acknowledged their ſins, and that the judgment denounced againſt them they had highly merited. The people being now reduced to the utmoſt extremity of deſpair, Sameas informed the king, that the humiliation and repentance of himſelf and his ſubjects were ſo far regarded by the Almighty, that he had been graciouſly pleaſed to ſignify that they ſhould not be involved in total deſtruction, but yet that they ſhould be held in captivity by the Egyptians, in order that they might be informed by experience whether their advantage would be moſt promoted by obeying or tranſgreſſing his divine commands. Alarmed and terrified by this declaration, the king immediately formed the reſolution of ſurrendering up the city to the beſiegers, upon certain conditions. Shiſhak accepted the terms propoſed; but in direct violation of the articles, he plundered the temple of all the plate and other treaſure dedicated to God, as well as that which was the peculiar property of the king. Excluſive of gold, ſilver and other articles to an immenſe value, he made booty of the golden ſhields and buckers, that Solomon had cauſed to be made, and the golden quivers taken by David from the king of Sophena.

Rehoboam delivers up Jeruſalem to Shiſhak, who breaks his articles, and carries away pillage to an ineſtimable value. 2 Chron. xii. ver. 9.

After the departure of Shiſhak from Jeruſalem into the land of Egypt, Rehoboam ſubſtituted ſhields and bucklers made of braſs in the room of the golden ones, of which the temple had been deſpoiled. The ſucceeding part of the reign of Rehoboam was not interrupted by any remarkable event: he died at the age of fifty-ſeven years, ſeventeen of which he held the ſovereign rule. He was a man of weak intellects and a haughty diſpoſition, and ſuffered his kingdom and himſelf to be ruined by not following the good advice he received. He was interred among the kings at Jeruſalem; and was ſucceeded by his ſon Abias* in the eighteenth year after the ten tribes had ſubmitted to his government.

Jeroboam, whoſe wickedneſs exceeded all bounds, daily fixed up altars in the high places, and from the loweſt claſſes of the people cauſed prieſts to be ordained; for which inſults, God cauſed a merited judgment to fall heavily upon him and his family. At this period, his ſon Obimes † being afflicted with ſickneſs, he ordered his wife to dreſs herſelf as a perſon in a private ſtation, and go to the prophet Achias,‡ who had formerly predicted, that he ſhould himſelf obtain the royal dignity. “Go to the prophet (ſaid he) and enquire whether the boy will be freed from his illneſs. She followed her huſband's directions, and departed for Shiloh, where the prophet then dwelt. During the time ſhe was upon her journey Abias whoſe ſight was much impaired by age, was addreſſed by a voice from Heaven, informing him that the woman was coming to his houſe, and upon what occaſion; what queſtions ſhe would put to him, and what anſwers he ſhould return. When ſhe approached the door, he ſpoke to her as the wife of Jeroboam, and told her not to attempt to conceal who ſhe was, for that the power who had given him previous information of her arrival, and inſpired him with what he was about to ſay, could not be deceived. Return (ſaid he) to your huſband, and aſſure him that the Almighty hath thus ſpoken: “As I deprived the houſe of David of the regal authority, and from a mean ſtation in life, exalted thee to a throne; and as thou haſt, with the greateſt ingratitude, deſerted me, and impiouſly put up Gods of thy own invention, made by the hands of men, and preferred them before the Creator of the univerſe, I will immediately extirpate thee and thy houſe from the face of the earth, and give your carcaſes to be devoured by the dogs, and the birds of the air; and another king ſhall be in thy ſtead, who ſhall not ſuffer one man of thy family to remain alive; nor ſhall the people themſelves avoid my puniſhment, for they ſhall be driven out of the happy land they inhabit, and be ſcattered beyond the Euphrates, for imitating thy wickedneſs, and worſhipping thy gods, in ſcorn of me and what I have commanded. Haſten to your huſband, and inform him of what I have now related: and as to the child, it ſhall expire the inſtant you enter the city. He ſhall be interred with a public ſolemnity, and lamented as the only part of Jeroboam's family who had not merited reprobation.”

---

* Or, Maacah.

* Script. Abijah and Abijam.

Terrified at what Abias had ſaid, ſhe returned; and on her arrival, was exceedingly afflicted to find the words of the prophet verified in regard to the child. She related to her huſband a circumſtantial account of what Ahijah had communicated.

CHAP. V.

Abias, king of Judah, obtains a victory over Jeroboam. Abias dies, and is ſucceeded by Aſa. The death of Jeroboam, who is ſucceeded by his ſon Nadab. Baaſha puts Nadab to death, and extirpates the whole race of Jeroboam.

Jeroboam draws out an army againſt Abias, 2 Chron. xiii. 3.

NOtwithſtanding the judgments whereby the diſpleaſure of Heaven was ſo clearly manifeſted, Jeroboam ſtill continued to raiſe armies; and, at length he marched againſt Abias, the ſon of Rehoboam, who then reigned over the two tribes, in right of his father. From the ſmall experience of this prince in civil and military affairs, Jeroboam flattered himſelf in the firmeſt confidence of ſucceſs. Having ſelected an army from the two tribes, Abias marched towards the enemy, and encamped at Mount Samaron,*, where he made all the neceſſary preparations for battle, conducting himſelf with a ſhare of fortitude and prudence not to have been expected at his early time of life. Abias had four hundred thouſand, and Jeroboam had eight hundred thouſand men. The adverſe armies being drawn up in order of battle, Abias repaired to an eminence, and, after waving his hand, as a ſignal for ſilence, thus addreſſed the adherents of Jeroboam:

Abias addreſſes the Hebrews.

“You are ſenſible that the Almighty was pleaſed to promiſe, that David and his poſterity ſhould govern this kingdom for a ſucceſſion of ages. I cannot therefore, refrain from expreſſing my aſtoniſhment, that you ſhould abandon the cauſe of my father, and take up arms for the purpoſe of deſtroying that ſyſtem of government, which the Almighty himſelf eſtabliſhed. By violence and uſurpation your leader has gained authority over the greater part of the nation, and you now ſupport him in the unjuſtifiable deſign of deſpoiling the legal heir of that contracted ſhare of juriſdiction which, through the goodneſs of God, he has been enabled to preſerve. However, the time is approaching when he will be no longer permitted wantonly to abuſe the power he has ſo wickedly acquired, and when the Almighty will call him to a ſevere account for all his iniquities. You have, in no inſtance, received injury from my father, who, it muſt be acknowledged, was in ſome degree deſerving cenſure, for expreſſing himſelf in terms of harſhneſs, in conformity with the evil counſel of which Jeroboam himſelf was the principal inſtigator, when in reſentment of that imprudent act, you relinquiſhed your allegiance to your lawful ſovereign, and impiouſly tranſgreſſed the commands of God. It would ſurely have been more honourable to you, had you proceeded with deliberation, and made allowances for the frailties of human nature. You ſhould have reflected that my father was a young man, and that he made no pretence to the gift of oratory; and he was doubtleſs intitled to ſome reſpect, as being the ſon of Solomon, from whom you have received ſuch numerous and ſignal obligations. Where is it you repoſe your hopes of ſucceſs? Surely not in your golden calves, your altars, and your high places! If you have reliance on thoſe inventions, your expectations will be miſerably diſappointed, ſince you confide not in the practice of righteouſneſs, but in that of iniquity. Though you act in oppoſition to every law, both divine and human, in the end, juſtice and piety will gain the victory; but againſt both of theſe you militate, in taking up arms againſt us, who have always worſhipped the true God, not an idol carved from ſtone or wood. Repent, therefore, of the wickedneſs you have committed, and follow better courſes hereafter; or, if you are determined to contend, let it be for the protection of thoſe laws from which you derive your preſent greatneſs and felicity.

---

† Script Abijah. ‡ Achijah.

* Script. Mount Zemarim.

Before the concluſion of this ſpeech, a detachment from the army of Jeroboam privately marched to the rear of Abias's troops, who were greatly alarmed by that manœuvre: but their leader encouraged them to preſerve their fortitude, exhorting them to depend on the protection of the Almighty, who would render abortive the the moſt conſummate treachery levelled againſt the righteous cauſe which they were engaged to ſupport. This revived their courage, and they addreſſed themſelves to prayer, till the ſignal was given; when with loud ſhouts they attacked the enemy, whom they totally defeated, committing a more dreadful carnage than is recorded either in the Greek or Barbarian annals. Five hundred thouſand ſoldiers fell upon the field of battle. Bethel and Ithen, and all their beſt fortified towns were conquered and pillaged.

Abias gains a ſignal victory.

This ſtroke ſo weakened Jeroboam, that he was not in a condition to renew his attempts during the life of Abias; who not long afterwards died, after having reigned three years; and he was interred in the ſepulchre of his forefathers in Jeruſalem. He had, by fourteen women, two-and-twenty ſons, and ſixteen daughters, all of whom ſurvived him. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Aſa, whoſe mother's name was Maacha; and under his government the Iſraelites continued in a ſtate of tranquillity for ten years.

Jeroboam died in the twenty-ſecond year after being inveſted with the ſovereignty of the ten tribes, and in the ſecond year of the reign of Aſa. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Nadab, who poſſeſſed the kingdon for two years only, during which time he endeavoured to exceed his father in every kind of wickedneſs. He levied forces, and marched againſt Gabathon, a city belonging to the Philiſtines, imagining that he could conquer the place by ſiege. While this intended enterprize was in agitation he was treacherouſly murdered by Baaſha, the ſon of Machel. Baaſha aſſumed the government, and extirpated the whole houſe of Nadab, agreeable to the prediction of the prophet, that ſuch of the race of Jeroboam as ſhould die in the city the dogs ſhould devour, and the fowls of the air thoſe who ſhould periſh in the fields. Theſe puniſhments juſtly fell upon Jeroboam and his houſe, for deſerting the Lord, and for their other impieties.

Jeroboam's family extirpated, 1 King's xv. 27–29.

CHAP. VI.

Character of Aſa, king of Judea. He gains a victory over Zaræus, king of Ethiopia. The king of Damaſcus becomes the ally of Aſa. Baaſha murdered by Creon. Zimri aſſaſſinates Elah.

ASA, king of Jeruſalem, conducted himſelf, both in religion and morality, in the moſt exact and rigid obedience to the commands of the Almighty. He introduced the moſt ſalutary laws for the better government of his kingdom, and omitted no endeavours to correct and aboliſh the abominable vice that had been introduced amongſt his ſubjects. He had a ſelect body of men of the tribe of Judah, to the amount of three hundred and twenty thouſand, armed with lances and ſhields; and of the tribe of Benjamin he had two hundred and fifty thouſand provided with bows and bucklers.

Aſa, k Jeruſalem, a pious prince, 1 Kings xv. 11. and 2 Chron. xiv. 2.

In the tenth year of the reign of Aſa, Zaræus, king of Ethiopia, led againſt him an army conſiſting of one hundred thouſand horſe, nine hundred thouſand foot, and three hundred Chariots. Having drawn up his army in the valley of Saphatha, near Mareſa, a city within the diſtrict of the tribe Judah, Aſa prepared to give battle to the enemy. Upon obſerving the vaſt ſuperiority of the adverſe army, Aſa addreſſed himſelf to Heaven, ſaying he had taken up arms in the cauſe of juſtice and righteouſneſs, and in the full confidence that the aſſiſtance of God would more than compenſate for the inferiority of numbers, and every other diſadvantage, and fervently imploring, that he might prove victorious. By a ſignal from Heaven, Aſa was informed, that his prayers were acceptable, and that the battle ſhould terminate in his favour

Aſa defeats the King of Ethiopia, 12, 13.

vour. Having received this aſſurance, Aſa furiouſly aſſaulted the enemy, whom he put to the rout, and purſued as far as the plain of Gerar, committing great ſlaughter upon the fugitives. Having plundered the town of Gerar, and likewiſe the enemy's camp, of ſpoil to a very conſiderable amount, Aſa directed his march towards Jeruſalem, and on approaching that city, the prophet Azaziah deſired he would give a ſignal for his men to halt, which being complied with, he ſpoke to the following effect :

“ In conſideration of your obedience to the divine pleaſure of the Almighty, you were enabled to atchieve the ſplendid victory from which you are now returning in triumph : and be aſſured, that if you perſevere in a conſcientious diſcharge of your duty, equal ſucceſs will attend all your future undertakings : but, on the contrary, ſhould you neglect to conform to the precepts of your religion, you will inevitably be involved in the moſt dreadful calamities ; not a prieſt will remain to officiate at the altar, nor will there be a true prophet amongſt you ; your cities will be levelled with the earth, and your nation will be diſperſed, like vagabonds over the face of the earth, without having any ſettled place of abode or habitation. I therefore admoniſh you, to apply yourſelves to the ſtudy and practice of righteouſneſs and virtue, and to addreſs yourſelves in fervent prayer to God for the enjoyment of your preſent bleſſings.”

Aſa and his whole army received great conſolation from the above addreſs ; and they employed a ſtrict and unwearied attention for preſerving their religion and laws inviolate ; for enforcing a due obſervance whereof, Aſa appointed commiſſioners to ſuperintend the conduct of the inhabitants of the ſeveral diſtricts of his dominions.

After having murdered Nadab, the ſon of Joreboam, and uſurped the ſovereignty, Baaſha exerciſed the powers thereof for the ſpace of four years, his uſual reſidence being in his palace at Tarſhiſh. He was a cruel and unrelenting oppreſſor of his ſubjects ; in the practice of every ſpecies of iniquity, he even tranſcended both Joreboam and his ſon Nadab, his atrocious offences ſeeming to indicate, that his firſt object was infamouſly to diſtinguiſh himſelf by an open and daring defiance of the commands of God.

Gimon,[*] the prophet, informed Baaſha, that the Almighty was determined to extirpate him and his whole race, as he had done the family of Jeroboam, whoſe wicked example ſeemed to be the rule of his whole conduct. But, notwithſtanding this denunciation, Baaſha ſtill perſiſted in his iniquitous courſes, as if he had expected reward for his ſins, rather than puniſhment. At length, he advanced with ſome forces to Ramath, which is about forty [†] furlongs diſtant from Jeruſalem and a place of ſome conſequence. This city he fortified, conſidering it as an advantageous ſituation for making incurſions into the kingdom of Aſa; who was rather apprehenſive of his intentions, and reflecting on what ill conſequences might attend his people, by ſuffering ſo numerous an army near them, he immediately ſent an ambaſſy, with large gifts to the king of Damaſcus, entreating him to become his ally, from a regard to that affection which their families had always entertained for each other. The preſents of Aſa, and the requeſted alliance were acccepted by the king of Damaſcus, who detached himſelf from Baaſha, attacked his towns, and burnt and plundered ſeveral of them, among which were Achion, Dan, and Abelmaen. As ſoon as Baaſha was informed of theſe proceedings, he left Ramath, and returned to the care of affairs in his own kingdom. From the materials left at the departure of Baaſha, two ſtrong towns were built by Aſa, who called one of them Gaba, and the other Maſpha. After this, Baaſha never more entered the field, for he was murdered by Creon and interred in the city of Arſanes. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Elah, who after he had reigned two years, was, while he was drinking with Oſa, his houſhold ſteward, killed by Zimri, one of his maſters of horſe, during the abſence of his guards, who were then laying ſiege toGabathon, a city belonging to the Philiſtines.

Baaſha cut off by Creon ; his ſon Elah ſucceeds him, 1 Kings xvi. 6.
Elah baſely killed by Zimri, v. 10.

CHAP. VII.

Zimri murders Elah ; and Omri is elected to ſucceed him as king of Iſrael. Zimri ſets fire to the palace, and is conſumed in the flames. Omri is ſucceeded by Ahab. His ruin predicted by Elias. Jehu aſcends the throne of Iſrael. Hazael made king of Aſſyria. At the inſtigation of Jezabel, Naboth is ſtoned.

AFTER having treacherouſly put Elah to death, Zimri advanced himſelf from the office of maſter of the horſe to the ſovereignty ; and having attained that

---

[*] Script Jehu, the ſon of Hanani.

[†] Forty furlongs, according to the meaſure of the ancients, amounted to juſt five miles, and were about four of Engliſh meaſure.

Zimri ſets fire to the palace, and burns it over his own head. 1 Kings xvi. 18.

ſtation, he exterminated the whole family of Baaſha, according to the prediction of Gimon. As ſoon as the king's death was known to the army, which was then before Gibathon, and that Zimri had uſurped the kingdom, they immediately elected Omri, the captain of the guards, to reign over them. After raiſing the ſiege, Omri marched directly to Tirzah, which he took by ſtorm. Zimri perceiving there was no guard in the city, retired into one of the apartments of the palace, to which he ſet fire, and conſumed the whole building, himſelf periſhing in the flames, after a reign of only ſeven days.

Public affairs being now in a ſtate of the utmoſt confuſion and embarraſſment, the nation divided into two factions, one ſupporting the pretenſions of Omri, and the other thoſe of Thaman: but the latter being ſlain, the government of the whole kingdom devolved upon his adverſary. Aſa was now in the thirtieth year of his reign. Omri reigned twelve years, half of that time at Tirzah, and the remainder at Mareon, which place the Greeks call Samaria. The mountain on which the city was built, was purchaſed of a man named Samar, from whom Omri called it Samareon. This king even ſurpaſſed his predeceſſors in wickedneſs, like them exerting his utmoſt endeavours to extinguiſh in his ſubjects a love and affection for God, and to divert them from the practice of righteouſneſs and virtue. For their abominable ſins, the Almighty made theſe kings the inſtruments of the deſtruction of each other, ſo that the whole race of theſe monſters of wickedneſs became extinct.

Omri dying at Samaria, he was ſucceeded by his ſon Ahab. Aſa, the king of Jeruſalem, and two of the tribes, reigned in proſperity and happineſs; and his righteouſneſs and integrity, gained him a diſtinguiſhed place in the favour of his creator. He died after a reign of forty-one years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Jehoſhphat, whoſe mother was named Abida; and he inherited all the virtues and excellent qualities of his deceaſed father, regulating the whole conduct of his life by the example of David, his righteous and intrepid anceſtor.

Ahab, king of the Iſraelites, reſided in Samaria, and during a reign of twenty-two years, he imitated the worſt examples of the moſt iniquitous of his predeceſſors, and particularly Jeroboam, worſhipping the golden calves he had ſet up, and committing innumerable other acts of impiety. Ahab married Jeſabel [*], the daughter of Ithobal [†], king of Tyre and Sidon, who prevailed upon him to pay adoration to the idols worſhipped in her native country: ſhe was a woman of a raſh, daring, and ungovernable ſpirit; and ſhe cauſed a temple to be built in honour of Bel [‡], the diety of the Tyrians, and various groves of trees to be planted, where the falſe prophets and prieſts, appointed by her, performed idolatrous worſhip.

A prophet named Elias, a Tiſhbite, born in the city of Gilead, came to Ahab, and informed him, that after his departure from thence, neither rain nor dew ſhould fall in the province till his return. Having delivered this meſſage from the Almighty, the prophet travelled towards the ſouth, till arriving at a river, he there remained for ſome time for the convenience of procuring water, and repoſing himſelf; and while in this place, ravens deſcended, from time to time, and ſupplied him with food. The river being at length dried up, a voice from Heaven directed Elias to remove to Sareptha, a town between Tyre and Sydon, where he would find a widow woman who would ſupply all his neceſſities. He acted in obedience to this command, and when he came near the town, obſerved a woman gathering up ſticks, of whom he requeſted ſome water. As he was departing, he again ſpoke to her, deſiring ſhe would alſo bring him ſome bread. She aſſured him, that ſhe had no other proviſion than one handful of meal, and a ſmall portion of oil, and that ſhe had been picking up ſticks, in order to make a fire for baking her ſcanty ſtore into a cake for herſelf and her ſon; adding that, after it was eaten, they muſt be in the utmoſt danger of ſtarving, ſince ſhe knew not where to procure a further ſupply of the neceſſaries of life. Upon this, the prophet deſired he might partake of the cake, aſſuring her, that her barrel ſhould be conſtantly ſupplied with meal, and her cruiſe with oil, until it ſhould pleaſe the Almighty to ſend rain for repleniſhing the earth. She followed the prophet's direction; and though Elias, the widow, and her ſon, conſtantly fed till their appetites were ſatisfied, their proviſion was immediately recruited, during the continuance of the miſerable draught. In his hiſtory of Ithobal, king of the Tyrians, Menander ſpeaks of the above occurrence in the following manner: "In the reign of this king, there was an extreme drought, that laſted from the month of Hyperberetæus, till the ſame month of the next year. There were prayers indeed put up for averting the judgment, which were followed with mighty claps of thunder. This

Elias fed by ravens, 1 Kings, XVII. 6.

The widow of Sereptha relieves the prophet, without waſting her ſtore, ver. 15.

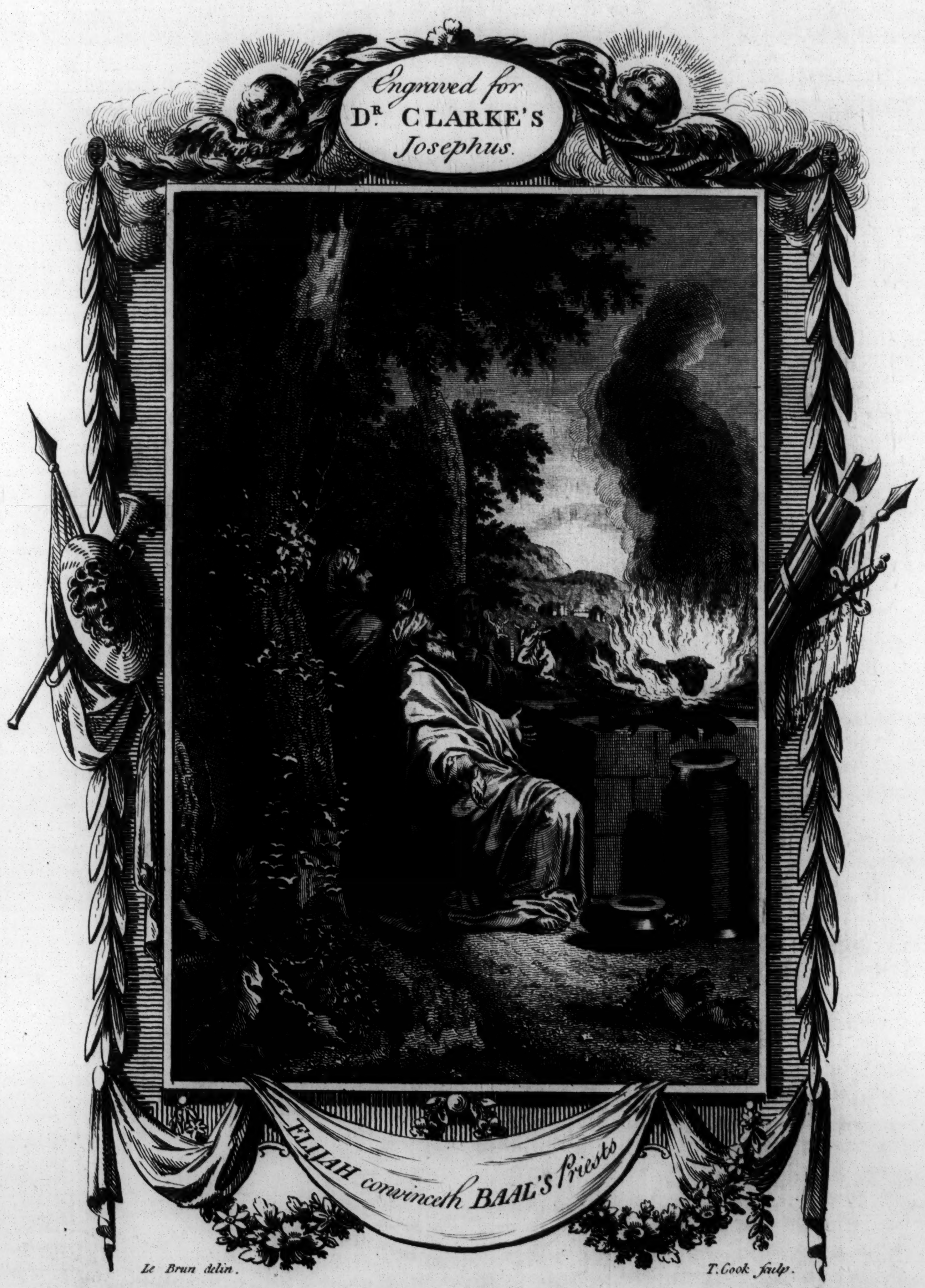
---

[*] Or Jezebel.

[†] Otherwiſe, Eth-baal.

[‡] Script. Baal.

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

ELIJAH convinceth BAAL'S Priests

Le Brun delin. T. Cook sculp.

Published as the Act directs, Decr. 8th 1785. by J. Walker Pater noster Row.

prince built Botrys in Phœnica, and Auzates, in Africa." He adds, that prayers being offered for a change of weather, violent burſts of thunder conſtantly ſucceeded. It was during the reign of Ahab, that Eth-Baal was king of Tyre; ſo that the above drought is undoubtedly that referred to by Menander.

The prophet reſtores a dead child, 22.

The ſon of the woman who had entertained Elias, falling very ill, ſhe attributed the misfortune to him; ſaying, "This man whom I have fed, has brought this judgment upon me, on a diſcovery of my ſins." At length, when the child was thought to be dead, the prophet ſaid, "Give him to me, and I will recover him to life;" and taking him to his chamber, he placed him on the bed, and prayed that God would reſtore him to health; for that the death of the ſon, while he remained in the family, would appear to be a ſevere requital of the mother's goodneſs to him. The prayers of Elias were heard; God reſtored the child; and the mother confeſſed, that the Spirit of the Almighty directed the actions of the prophet.

Soon after this, Elias was commiſſioned to acquaint Ahab, that rain would ſpeedily fall. By this time, the famine raged ſo that the people were on the point of ſtarving; nor was there food for the cattle. Obadiah, who ſuperintended the royal ſtables and fields, was now ſent for by the king, who ordered him to ſeek near the rivers and ditches, for graſs for the horſes and other cattle, and alſo to find the prophet, who had been long ſought for in vain.

Obadiah was a good and holy man; and during queen Jezabel's intemperate perſecution of the prophets, that they might eſcape her cruelty, he concealed an hundred of them in different caverns, conſtantly ſupplying them with the means of ſubſiſtence.

Elias directs a meeting upon Mount Carmel, and all Ahab's prophets to be there preſent; the prophets meet accordingly, to the number of about four hundred, I. Kings, XVIII. 19, 20.

Obadiah had no ſooner left the king than he met Elias, * who bid him tell his maſter that he was coming to him. "Wherefore, (ſaid Obadiah) ſhould you diſpatch me with ſuch a meſſage, who am ſent in ſearch of you, that the king may inflict a tormenting death on you. When I am gone, the ſpirit by which you are governed may lead you another away, and then my life will pay the forfeit. Have more concern for my ſafety. You know my zeal for your fraternity, by my preſervation of the hundred prophets, whom I ſtill ſupport in the caves." The prophet, however inſiſted on his going, and ſolemnly ſwore to attend Ahab. When the king found he was coming, he haſtened to meet him, and in a rage exclaimed, "Is it not you that are the plague of the Iſraelites? Is it not you to whom this drought and famine are owing?" The prophet replied, that Ahab and his houſhold occaſioned their own diſtreſſes, by the introduction of falſe gods, and departing from the true religion. Elias now demanded an aſſembly of the people on Mount Carmel, and that Jezabel's prophets, and the prophets of the groves might be preſent. Ahab aſſembled them; and Elias ſtanding in the midſt, ſaid, "Wherefore heſitate you betwixt two opinions? If you think our's the true God, worſhip him, and keep his commands?. Or if you prefer the worſhip of falſe Gods, continue in that practice." No reply being made, Elias proceeded thus: "Here am I, a ſingle prophet, oppoſed by three hundred: if you would aſcertain which is the true religion, I will place an ox on a pile of wood, but not ſet it on fire: let the other prophets do the ſame, and implore their Gods to inflame the pile; by which the true will be diſtinguiſhed from the falſe worſhip; this mode of aſcertaining the truth, being approved by the people, the precedency was allowed to Ahab's prophets, who placed their ox upon the pile, and for a long time continued to repeat prayers and incantations, which producing no effect, Elias, in ridicule of their impious and ſuperſtitious practices, told them to ſpeak louder, for probably their gods were either aſleep, or gone upon a journey. After theſe impoſtors had continued from morning till noon uttering exorciſms, and cutting and lacerating their fleſh, according to the manners of the country, they retired, when Elias prepared to offer up his ſacrifice, deſiring the people to draw near, that they might aſſure themſelves no fire was ſecretly conveyed to his pile. Having taken up twelve ſtones, a number alluding to the twelve tribes, he made an altar of them, round which he cauſed a deep trench to be cut; he then placed wood upon the altar, and the ſacrifice upon the pile, throwing four veſſels of ſpring water upon the altar, which ran from the ſame into the ſurrounding trench. Theſe preparations being made, Elias invoked the Almighty, by a miracle to impreſs the minds of the miſtaken and incredulous multitude with the conviction of truth. While he was pronouncing this appeal, fire deſcended from Heaven, and conſumed the ſacrifice, and dried up the water about the altar and in the trench. Both aſtoniſhed and convinced by this miracle, the Iſraelites proſtrated themſelves before the Almighty, acknowledging him as the only living and true God. Elias then commanded the four hundred falſe prophets to be put immediately to death; and after that ſentence had been executed, the multitude diſperſed.

Elias orders four hundred falſe prophets to be put to death. 40.

The

---

* Script. Elijah.

The prophet now repaired to the ſummit of Mount Carmel, and ſeating himſelf on the ground, his head being reclined on his knees, he commanded the man who attended him, to aſcend a rock towards the ſea, and look out for a cloud. After ſix fruitleſs attempts, the prophet's ſervant again aſcended the rock and then returned to Elias, informing him, that he had deſcried in the air a cloud of a blackiſh caſt, about the ſize of a man's hand. Upon receiving this information, Elias diſpatched a meſſage to Ahab, adviſing him to haſten to the city, or he would be overtaken by a great fall of rain. When the king reached the city of Jezreel, the whole atmoſphere was overcaſt and darkened, and a violent rain immediately deſcended. By the aſſiſtance of God, Elias ran before Ahab's chariot till he reached Jezreel.

Upon being informed of the miracles wrought by Elias, and that he had cauſed her falſe prophets to be put to death, Jeſabel ſent to him, threatening to avenge herſelf by taking away his life. In conſequence hereof, he fled to Beerſheba; and leaving his ſervant, repaired into the wilderneſs, where he reclined himſelf on the earth, and called upon God to put a period to his exiſtence. Having ſlept for ſome time under a tree, he was awakened by an inviſible agent, when he perceived meat and drink before him: and having refreſhed himſelf on the proviſion, he repaired to Mount Sinai, where the Almighty is recorded to have delivered the table of laws to Moſes. Here he diſcovered a cave, and finding it ſpacious and convenient, entertained the deſign of making it his habitation. While he was in this place, a voice demanded of him, the reaſon of his quitting the city, to wander in the deſart. He replied that he had fled in order to avoid the effects of the queen's enmity, ſhe having threatened him with deſtruction for cauſing the falſe prophets to be put to death, and proclaimed that adoration was only due to the living God, the Almighty Father and Creator of the univerſe. The voice now directed him to depart from the cave on the following day, and act according to the inſtructions that would be communicated to him. Upon quitting the cave next day, an earthquake happened,, and he obſerved a blazing fire in the air; a ſhort ſilence then enſued, which was interrupted by a gentle voice, commanding him to preſerve his fortitude, and remain aſſured that his enemies ſhould not triumph over him. The voice further directed him to return by the way of Damaſcus, and there to anoint Hazael king of Aram*, and Jehu, the ſon of Nimſhi, king over Iſrael, and alſo to anoint Eliſha, of Abel, as the ſucceſſor of himſelf in the gift of prophecy; for that, by a ſtroke of divine juſtice, God was determined to extirpate all the wicked from the land, thoſe who ſhould eſcape the ſword of Jehu, being doomed to fall by that of Hazael. Hereupon the prophet departed; and finding Eliſha, the ſon of Shaphat, with other people, ploughing with twelve oxen, he threw his cloak over him: on which Eliſha immediately propheſied, and prepared to follow Elias, but firſt requeſted permiſſion to bid farewel to his parents, which being done, he attached himſelf to Elias, as his diſciple and companion.

Elias commanded to anoint Hazael king of Aram, Jehu king of Iſrael, and in his own room to anoint the prophet Eliſha. 1 Kings xix. ver. 16.

The ſtory of Naboth's vineyard, 1 King's xix.

Adjacent to the gardens of Ahab, king of Samaria, lay a vineyard, belonging to Naboth, of Azar* which vineyard Ahab wiſhing to add to his gardens, frequently aſked Naboth to ſell him, or accept other land in exchange for it; but this Naboth refuſed, as it was a poſſeſſion which had been the particular gift of providence. Ahab was ſo chagrined at the refuſal, that he became melancholy, abſtained from his food, and neglected to bathe according to cuſtom, and fell ſick. On this alteration, Jezabel became anxious to know the cauſe of it; and, on her repeated urgency, Ahab recited the ſtory of Naboth, and expatiated on the rudeneſs of his behaviour. "I entreated him (ſaid he) with fair words; and deſcended below the dignity of a king, in my addreſs to him; and all I could gain by this conduct, was an abſolute refuſal." The queen gave him all poſſible encouragement to recover his ſpirits, and to be no longer anxious on the ſubject, for ſhe would take care that Naboth ſhould be puniſhed for the inſult. Having ſaid this, ſhe wrote letters to the elders and principal men of Jezreel, in the name of Ahab, importing that a faſt ſhould be proclaimed, and a aſſembly convened, in which a place among the chiefs of the people ſhould be given to Naboth; that three† witneſſes ſhould be provided, who ſhould ſwear, that he had blaſphemed God, and ſpoken evil of the king: and that on this evidence Naboth ſhould be convicted, and his ſentence be, that the people ſhould ſtone him to death. The queen's orders being obeyed in every particular, Naboth was convicted, and received ſentence, which was ſpeedily executed on him.

Intelligence of theſe tranſactions being carried to Jezabel, ſhe repaired to the king, and informing him that Naboth was diſpatched, ſaid, he might take poſſeſſion of the vineyard, without farther ceremony.

---

* 1 King xix. 15. "Says anoint Hazael to be king over Syria."

* Script. Jezeel. † In 1 Kings xxi. 21. no more than two witneſſes are mentioned.

This

news gave Ahab ſo much ſatisfaction, that he immediately ſet forward on a journey towards the ſpot thus dearly purchaſed: but the prophet Elias was ſent by God, to repreſent the ſin of his taking poſſeſſion of the vineyard, which was acquired by the murder of the right owner. Ahab ſeeing the prohpet advancing, went to him, confeſſed what had been done, and offered to make reparation. In the name of the Almighty, Elias acquainted him, that "where the blood of Naboth had been licked by the dogs, they ſhould likewiſe lick the blood of Ahab and Jezabel; and that the crime of taking away the life of an innocent man by perjury ſhould be puniſhed by the extirpation of their whole race." Ahab was ſo affected by the denunciation of this judgment, that he became deeply penitent for his ſins; cloathed himſelf in ſackcloth, faſted, went barefoot, and gave every other teſtimony of unfeigned ſorrow. Hereupon the prophet was commiſſioned by God to acquaint him, that in conſideration of his contrition, the judgment which had been threatened ſhould be poſtponed during his life, though it ſhould certainly take place in that of his ſon. The prophet then departed.

CHAP. VIII.

Adad beſieges, Ahab in Samaria, 'but is repulſed. Being again diſcomfited he ſolicits mercy, which is granted. They contract a league. The prophet Michaiah reproves Ahab for his lenity to Adad.

Adad, with thirty-two confederate kings, makes war upon Ahab, 1 Kings xxi. 1.

WHILE affairs were in this ſituation, Adad, king of Syria and Damaſcus, raiſed a powerful army, and being joined by thirty-two kings from beyond the Euphrates, the confederated powers marched againſt Ahab, who dreading the event of an engagement with ſo vaſt a multitude, retired to fortified places and ſtrong holds. Ahab himſelf took refuge in Samaria, a place of great ſtrength from its ſituation, and defended by a garriſon, thick walls, and other works. Adad led his army againſt this city, and while purſuing preparations for an aſſault, he diſpatched a herald, to requeſt permiſſion to ſend ambaſſadors to Ahab with ſuch conditions as he meant to propoſe. This being agreed to, the ambaſſadors repaired to Ahab, and ſtated, that his wives, his children, and his treaſure, were entirely at the mercy of the aſſailant, who, however, on condition of an acknowledgment to that extent being made, and permiſſion granted to take away whatever he thought proper, would raiſe the ſiege, and draw off his army. In reply, Ahab ſaid, he admitted all his poſſeſſions to be at the diſpoſal of his adverſary. The Syrian now demanded, that on the following day his officers might be allowed to ſearch the houſes and apartments of the king and all his officers and domeſtics, and take away whatever they might be inclined to poſſeſs.

Ahab upon this, ſummoned a council, and repreſented the two propoſitions made by the enemy; ſaying, he had conſented to the firſt, being willing to ſacrifice his own intereſt and convenience to the good of the public: but the later propoſition he could not agree to, as it tended ſo materially to the injury of his ſubjects. The king concluded with ſaying, that he would abide by the advice of his friends as to maintaining a war, or purchaſing peace on the conditions propoſed by the enemy. The council ſeverely reprobated the arrogance of Adad, and unanimouſly voted for war. The anſwer delivered to the ambaſſadors was, that the king was ſtill diſpoſed to accept the firſt propoſition, but a regard to the property, ſafety and honour of the citizens, required him abſolutely to reject the ſecond. Adad was ſo exaſperated by this reply, that he diſpatched a third meſſage, importing that the king would be imprudent to rely on the ſtrength of the fortreſs, ſince he had an army ſo numerous, that he could raiſe works above the walls of the town by each of his men contributing only a handful of earth. Ahab's reply ſignified, that men of courage ſhould debate not with their tongues, but with their ſwords. When this meſſage was brought, Adad was at ſupper with the thirty-two confederated kings; and riſing from table he iſſued orders for immediate preparations to be made for the ſiege.

In the mean time, Ahab and his adherents were in the moſt diſpirited and hopeleſs ſituation: but their deſpondency was removed upon a certain prophet informing the king, that, notwithſtanding the vaſt ſuperiority of the enemy, he ſhould prove victorious. Ahab was anxious to know the immediate inſtrument of the victory, who, the prophet ſaid, ſhould be himſelf at the head of the ſons of the nobles. Theſe being ſummoned, and Ahab having learnt that his enemy was indulging in the height of luxurious revelry, the city gates were thrown open, and they ſallied out. Adad hearing of this, ſent a party, with directions to conduct them, bound, into his preſence. At this time, the army of Ahab was ready within the walls to iſſue forth when neceſſary. The valiant young nobles having attacked the guards, many of whom they killed, and purſued the reſt to their tents. Ahab and his army ruſhed out, attacked, and routed the enemy, who

Ahab overthrows the Syrians, and gains a great booty. 21

were moſt of them intoxicated and unarmed. Some eſcaped by flight, and among them was Adad, who was ſaved by the ſpeed of his horſe. The Syrians being purſued, ſuch as were overtaken were killed. The plunder, in gold, ſilver, equipages, and Adad's own chariot and horſes, was very great and was conducted to the city by the conquerors.

After this victory, the prophet informed Ahab, that the enemy would again be ready to attack him in the enſuing ſpring, and adviſed him to prepare for that event; which he accordingly did. Adad having reaſſembled his ſhattered army, he was adviſed by his friends not again to hazard a battle in the mountains, they ſaying, that the god of the mountains was worſhipped by the Iſraelites, who would inevitably have been ſubdued, had the engagement taken place in the plains. They recommended him, to diſmiſs the thirty-two kings, but to retain their troops, and that recruits of horſe and foot ſhould ſupply the place of the ſlain. The king complied with this advice, and, on the approach of ſpring, encamped in a large plain near the city of Apheca. Ahab advanced with his forces, and encamped oppoſite the Syrians, though greatly inferior in number. During this poſture of affairs, the prophet, in the name of God, aſſured the Iſraelites of victory, for the God of the mountains was likewiſe God of the vallies. During ſix days the armies lay thus encamped, and on the ſeventh, advanced to battle. The conteſt was at firſt vigorous: but the Syrians, unable to ſtand the ſhock, fled, the enemy cloſely purſuing them. Many were ſlain in the purſuit; ſome killed in the flight by their own chariots, and fellow-ſoldiers; ſome trampled to death, and others were torn in pieces. Some of the fugitives reached Apheca, their only place of refuge. Under the walls of that city, it was calculated that twenty-ſeven thouſand were buried; and thoſe killed in battle were eſtimated at one hundred thouſand.

The Syrians are again defeated, 29.

Adad having ſecreted himſelf in a cave, with ſeveral of his adherents, ſome of them extolled the natual generoſity of the Iſraelites, and adviſed the king to ſubmit to the mercy of Ahab, which they were confident would be extended to him. Adad agreeing hereto, a number of people were choſen to ſupplicate mercy; and being clothed in ſackcloth, and having halters about their necks, they repaired to the conqueror, ſaying they came to ſolicit lenity towards Ahad, who they were commiſſioned to ſay, conſidered, and would be ever be ready to avow himſelf the priſoner of Ahab. Hereupon, the king ſaid, "I rejoice that Adad has eſcaped the late dreadful carnage attending the battle, and authorize you to aſſure him, that he ſhall have as cordial a reception as I would give to my own brother."

Adad begs his life, and Ahab grants it. ver. 3.

Ahab having bound himſelf by the ſolemnity of an oath, that no violence ſhould be offered to the perſon of Adad, the petitioners departed to the cave, from whence they eſcorted their maſter into the preſence of the victor. On the approach of the royal captive, Ahab who was then ſeated in his chariot, extended his right hand, and after ſaluting him, according to the cuſtom of the country, placed him by his ſide, at the ſame time pledging his honour for his ſafety. Having expreſſed his gratitude for this generous treatment, Adad declared, that all the cities and lands taken from the Hebrews ſhould be reſtored, and that Ahab ſhould ever be a welcome gueſt at Damaſcus. They then negotiated and executed a treaty of alliance; and after being preſented with magnificent gifts Adad departed.

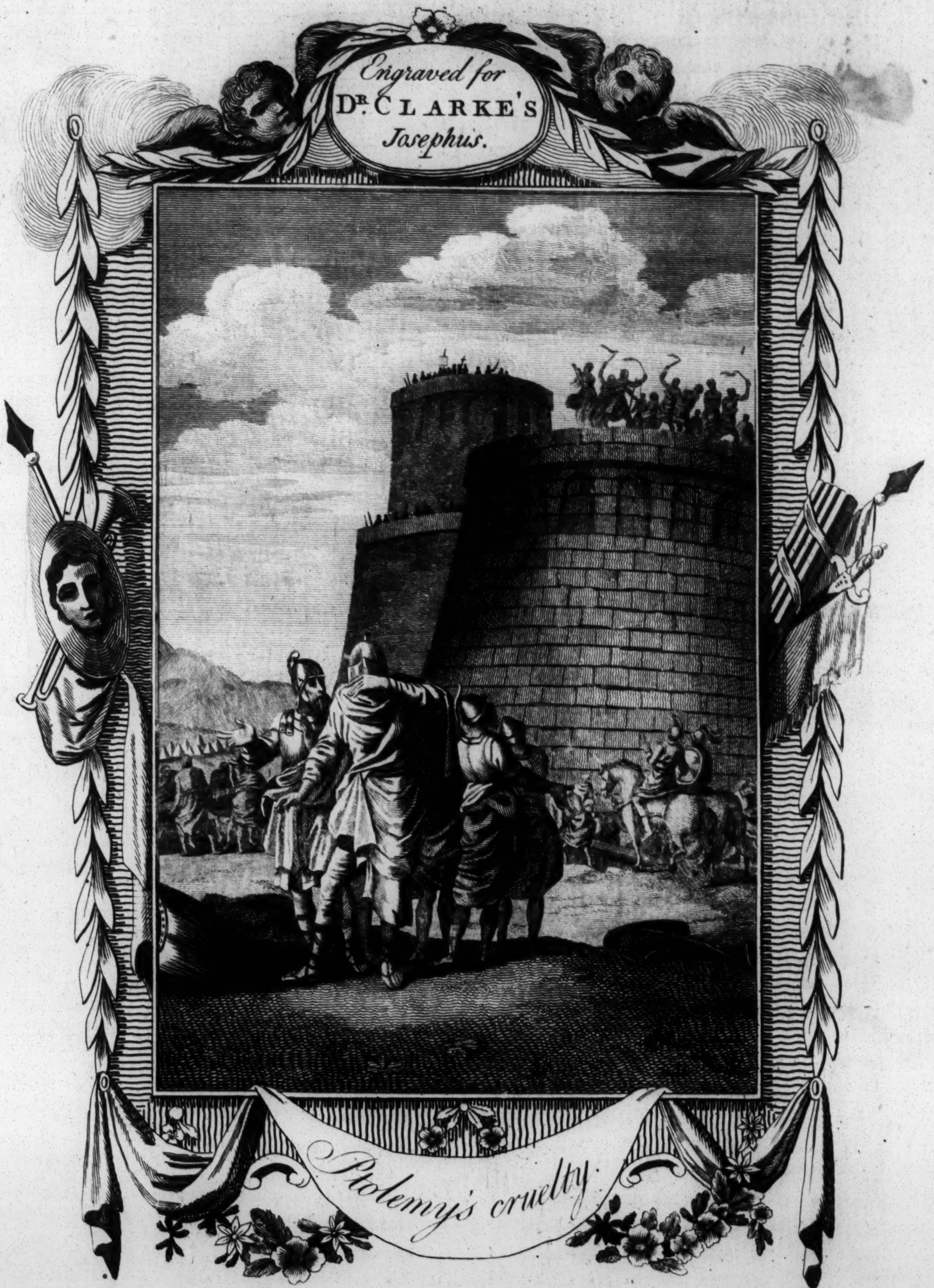
Soon after the above occurrences, the prophet Machaiah deſired a Hebrew to ſtrike him on the head, as an act of obedience to the will of God: upon the man's refuſal, the prophet informed him, that he ſhould be torn to pieces by a lion, which accordingly happened. He made the ſame requeſt to another Hebrew, who ſtruck him with ſuch force, that his head ſtreamed with blood. Having bound up the wound, Michaiah repaired to the king, informing him that he was a ſoldier, who had deſerted, from a dread of being puniſhed in conſequence of a priſoner under his care having eſcaped. The king having ſignified, that he deſerved chaſtiſement for inattention to his duty, the prophet removed the bandage from his head, and avowed himſelf. This device was intended to impreſs the mind of Ahab with an idea of the impropriety he had been guilty of in ſhewing lenity to, and contracting a league of friendſhip with ſo daring an enemy of the laws of God as Adad had proved himſelf to be. The prophet informed the king, that the time was approaching, when himſelf and his army ſhould be deſtroyed by the unworthy object of his compaſſion. This freedom of expoſtulation was ſo diſpleaſing to Ahab, that he ordered the prophet into immediate and cloſe confinement: but the prediction he had pronounced, gave great uneaſineſs to the king.

A treaty between Ahab and Adad.

CHAP. IX.

The righteouſneſs, power, and reputation of Jehoſhaphat, Jehoram, the ſon of Jehoſhaphat, eſpouſes the daughter of the king of Iſrael. Jehoſhaphat joins Ahab in war againſt Adad.

JE-


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

Ptolemy's cruelty

Publish'd as the Act directs 25 Augt. 1786 by John Walker Paternoster Row.

BRITISH MUSEUM

JEhoſhaphat, king of Jeruſalem, conſiderably extended his dominions, ſtationing garriſons in and appointing governors over the ſeveral cities within his juriſdiction, including thoſe in the land of Ephraim which his grandfather, Abias, had taken from Jeroboam. He was a man of examplary piety and juſtice, which virtues were rewarded by the eſpecial favour and protection of the Almighty. The munificent preſents he received from the neighbouring princes, at once encreaſed his power and reputation, and evinced their high approbation of the irreproachable integrity of his life.

In the third year of his reign, Jehoſhaphat convened the prieſts and elders, and directed them to nominate commiſſioners to enforce a rigid obedience to the duties of religion, and the laws and precepts delivered by Moſes. So ſatisfactory was this attention to the important articles of religion and law to the people, that they engaged in a generous emulation as to who ſhould moſt diſtinguiſh himſelf by a ready acquieſcence in the king's commands. Beſides the advantage of a perfect ſtate of domeſtic tranquillity, he enjoyed the ſatisfaction of living upon terms of amity with the neighbouring princes. The uſual tribute was regularly paid by the Philiſtines, as was the annual ſtipend of ſix hundred and thirty lambs, and an equal number of kids, by the the Arabians. As a ſecurity againſt invaſions, he kept his places of ſtrength in a ſtate of defence, and a well diſciplined body of troops in conſtant pay. Edra was appointed to the command of three hundred thouſand ſhield-bearers, ſelected from the tribe of Judah: and Johanan had the command of two hundred thouſand archers belonging to the tribe of Benjamin. Under another leader, named Ochobat, were one hundred and eighty thouſand men, armed with bucklers.

Jehoſhaphat joins with Ahab againſt the king of Syria, 2 Chron. xviii. 5.

A marriage was celebrated between Jehoram, the ſon of Jehoſhaphat, and Gotholia, daughter, of Ahab, who reigned over the ten tribes. Ahab provided a magnificent entertainment at Samaria for Jehoſhaphat and the troops by whom he was attended. Having meditated the recovery of Ramath-Gilead, which had been conquered by the king of Syria, Ahab requeſted the aſſiſtance of Jehoſhaphat, who conſented to unite his endeavours towards effecting the intended enterprize, and ſummoned his troops from Jeruſalem to Samaria. Theſe kings proceeded to a certain diſtance from the town, and each being ſeated on a throne, they reviewed and paid their troops. A peace having ſubſiſted for the ſpace of three years between Ahab, king of Iſrael, and Adad, king of Syria, Jehoſhaphat recommended that, if any prophets could be found, their advice ſhould be taken as to the expediency of commencing hoſtilities.

CHAP. X.

Zedekiah pretends that Ahab will conquer. Michaiah predicts to the contrary. An engagement takes place, in which Ahab is the only man ſlain. Ahaziah, the ſon of the deceaſed king, ſucceeds to the throne of Iſrael.

AHAB called an aſſembly of the prophets, and the number that attended amounted to about four hundred. He directed them to make enquiry, whether an attempt to recover the city of Ramath would be attended with ſucceſs. They unanimouſly recommended a war, aſſuring him that Adad would be again vanquiſhed, and made his captive. Jehoſhaphat conceiving a ſuſpicion that theſe men were not favoured by the Almighty, he queſtioned Ahab, as to whether there were not other prophets to whoſe advice he might have recourſe. He replied, that there was another of the order, named Michaiah, being the ſon of Imla, but that he diſliked the man for having predicted only unfortunate events, and had ordered him into impriſonment, for having preſumed to declare to him, that he ſhould loſe his life in the approaching war with the king of Syria. However, Jehoſhaphat adviſed that Michaiah might be called into the preſence of Ahab; and an eunuch, who was an attendant of the bed-chamber, was diſpatched to conduct him from the jail. During the progreſs of their journey, the meſſenger related that the prophets had reported the event of the war would prove favourable to Ahab. Michaiah declared, that whatever ſhould be dictated by the inſpiration of the Almighty, he would, without prevarication or reſerve, report to the king.

Upon the arrival of Michaiah, Ahab ſolemnly enjoined him to pronounce the truth, without extenuating or aggravating the moſt minute circumſtance. Upon this, the prophet ſaid, he had in a viſion ſeen the people of Iſrael diſperſed, and without a ſhepherd, while the Syrians were in purſuit of them; adding, that by this repreſentation the Almighty had ſignified, that the king would loſe his life in the engagement, but that the reſt of the people of Iſrael would return in ſafety. Having heard this prophecy pronounced, Ahab aſked Jehoſhaphat whether he was not convinced that he was juſtifiable in ordering the man into confinement. Upon this, Michaiah ſaid, "I have faithfully reported to you what was the effect of divine inſpiration:

but by giving credit to the deluſions of falſe prophets, you are diſpoſed to engage in a war, which will aſſuredly produce your deſtruction." The firm and confident manner in which the prophet expreſſed himſelf, greatly diſturbed the mind of the king. One of the falſe prophets, named Zedekiah, inſiſted that Michaiah had reported a palpable fiction; and to confirm this aſſertion, ſaid, he had ſpoken in direct contradiction to Elias, who had foretold, that the king's blood ſhould be licked by dogs in the field of Naboth, where thoſe animals had licked the blood of the proprietor of the ground. "I will now, ſaid Zedekiah, ſtrike this man on the face, and if he be poſſeſſed of divine inſpiration, may my arm wither, as did that of Jeroboam, when he lifted it up againſt the prophet Jadon." He then ſtruck Michaiah; and Ahab perceiving that no judgment followed, he was more confirmed in the deſign of purſuing hoſtilities againſt the king of Syria. Zedekiah now preſented to the king horns of iron, ſaying, the Almighty had pronounced them to be emblematical of the Syrians being driven to the laſt extremity, and totally overthrown. Michaiah told the impoſtor Zedekiah, that for the deluſive practices he had been guilty of, he would be ſpeedily called to a ſtrict account, and be driven to the neceſſity of eluding his purſuers, by flying from one place of concealment to another. Theſe words ſo highly exaſperated Ahab, that he commanded Achamon *, the governor of the city, to impriſon the prophet, allowing him no other ſuſtenance than bread and water, till he ſhould return from the war.

The two confederate kings marched towards Ramath, from whence Adad came forth at the head of his troops, to oppoſe them. It was agreed by Jehoſhaphat and Ahab that the latter ſhould fight in the diſguiſe of a private habit, as a means of evading the fate predicted by the prophet. Adad commanded his officers to direct their arms againſt the king of Iſrael, without regard to any other perſon. Perceiving Jehoſhaphat at the head of his troops, and ſuppoſing him to be Adad, the Syrians preſſed hard upon him; but diſcovering their error, they retreated from that part of the field. But at length a domeſtic in the ſervice of Adad, named Aman, diſcharged a random arrow, which paſſing between the joints of Ahab's armour, penetrated his lungs. Believing himſelf to be mortally wounded, and apprehending that, if this circumſtance were known, it might diſpirit his army, the king ordered his charioteer to remove him to a ſmall diſtance from the ſcene of action. He remained in his chariot till about ſun ſet, when the wounded monarch expired, being the only man ſlain in the conteſt. Upon the death of Ahab being proclaimed by a herald the armies diſperſed. The remains of the king were conveyed from Ramath to Samaria, and there interred. Upon waſhing the blood of the deceaſed monarch from his chariot, in a fountain adjacent to the ſpot where he yielded up his laſt breath, the dogs licked it up, whereby the prophecy of Elias was verified. This fountain was afterwards uſed as a bathing place for common women. Ahab was ſucceeded in the ſovereignty by his ſon Ahaziah.

Ahab killed by a rando arrow, 33.

Ahaziah ſucceeds to the throne of Iſrael. 1 King XXII 56.

---

* Script. Amon,

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS,

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK IX.

From the Year of the World 3048 *to* 3224.

CHAPTER I.

Jehoſhaphat ſubdues the Moabites, the Ammonites, and the Arabians. Ahaziah dies, as Elias had predicted, and is ſucceeded by his brother Jehoram. Jehoſhaphat, and the king of Idumea, gain a victory over the Moabites. The death of Jehoſhaphat.

Jehu rebukes Jehoſhaphat, 2 Chron. xix. 1.

ON his return to Jeruſalem, Jehoſhaphat was met by the prophet Jehu, who informed him, that he had incurred the diſpleaſure of the Almighty, by eſpouſing the cauſe, and thereby abetting the flagitious iniquities of Ahab; adding, however, that in conſideration of the righteouſneſs and virtue he had manifeſted on former occaſions, his offences ſhould be pardoned, and he ſhould prove victorious over his enemies. In conſequence hereof, the king humbled himſelf in prayer before the Almighty, offered up ſacrifice, and appointed commiſſioners to make a general viſitation through his dominions, for the purpoſe of enforcing a ſtrict obſervance of the ancient forms of religion, and the laws and precepts of Moſes. He alſo authoriſed magiſtrates impartially to adminiſter public juſtice, in all the cities and principal towns within his juriſdiction. Good order and regularity being by theſe meaſures of prudence eſtabliſhed in the two tribes, the king continued his journey to Jeruſalem, where, from among the prieſts and Levites, he ſelected judges, who were directed to act in ſtrict conformity with the principles of juſtice. Amaziah*, the prieſt, was appointed to preſide in holy matters, and Zebediah in civil.

The Moabites, Ammonites, &c. make war upon Jehoſhaphat, 2 Chron. xx. 1.

About this period, the Moabites, Ammonites, and Arabians, having hired great numbers of troops, advanced to the city of Engedi, near the lake of Aſphaltites, about thirty-eight miles from Jeruſalem, with a view of giving battle to Jehoſhaphat; who no ſooner learnt that they had paſſed the lake, than he convened an aſſembly, and ſtanding before the temple, implored the protection of Heaven againſt the enemy. This was agreeable to the cuſtom of our anceſtors from the firſt erection of that building: for, on all appearances of danger from an enemy, the people were accuſtomed to aſſemble there, and offer up their united prayers that God would maintain the inheritance which he had beſtowed on them. The tears of Jehoſhaphat accompanied his prayers, in which he was joined by the whole aſſembly, including even the women and children.

---

*Amaziah was conſtituted a Judge in eccleſiaſtical concerns, and Zedekiah to preſide in civil affairs. See Seldon de Synedr. Hebr. Lib. II. c. VIII. 244, 245, Ed. Amſtel.

During their devotions, Jahaziel, a prophet, ſaid, that their prayers were heard, and God would grant them victory in defence of their religion. He adviſed them to march the next day, ſaying, they ſhould find their enemies encamped on a hill called Sis (ſignifying an eminence) between Jeruſalem and Engedi; where God would fight the battle for them, while they might only look on, as ſpectators of the action. When the prophet had ended, Jehoſhaphat and his people fell on the ground in adoration, while the hymns and muſical inſtruments of the Levites accompanied their devotions.

Jehoſhaphat obtains a victory, 22, 23.

On the following day, the king roſe early, and going into the deſart near the city of Tekoa, told the people to rely on God by believing his prophet, and not to form in battle array. He directed the prieſts with their trumpets to advance, followed by the Levites and ſingers, as on a day of victory and triumph. This advice being obeyed, the Almighty ſtruck ſuch a terror into the enemy, that they attacked each other, and fought with ſuch incredible fury, that they all fell ſacrifices to their mutual rage. On a view of the valley, Jehoſhaphat found it covered with dead bodies, and triumphantly rejoicing in a victory obtained without bloodſhed, permitted the ſoldiers to make a booty of all the ſpoil, which was ſo conſiderable as to employ three days in removing it from the field.

On the fourth day, the people aſſembled in the valley of Beracha, where they offered thanks to God for the merciful extion of his power. From this circumſtance the place was called the valley of bleſſings, which name it ſtill retains. The army then proceeded to Jeruſalem, where ſacrifices were performed and feſtivals obſerved on ſeveral ſucceſſive days. This ſignal victory impreſſed all the ſurrounding nations with an opinion, that Jehoſhaphat was a man of great righteouſneſs, and on that account peculiarly favoured by Heaven. Jehoſhaphat and Ahaziah, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Ahab, contracted a ſtrict friendſhip; and theſe princes, in conjunction, fitted out a fleet for the gold trade; but the whole project failed, partly through tempeſtuous weather, and partly on account of the ſhips being conſtructed in a manner ill adapted to the ſeas they were to navigate.

Ahaziah being in danger of his life by a fall, ſends to conſult the god Accaron about his recovery.

In the ſecond year of the reign of Ahaziah, the king of the Moabites refuſed him the tribute he had been accuſtomed to pay to his father. About this time, Ahaziah had the misfortune to fall down the ſtairs of his palace in Samaria, and was ſo much hurt, that his life was endangered. In conſequence of this, he ſent meſſengers to enquire of the deity worſhipped by the people of Accaron *, whether the accident would prove fatal to him. The Almighty now commanded the prophet Elias to inform the meſſengers, that the Hebrews had a God of their own, and that the bruiſes he had received would be the cauſe of the king's death. Having related what they had been told to the king, he was ſo exaſperated againſt Elias, that he ſent an officer and a party of men to apprehend him. Diſcovering him on the ſummit of a mountain, the officer commanded him to deſcend, and accompany him into the king's preſence, when Elias ſaid, "To prove that I am not an impoſtor, but a true prophet, I will perform a miracle: if I am a faithful ſervant of the Almighty, let fire now deſcend from Heaven and deſtroy thee and thy fifty followers." No ſooner were theſe words pronounced, than a fire came down from Heaven, and conſumed the whole party. Intelligence of this awful circumſtance being conveyed to the king, he diſpatched a ſecond party of fifty men, under the command of an officer, with orders to bring Elias before him. Upon the captain repeating the ſame peremptory demand, he and his attendants were inſtantly conſumed by a fire from Heaven. Another officer being ſelected to lead a party of ſoldiers to take Elias into cuſtody, he reſpectfully addreſſed the prophet, ſaying that the commiſſion he was appointed to execute was extremely ungrateful to him as it had been to thoſe who had preceded him, requeſting him, in compaſſion to himſelf and his companions, to attend them into the king's preſence. The civility of this man's behaviour had ſuch an effect upon Elias, that he immediately deſcended from the mountain, and accompanied him to the king, when being animated by the Divine ſpirit, he ſpoke in the following manner: "Since you deny my exiſtence, and confide in the imaginary being worſhipped by the Accaronites, be aſſured, that your death ſhall be the conſequence of your diſobedience."

The king ſends an officer to ſeize Elias, ver. 9.

Elias foretells the death of Ahaziah, 15, 16.

Jehoram ſucceeds him. 1

In a ſhort time the above prophecy was accompliſhed: and as Ahaziah died without iſſue, he was ſucceeded in the ſovereignty by his brother Jehoram, who in contempt of the religion of his anceſtors,

---

* Script. Ekron.

practiſed idolatrous worſhip, and in other reſpects abuſed thoſe talents for public buſineſs with which nature had bleſſed him.

as tranſ-
ed to
aven.
Kings. II.
1.

About this time Elias was tranſlated to Heaven, as Enoch was before the flood, as the Scripture records. Elias was ſucceeded by his diſciple Eliſha, whom we have already mentioned.

Jehoram ſucceeding his brother in the government, determined to go to war with Meſha, king of the Moabites, on his refuſal to pay an annual tribute of two hundred thouſand unſhorn ſheep, in conſideration of what had been heretofore paid to Ahab his father. For this purpoſe, he firſt raiſed an army, and then ſolicited the aſſiſtance of Jehoſhaphat, who promiſed not only his own aſſiſtance, but that of the king Idumea. Jehoram marched to Jeruſalem, where the king received and entertained him in a ſumptuous manner. A council being held by the kings of Jeruſalem, Iſrael and Idumea, they reſolved to direct their courſe through the deſart of Idumea, as a way leaſt likely to give alarm to the enemy. Thus determined, they ſet forwards; but at the end of ſeven days were ſo diſtreſſed for water, both for men and cattle, that they ſunk into the utmoſt deſpondency. Jehoram was ſo diſtreſſed, that he impatiently exclaimed, "What have we three kings done, that we ſhould become captives to the king of the Moabites, without a conteſt?" Jehoſhaphat adviſed Jehoram to enquire if there was not a prophet in the army, of whom advice might be aſked. This being heard by a ſervant, he ſaid that Eliſha, the diſciple of Elias, was at hand; and of him the three kings went in ſearch. Having found his tent, which was on the borders of the camp, Jehoram, enquired the fate of the army; to which Eliſha anſwered, "You ſhould have applied to the prophets of your parents, and not have troubled me." Jehoram being ſtill anxious for an anſwer, for the ſake of ſaving the lives of ſo many people; the prophet declared, that if it was not for the piety of Jehoſhaphat, he would not give any anſwer; but thus ſaying, he directed a muſician to be called; and while he was ſinging, the prophet, being inſpired by the ſpirit of God, told the kings to cut ditches, which ſhould be ſupplied with water ſufficient for themſelves and their cattle; and that there ſhould be no drought henceforward. "Nor is this all, (ſaid the prophet,) God will enable you to overcome your enemies; to deſtroy their plantations, choak up their rivers and fountains, and lay waſte their country." Early in the morning, after this prophecy, a violent torrent came down from Idumea, ſo that men and horſes were abundantly ſupplied with water.

A torrent of water comes from the mountains. 20.

The king of Moab being apprized that the three kings were on the march to attack him, collected all the forces he could, to meet them on the borders, whether either army was juſt arrived, when the beams of the riſing ſun playing on the waters of the torrent, the Moabites thought it was blood, and concluded, that the invaders had quarrelled with and deſtroyed each other, which had produced this conſequence. Hereupon they went to their king, and aſked permiſſion to rifle the enemy's camp; which being granted, they ruſhed forward in the utmoſt diſorder: but being immediately attacked on every ſide, many of them were ſlain, and the reſt ſo routed that it was with difficulty they retreated home. In the interim, the three kings entered the land of the Moabites, razed their cities and towns, drove off their cattle, and covered the paſture-grounds with gravel and ſand from the the torrent; cut down their trees and woods, levelled their walls with the ground, and choaked up their ſprings and fountains. The king flying to one of his towns for refuge, he was there beſieged, and fearing the place would be taken by aſſault, he made a deſperate ſally at the head of ſeven hundred cavalry, with a deſign of breaking through the enemy's troops: but being unable to accompliſh that purpoſe, he again retired into the town. He now committed an act at the relation of which humanity muſt ſhudder. On the walls of the city, he offered up his eldeſt ſon as a ſacrifice, in view of the enemy. Conſidering this act of barbarity as the effect of the moſt wretched deſperation, the confederate kings, compaſſionating his miſerable circumſtances, raiſed the ſiege, and their armies being diſmiſſed, the men returned to their reſpective habitations. The remaining part of Jehoſhaphat's life was peaceable and happy; but he ſurvived the above expedition only a ſhort time. He died in Jeruſalem in the ſixtieth year of his age, and the twenty fifth of his reign; and was buried in that city, with great pomp and magnificence.

The Moabites diſperſed and their country laid waſte, 25, &c.

The king of Moab ſacrifices his ſon. The kings relent upon this horrid ſpectacle, and break up the ſiege, ibid.

CHAP. II.

Jehoram the ſon of Jehoſhaphat ſucceeds to the government. Miracles wrought by Eliſha. Adad beſieges Jehoram in Samaria. The miraculous raiſing of the ſiege. After ſtrangling Adad, Hazael uſurps the government of Syria and Damaſcus. The exceſſive wickedneſs of Jehoram, againſt whom Eliſha denounces dreadful judgments.

OF the ſeveral ſons of Jehoſhaphat, he appointed Jehoram, the eldeſt, his ſucceſſor in the government. He was named after his mother's brother, the king of Iſrael, who was lately returned to Samaria, from the war againſt the Moabites, accompanied by the prophet Eliſha. Upon his arrival in Samaria, the wife of Obadiah, Ahab's ſteward, applied to Eliſha, obſerving that he could not be ignorant of the implacable enmity of Jezebel towards the prophets, and informing him, that her huſband had maintained an hundred of them in the caves, and thereby involved himſelf conſiderably in debt, in conſequence of which, herſelf and her children were become ſlaves to the creditors. In conſideration of theſe circumſtances, ſhe requeſted the prophet to afford her ſome relief; whereupon he enquired of her, what her houſe contained; and upon her ſaying, that ſhe had nothing more than a ſmall quantity of oil, he directed her to borrow as many empty veſſels as ſhe could procure from her neighbours, and, after faſtening her chamber-door, to pour a little of the oil into each, and ſhe would find that, by the power of God, all the veſſels would be filled. She acted accordingly, and then returned to the prophet, giving him a particular account of her proceedings: when he directed her to ſell the oil, and diſcharge her debts with the produce, after which ſomething would be left for the relief of herſelf and her family. Thus was ſhe delivered from thoſe obligations that had proved extremely diſagreeable to her. Being informed that Ahad had projected a plot for taking away the life of Jehoram, he informed the latter, that the other had ſtationed an ambuſh to attack him, while he was purſuing the chace, and therefore adviſed him to decline his intention of hunting in that part of the country, which precaution being obſerved, the murderous deſign of the conſpirators was diſappointed; which ſo inflamed the rage of Ahad, that he vehemently upbraided his adherents with infidelity in divulging a ſecret, which he had communicated only to them. One of them replied, that he was not warrantable in accuſing them of betraying his councils, ſince his ſuſpicions would have been levelled with more propriety againſt Eliſha, who had the faculty of penetrating into the moſt ſecret operations of his mind. The king now ſent meſſengers to diſcover the abode of Eliſha; and upon their reporting to him, that he was at Dothan, he diſpatched chariots and horſemen with orders to take him into cuſtody. Ahad's ſoldiers having ſurrounded the town in the night, early in the morning the prophet was informed by his ſervant of the ſituation of affairs, when, to appeaſe the man's alarm and conſternation, he admoniſhed him to preſerve his courage, at the ſame time, praying for ſome token from Heaven, as a means of confirming the faith of his attendant. In conſequence hereof, a multitude of chariots and horſes appeared in the air about Eliſha, as if to guard his perſon; and this mircale entirely diſſipated the man's fears, both on his own and his maſter's account.

Obadiah's widow miraculouſly relieved.

Upon Eli
prayer, a b
of armed m
are ſeen in
the air, as
guard up a
his perſon.
2 Kings iv.
ver. 17.

Eliſha now implored the Almighty to blind his enemies to ſuch a degree, that they ſhould not know him from any other perſon; which petition being complied with, he went among the troops, and demanded who and what they were ſearching for. Being told they were in ſearch of the prophet Eliſha, he bid them follow him, and he would conduct them to the place where he was. Now their intellects being as much clouded as their eyes, they followed him to Samaria, and were no ſooner within the city, than he deſired Jehoram to cauſe the gates to be ſhut, and the Syrians to be ſurrounded by ſoldiers. The prophet now prayed that the captives might be reſtored to ſight; and his prayers being heard, they were aſtoniſhed to find that they were within the walls of Samaria, and wholly at the mercy of the inhabitants.

Adad's ſoldiers are ſtruck blind, ver. 18.

The affrighted Syrians were doubting how to act in this ſituation, when the king adviſed that they might be put to death; but to this the prophet objected, as a diſhonourable proceeding, except towards perſons conquered in war: "Theſe men (ſaid he) had no hoſtile intentions againſt this country, and appear to be mere agents in the hand of providence." The prophet, therefore, adviſed that they ſhould be treated hoſpitably, and left to their own liberty, after they had been properly entertained. Hereupon, Jehoram, in purſuance of the prophet's advice, entertained them liberally, and diſmiſſed them. On their return, they gave the king their maſter a minute account of what had happened, which greatly affected him, and convinced him that this miracle was wrought by the immediate hand of Heaven, and that the prophet was divinely inſpired when he delivered the prediction in the name of God. Adad reſolved, that henceforward, he would never ſeek to injure the king of Iſrael in a treacherous manner: but, confiding in his numbers and ſtrength, would engage him in open war.

Thus reſolved, Adad collected a numerous army, with which he marched againſt Jehoram; who thinking his forces inadequate to the riſque of a battle in the plains, remained within the walls of Samaria; which being ſtrongly fortified, Adad heſitated, whether he ſhould aſſault the place or endeavour to reduce it by famine. At length the town was beſieged, and the garriſon was ſo

Ahad lays ſiege to Samaria. 2 Kings i. 19.

ſo reduced for want of proviſions, that the head of an aſs was ſold for eighty pieces of ſilver,[*] and five pieces[†] was the price of a pint and a half[‡] of pigeon's dung, as the ſauce for it. In this diſtreſs Jehoram was apprehenſive, that ſome perſon might inform the enemy how greatly the famine had reduced them; for which reaſon he daily walked round the fortifications, had an eye upon the guards, and was very attentive that no ſpy ſhould privately enter the city, nor any other clandeſtine meaſure be practiſed by the enemy.

While the king was thus engaged, a woman accoſted him, claiming his attention. Imagining that ſhe came to aſk charity, he ſaid, he was unable to yield her aſſiſtance, having neither granaries nor wine preſſes. Upon this, ſhe told him, that ſhe came not to obtain food, but juſtice, requeſting that he would determine a controverſy ſubſiſting between another woman and herſelf. Upon the king deſiring her to explain the nature of her buſineſs, ſhe ſaid, that her adverſary and herſelf having each a male child, they had agreed to kill the infants, to appeaſe their hunger; that her own child was killed and dreſſed the preceding day, when the other woman partook of it: but when ſhe demanded her ſhare of the ſurviving child, its mother broke her contract, and conveyed the infant into a place of concealment. Driven nearly to diſtraction by this horrid narrative, Jehoram tore his garments, vehemently exclaiming, that till then he had no comprehenſion of the exceſs of miſery of which human nature was capable: adding, that this calamity might have been avoided, if the prophet had interceded with God in his behalf, but that for having neglected ſo to do, his life ſhould be immediately ſacrificed. While under this impulſe of rage, the king diſpatched an officer with orders to cut off Eliſha's head.

Two women covenant to eat their children by turns, 2Kings I. 19. ver. 28, 29.

Being informed of Jehoram's reſolution by the Divine ſpirit, Eliſha told his diſciples, that an officer and a party of ſoldiers were commiſſioned to deſtroy him; therefore, he ordered, that when the men ſhould approach the houſe, the door ſhould be ſhut, and he kept ſo till the arrival of the king, who, he ſaid, had relented, and was then on his way to revoke his command.

The doors were accordingly kept cloſed till the arrival of Jehoram, who upon being admitted into the houſe, reproached the prophet for neglecting to ſupplicate Heaven to alleviate the dreadful calamities to which the people were reduced. Upon this, the prophet ſaid, that by the ſame hour on the following day, proviſions ſhould be ſo plentiful in Samaria, that the market meaſure [‖] of fine flour ſhould ſell only for a ſhekel,[††] and two meaſures of barley for the ſame ſum. The king and his attendants, who had received ſufficient proofs of Eliſha's veracity, confided in the above prediction; but a favourite courtier, who had the command of a third part of the army, ſaid to Eliſha, that the matter he had pretended would come to paſs, was as improbable as that flour and barley ſhould deſcend from Heaven like rain. The prophet told the officer, that what he had predicted would infallibly happen, of which he ſhould be a witneſs, without participating in the relief that would be afforded to the reſt of the king's ſubjects.

Eliſha promiſes that the famine in Samaria ſhall end in twenty four hours. 2 Kings, viii. 1.

It was a cuſtom with the Samaritans, not to permit any leprous perſons to reſide in the city, and at this time four men ſo afflicted had habitations without the walls. The famine in Samaria raged with ſuch violence, that theſe miſerable people could not hope to procure proviſions from thence, and if they remained in their preſent ſituation, they could expect nothing but ſpeedy deſtruction. They therefore determined to ſubmit themſelves to the mercy of the enemy, who would either afford them relief, or put them to immediate death; a fate which they conſidered as preferable to that of periſhing through want of food. They accordingly departed by night, and on their approaching the camp, it pleaſed the Almighty to ſtrike the imagination of the Syrians with the idea, that they heard the trampling of horſes, and the noiſe of armed men on the march. Hereupon they informed Adad, that Jehoram and his allies were on the march within hearing. This ſtory was the more readily believed by Adad, becauſe his own imagination had painted the ſame ſcene: and every man now began to ſhift for himſelf, the whole army retir-

---

[*] The pieces here meant were Drachmas and the Hebrew Drachma was equivalent to the Roman Denarius, which according to Dom Calmet, and the beſt authors, weighed two penny weights, ſix grains, and three fourths, and was in value, ſix pence three farthings, and three eights; fourſcore therefore muſt weigh nine ounces, two penny weights, and twelve grains, and in value amount to two pounds, five ſhillings, and ſeven pence half penny, Engliſh money.

[†] Five Drachmas weighed eleven penny weight, nine grains and an half, and were worth two ſhillings and ten pence, ſeven eighths.

[‡] The word we have here tranſlated a pint and an half, ſignifies in the original, the ſame as the Roman Sextarius, which, according to the beſt authors, approached neareſt to that quantity of our meaſure.

[‖] The third part of a Epha, and ſomething more than twenty pints Engliſh wine meaſure.

[††] A ſhekel, as we have ſaid before was worth about two ſhillings and ſeven pence Engliſh.

The Syrians abandon their camp in a panick terror, v. 5—7.

ing in confuſion, each anxious to ſave his own life, and leaving all the horſes, carriages and treaſure, behind them. The lepers arriving at the tents of the Syrians, and finding all quiet refreſhed themſelves with eating, and drinking, and then carried away gold and other rich effects which they buried in a hole dug for that purpoſe. Having four times loaded themſelves in this manner, and finding the enemy quite retreated, they conſidered that they ought, on the firſt diſcovery, to have acquainted Jehoram, and the people in the city, with this event: on which they haſtened back to Samaria, and arriving at the walls of the city, called aloud to the watch, that the camp was abandoned by the enemy. They likewiſe ſent notice hereof by the king's guards: on which a council was ſummoned, to whom Jehoram delivered his opinion, that it was an artifice of the enemy to draw his ſubjects into an ambuſh. "Probably, (ſaid he), they deſpaired of ſtarving us, and have therefore had recourſe to this ſtratagem. Now, for this reaſon, I would be guarded againſt this treachery, and not embark in an affair that may totally ruin our cauſe." Hereupon, one of the council, premiſing that his majeſty had formed a right judgment, hinted that it would be proper to ſend two horſemen as far as Jordan to learn the truth: that if they ſhould be made priſoners, the loſs would not be great and it might ſerve as a caution in future. The king acceded to this propoſal, and diſpatched the meſſengers, who ſoon returned with an account that not an enemy was to be ſeen; but that there was plenty of corn and arms, and abundance of other articles which the Syrians appeared to have left in their hurry. This intelligence induced the king to ſend out people to pillage the camp of Adad, where they obtained an immenſe booty in gold ſilver, horſes and other cattle, and an amazing quantity of corn: ſo great, indeed, that the former ſcarcity was forgotten in the preſent plenty; and agreeable to Eliſha's prophecy, a meaſure of flour and two of barley, were ſold each for a ſhekel; containing a buſhel and a half, Italian meaſure: but the officer before-named, who commanded a third of the army, received no benefit thereby, for, being ſtationed at the gate, by the king's command, he was cruſhed to death by the crowd, as a judgment in diſcrediting the prophecy of Eliſha.

By this time Adad had retired to Damaſcus; and having learnt that the haſty retreat from the camp was the conſequence only of their own fears, he conſidered it as the immediate judgment of Heaven, and fell ill, through the anxiety of his mind. Eliſha now advanced towards Damaſcus, which Adad being informed of, he ſent Hazael with rich preſents to the prophet, and bad him enquire whether the king would ſurvive his diſeaſe. Forty camels being loaded with valuable effects, Hazael proceeded on his commiſſion, and meeting the prophet, ſaluted him with the moſt profound reſpect, produced his preſents, and aſked him, in the king's name, what would be the iſſue of his diſorder. Eliſha ſaid the king would not ſurvive; but requeſted Hazael to conceal that intelligence from him. This information greatly diſturbed Hazael, who upon obſerving the prophet weep bitterly, deſired to be informed of the cauſe of his ſorrow. Eliſha ſaid, he could not ſuppreſs his grief for the miſeries he would bring upon the Hebrews; for he would deſtroy their cities by fire, put the principal men to the ſword, daſh their children to death againſt the ſtones, rip up the bellies of the pregnant women, and tear the unborn infants therefrom. Upon Hazael ſaying it was not poſſible he could be the author of ſuch complicated miſchiefs, Eliſha declared, that, by Divine communication, he was aſſured Hazael would ſucceed to the government of Syria. Hazael now departed, and informed Adad, that his health would be reſtored. He viſited the king next day, and then with a wet cloth ſtrangled him; immediately after which he took poſſeſſion of the palace, and uſurped the government. Adad and Hazael acquired great reputation in Syria and Damaſcus, on account of the temples and other public works they erected for the embelliſhment of the latter city, where their images are ſtill carried about the ſtreets, as in oſtentation of their antiquity, though it is but of eleven hundred years ſtanding.

Eliſha foretells the miſerable fate of the Iſraelites, the death of Adad, and the promotion of Hazael. 2 Kings viii. v. 12, 13.

Hazael murders Adad, 15.

Jehoram, king of Iſrael, was happy to hear of the death of Adad, as it reſtored peace to his dominions. In the mean time, the other Jehoram, king of Judah, commenced his reign by murdering his own brothers, and his father's beſt friends, and committing every enormity that could mark him for the worſt of characters. His wife Gotholiah, daughter of Ahab, encouraged him in theſe proceedings, and was a principal inducement to his worſhipping of falſe gods. Though agreeable to the promiſe made to David, it was certain that God would not extirpate his family, yet Jehoram's courſe of impiety was ſuch, as ſeemed to ſolicit ſuch extirpation.

At this time, the Idumeans revolted from from Jehoram, who collecting an army of charioteers and horſe, invaded them by night: but being unable to perform any conſiderable exploit, he ſet fire to and plundered ſome towns on their confines, and then retreated. This attack did not terrify the inſurgents, but rather encouraged others to follow their example, and about this time the people of Libna likewiſe rebelled. Jehoram was now ſo profligate in his impiety, that he compelled the Iſraelites to worſhip falſe gods, in the groves and high places of the mountains. Thus did he proceed, in defiance of Heaven, till, at length, Eliſha ſent him a letter, importing that " his practice and example having been diametrically oppoſite to that of his anceſtors; his having ſeduced the tribe of Judah, and the citizens of Jeruſalem, to the worſhip of falſe gods, and other idolatrous practices, in contempt of the religion of their country after the evil example of Ahab; and cauſing the death of his own brothers, and other pious men, were offences for which a remorſeleſs enemy ſhould deſtroy his family and ſubjects, ſparing neither women nor children; and that, for himſelf, he ſhould be tortured with the moſt excruciating pains in the belly, till his bowels ſhould become rotten, and fall out by degrees."

CHAP. III.

The Arabians make an incurſion into the territories of Jehoram. His miſerable death. Jehoram is ſucceeded by his ſon Ahaziah.

horam's
ntry ra-
ged by the
abians,
Chron. xxi.
6.

SOON after the above prediction, a numerous army of the Arabians from the borders of Ethiopia, in conjunction with other Barbarians, made an inroad into the dominions of Jehoram, and not only ravaged the whole country, but alſo put all the king's wives and children to the ſword, except his ſon Ahaziah, who was with great difficulty preſerved from the fury of the invaders. Soon after this calamity, Jehoram was ſeized with the diſorder which the prophet had predicted, ſo that his bowels gradually fell from his belly. His ſubjects rejoiced at, and inſulted him under his affliction, conſidering it a judgment due to his execrable crimes. The people refuſed Jehoram's body the honour of a royal funeral, nor would they permit his remains to be depoſited in his father's ſepulchre. After a reign of eight years he died at the age of forty. He was ſucceeded in the government of Judah by his ſon Ahaziah.

haziah ſuc-
eds Jehoram
Chron. xxii.

CHAP. IV.

Jehoram, king of Iſrael, beſieges Ramath. and, after being wounded, retires to Jezreel. Jehu having taken the town by aſſault, he is anointed king of Iſrael, and commanded to extirpate the family of Ahab. He proceeds to Jezreel.

JEHORAM, king of Iſrael, conceived that the death of Adad afforded him a favourable proſpect for the recovery of Ramath-Gilead, and therefore, with a powerful army he laid ſiege to that city. On the firſt attack he received a wound from an arrow diſcharged by a Syrian, in conſequence of which, he appointed Jehu, the ſon of Amaſis, to the command of his army, and retired to Jezreel for the convenience of obtaining a cure. After his recovery, it was the deſign of Jehoram to maintain a war againſt the Syrians; but in the interim, Eliſha diſpatched one of his diſciples to Ramath, in order to anoint Jehu with holy oil, and declare him king of Iſrael, by the ſpecial appointment and authority of God. On the meſſenger's arrival at Ramath, he found Jehu in company with the principal officers of his army, and requeſted a ſhort conference with him in private, whereupon they retired together to the general's cloſet, where the young man poured the holy oil upon the general's head, informing him, that he was ſelected by the Almighty to aſcend the throne, and utterly deſtroy the houſe of Ahab; for as Jehoram, the ſon of Nebat, and Baaſha, had fallen ſacrifices to their crimes, ſo ſhould the whole family of Ahab become extinct, in revenge for the death of the prophets, whom Jezabel had cauſed to be barbarouſly murdered. Upon Jehu's return to the officers, they expreſſed much curioſity to be informed of the occaſion on which he had received a viſit from a ſtranger, whom they obſerved appeared to be diſordered in his ſenſes. Jehoram ſaid their conjecture was probably right; for, from his converſation he deemed the young man to be a lunatic. This evaſion, inſtead of ſatisfying, only ſerving to increaſe their curioſity, Jehu candidly declared, that the meſſenger had pronounced him king of Iſrael, by the command of the Almighty. Upon receiving this intelligence, the commanders placed their cloaks one upon another, in order to form a kind of temporary throne, and Jehu being ſeated thereon, they congratulated him on his ſucceſſion to the crown, while horns, trumpets, and other marſhall inſtruments were ſounded. Jehu now marched towards Jezreel, where Jehoram ſtill remained indiſpoſed in conſequence of his wound, and attended by his ſurgeons, Ahaziah, his ſiſter's ſon, having then repaired to that city, on a viſit to the wounded king.

Jehu anointed
king, and ordered to root
out the houſe
of Ahab.
2 Kings ix. 6.

CHAP. V.

Jehu puts Jehoram, and Aziah to death.

JEHU mounted his chariot, and being attended by a ſelect body of ſoldiers, proceeded towards the city of Jezreel. The approach of the troops being obſerved by a ſpy, he related his diſcovery to Jehoram, who immediately diſpatched a horſeman to learn of whom they were compoſed. Upon making this enquiry, Jehu ordered the man to fall into the rear and join the march. The ſpy having informed Jehoram that his meſſenger had joined the troops marching towards the town, he diſpatched another courier to procure intelligence, and he was alſo detained by Jehu. The king now mounted his chariot, and being accompanied by Ahaziah, the king of Judah, went forth towards Jehu, who ſtill continued his march at a moderate rate. Meeting Jehu in the field of Naboth, Jehoram queſtioned him concerning the ſtate of the army, when the other, regardleſs of the king's demand, reflected on his mother as being an abandoned proſtitute, and a witch. Hereupon, Jehoram obſerved to his kinſman Ahaziah, that a conſpiracy was formed for his deſtruction, and while preparing to ſeek for ſafety in flight, Jehu diſcharged an arrow, which penetrating his heart, he fell from his chariot, immediately after which, recollecting to have heard Elijah predict, that he and his whole family ſhould die in the field of Naboth, Jehu ordered Bidkar, who commanded a third part of his army, to caſt the body of Jehoram into that place, which was accordingly done. Ahaziah apprehending his own life to be in danger, turned into a private road, but being purſued, and ſtruck by an arrow from the bow of Jehu, he quitted his chariot, and mounting a horſe, eſcaped to the city of Megiddo, where he ſoon afterwards died in conſequence of his wound. He reigned one year, and in that ſhort period even ſurpaſſed his father in wickedneſs. His remains were buried in Jeruſalem.

The death of Ahaziah. 27.

CHAP. VI.

By the command of Jehu, Jezabel, the ſeventy ſons, and all the relations of Ahab, forty-two perſons of the family of Ahaziah, and all the prieſts of the Tyrian Baal, are put to death; and the temple dedicated to that idol is demoliſhed.

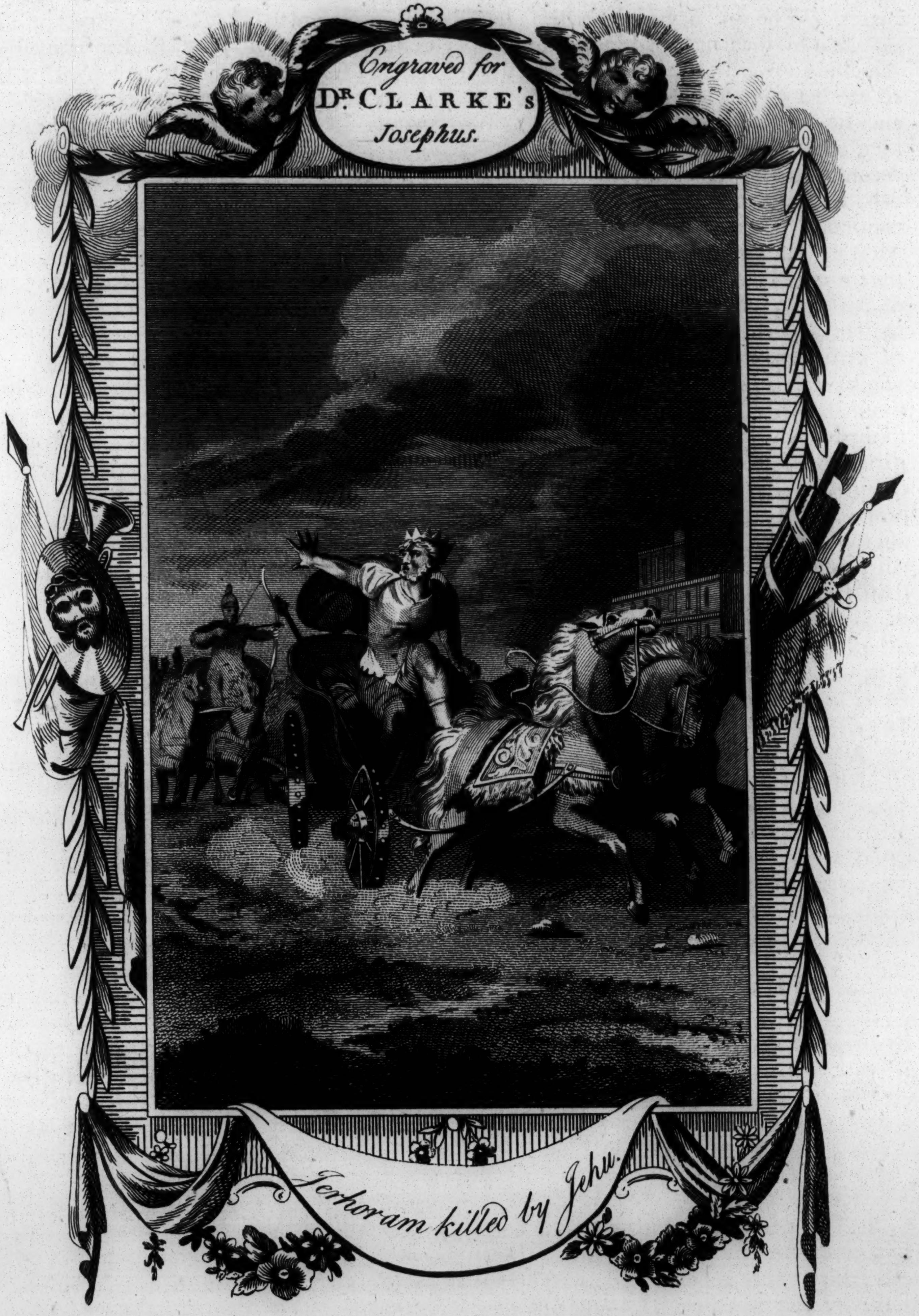
UPON occaſion of Jehu's public entry into the city of Jezreel, queen Jezabel, ſumptuouſly apparelled, placed herſelf at the window of a turret, in order to view the proceſſion; and as he paſſed ſhe tauntingly exclaimed, "He ſurely is a worthy ſubject who puts his ſovereign to death." Theſe words being heard by Jehu, he enquired who the woman was, and ordered her to deſcend; but upon her refuſing to comply, he commanded the eunuchs who attended her, to caſt her down. They obeyed; and the walls of the tower againſt which ſhe ſtruck in falling, were ſtained with her blood. Proceeding to the palace, Jehu and his followers rode over the body, and trampled it with the earth. After having remained a ſhort time in the palace, Jehu gave orders, that from a reſpect to the exalted ſtation of Jezabel, her domeſtics ſhould cauſe her remains to be buried, with the honours due to her rank; but only a part of the ſkull, the palms of her hands, and ſoles of her feet could be found, the reſt having been devoured by the dogs. This circumſtance gave the new king additional veneration towards the prophecies of Elijah, who had foretold, that in Jezreel, the fleſh of Jezabel ſhould be eaten by dogs.

Jezabel is ca down from a window upo the paveme 2 Kings ix. Ver. 3.

The dogs ea Jezabel's fle as was foreto ver. 36.

The ſeventy ſons of Ahab reſided at this time in Samaria. In order to be convinced of the diſpoſition of the people towards him, Jehu wrote letters to the governors of the young princes, and the principal magiſtrates of the town, expreſſing, that as they poſſeſſed numerous fortified towns, and other places of ſtrength, and were abundantly provided with troops, chariots, and every implement of war, it would be acting a commendable part to ſelect from the youths, one who ſhould be moſt worthy to aſſume the regal dignity, and under his command to avenge the death of their late ſovereign. Theſe letters which were written with a view to diſcover whether the people were attached to his intereſt, or diſpoſed to favour the cauſe of a competitor for the ſovereignty, being taken into conſideration, the reſult was, that it would be a highly impolitic, and dangerous procedure, to diſpute the power of a man who had already vanquiſhed two powerful kings: they therefore informed Jehu, that they would acknowledge the ſovereignty of no other man than himſelf. Jehu wrote again, requiring them, as a teſtimony of their obedience, to ſend him the heads and hands of the ſons of Ahab. Hereupon a conference was held between the magiſtrates and the governors of the princes, and they came to a reſolution of complying with the requiſition of Jehu. He was at ſupper when intelligence was delivered, that the heads and hands of the princes were arrived: he ordered them to be placed in heaps, one on each ſide of the palace gate. Going forth the following morning to view them, he ſaid to the multitude, "It is true that I killed the king, my maſter, but by whom have his ſons been ſlain?" He applied himſelf to convince the people, that the ſacrifice of the houſe of Ahab was agreeable to the will of the Almighty, and the prediction which he had dictated to the prophet. Having put

Ahab's ſeven ty ſons are put to death, 2 Kings x. ver. 7.


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE's
Josephus.

Jerhoram killed by Jehu.

Publish'd as the Act directs May 12;1786. by John Walker Paternoster Row.

BRITISH MUSEUM

put to death all the perſons he could diſcover of the family of Ahab, Jehu departed for Samaria. On his journey, he joined company with forty-two of the relations of Ahaziah, king of Jeruſalem, who informed him, that they were going to declare allegiance to Jehoram and Ahaziah; for they were ignorant that theſe perſons had been put to death by Jehu. Upon receiving this information, he cauſed the whole company to be ſlain.

Preſently afterwards, he met with a man of great righteouſneſs and integrity, named Jonadab, who highly commended his zealous endeavours for exterminating the family of Ahab. Upon the king's invitation, Jonadab accepted a place in his chariot, and on their way towards Samaria, Jehu told his companion, that he ſhould have occular demonſtration of the falſe prieſts, and prophets, and the other apoſtates from the true God, being put to death; adding, that men of virtue received ſatisfaction from inflicting merited puniſhment upon the wicked.

On their arrival in Samaria, Jehu cauſed all that could be found of the relations of Ahab to be ſlain. To prevent the eſcape of the falſe prophets, and idolatrous prieſts, he had recourſe to the following ſtratagem: declaring himſelf reſolved to enforce a more rigid attention to the worſhip of Baal, than his predeceſſor had obſerved, and that he meant to offer a great ſacrifice to that idol, he commanded all the prieſts and prophets to be preſent at an appointed time, on the penalty of forfeiting their lives. Having aſſembled, they were preſented with veſtments, in which they habited themſelves, preparatory to the practice of their idolatrous ceremonies. Accompanied by Jonadab, Jehu repaired to the temple, and cauſed all perſons to depart who were not the ſervants of the idol, under the pretext of not ſuffering the place to be prophaned by unqualified perſons joining in the ceremonials of religion. When they were on the point of proceeding to their abominable worſhip, upon a ſignal given by Jehu, fourſcore men ſtationed at the entrance, ruſhed into the building, and put all the falſe prieſts and prophets to the ſword. To purify the city from its ſacrilegious abominations, Jehu cauſed the palace to be entirely conſumed by fire. Ahab dedicated an altar to Baal, the idol of the Syrians, in memorial of Ithobal, his father-in-law, king of Tyre and Sidon, and appointed prieſts and prophets, and provided every requiſite appertaining to idolatrous worſhip. Though Jehu ſtill permitted the Iſraelites to pay adoration to the golden calves, in conſideration of the ſeverities he exerciſed upon the above degenerate race of apoſtates, the Almighty was pleaſed to ſignify to him, by the agency of a prophet, that his poſterity to the fourth generation ſhould reign over Iſrael.

The prieſts and prophets of the idol Baal deſtroyed, 25.

CHAP. VII.

Athaliah meditates the deſtruction of the houſe of David, in revenge for the death of Ahab. Jehoiada, the high-prieſt, preſerves the life of Jaaſh, the ſon of Ahaziah. Joaſh advanced to the throne of Judah. The death of Athaliah.

INtelligence of the devaſtation made by Jehu in the iniquitous family of her father being communicated to Athaliah, daughter of Ahab, king of Iſrael, and widow of Jehoram, king of Judah, ſhe formed the reſolution of avenging the loſs of her kindred, by ſo effectually exterminating the race of David, that not a man ſhould remain to boaſt an hereditary claim to the throne of Judah. In purſuance of this deſign, ſhe commanded all the ſons of Ahaziah to be ſlain; but the nurſe of Joaſh, who was then a year old, concealed the infant among the bodies of his deceaſed brethren; and upon Jehoſhabeth, ſiſter of Ahaziah, and wife of Jehoiada, the high-prieſt, entering the palace, ſhe perceived the child, and ſecretly conveyed him to her dwelling, and thence into the temple, where, without the circumſtance being known to any perſon except her huſband, ſhe carefully nouriſhed him during the ſix years of Athaliah's reign over the two tribes in Jeruſalem.

All Ahaziah's ſons put to death, but Joaſh, II Kings, XI 1, &c.

Jehoiada, in the ſeventh year, produced the child to five captains, and prevailed upon them to unite their endeavours towards inveſting him with the regal dignity. Having bound themſelves by an oath of fidelity and ſecrecy, the captains departed, in order to ſummon the prieſts, Levites, and the principal men of the tribes, in the name of the high-prieſt, to aſſemble at Jeruſalem. Being arrived, Jehoiada informed them that, on condition of engaging in an oath of ſecrecy, he would communicate to them a matter of the higheſt importance to the public weal, wherein he ſhould have occaſion to requeſt their aſſiſtance. He adminiſtered the oath, and then pointing to Joaſh, ſaid, "Behold your king: he is the only ſurviving branch of the houſe of David, whoſe poſterity it was the pleaſure of the Almighty to promiſe ſhould continue to reign over us. It is my advice, that you form yourſelf into three diviſions; one to guard the king in the temple; another to poſſeſs themſelves of the ſeveral avenues to the building; and the third to guard the open gate leading to the palace. Such as are unprovided with arms, may follow their inclinations, as to remaining in the temple;

Orders given for the ſecurity of the temple, and the perſon of Joaſh, 5, &c.

ple, or otherwiſe: but no perſons bearing weapons muſt be admitted to the building, unleſs they be prieſts." He appointed certain prieſts and Levites to remain near the king, as the guard of his perſon, keeping their ſwords conſtantly unſheathed, and to ſlay any man who ſhould attempt to force into the temple with arms; and to employ the utmoſt vigilance towards the perſonal ſafety of the new ſovereign. The people aſſembled on the occaſion, unanimouſly approved the conduct of the high-prieſt; whoſe next buſineſs was to open a magazine, and deliver to the centurions, prieſts, and Levites, arrows, lances, and other implements of war, which David had depoſited in the temple. The arms being diſtributed, the Centurions, prieſts, and Levites, ſtationed themſelves without the temple, entirely ſurrounding that building. Joaſh, with a royal crown upon his head, was now produced; and after being anointed with holy oil, the high-prieſt pronounced him king, with the uſual formalities, the ceremony being accompanied with repeated acclamations from the people attending on the occaſion, who joined in expreſſing their wiſhes, that he might long reign in happineſs and proſperity, and prove victorious over all his enemies.

The ſhouts of the people reaching the palace, Athaliah was thrown into great conſternation, and aſſembling her guards, ſhe repaired to the temple, where ſhe obtained immediate admittance: but her attendants were excluded. Obſerving Joaſh ſeated on a throne, and wearing a crown of royalty, ſhe pronounced him an uſurper, and demanded that he ſhould be immediately ſlain. Hereupon, Jehoiada ordered his officers to ſeize the queen, and put her to death at the brook of Kidron; adding that the puniſhment ſhe had merited ſhould be inſtantly inflicted upon her, but that the temple was not to be polluted with the blood of a woman ſo utterly abandoned to wickedneſs. The officers appointed to execute this commiſſion were likewiſe commanded, that if any perſons ſhould preſume to attempt a reſcue of the priſoner, they ſhould ſuffer immediate death.

Jehoida orders Athaliah to be put to death. 16.

After the ſentence pronounced againſt Athaliah had been executed, Jehoiada aſſembled the populace in the temple, and to adminiſter to them the oath of fidelity and allegiance to the young king, who bound himſelf under a ſolemn obligation to a faithful diſcharge of the duties of religion, and a rigid conformity with the commands of God, as tranſmitted to the Hebrews by Moſes. After theſe ſolemnities, the multitude repaired to the temple of Baal, which, with a view to ingratiate the favour of Ahab, Athaliah and her huſband Jehoram had erected, and utterly deſtroyed that building, at the ſame time putting to death an idolatrous prieſt named Mattan.

The holy temple was, according to the inſtitution of David, committed to the care of the prieſts and Levites; and, agreeably with the direction of Moſes, Jehoiada appointed two ſolemn ſacrifices, with incenſe, to be offered up every day; and from among the Levites he ſelected a number of perſons to attend at the gates, for preventing the building from being polluted by the preſence of unqualified people.

From the palace, Joaſh was conducted to the temple, where being ſeated on the throne, he was a ſecond time proclaimed king, amidſt the acclamations of the populace; who on this occaſion devoted ſeveral days to feaſting and mirth. The mother of Joaſh was a native of Beerſheba, named Zibiah. During the life of Jehoiada, the king ſtrictly adhered to the duties of religion, and the laws of his country. Having arrived to years of maturity, he obtained the approbation of the high-prieſt to eſpouſe two women, by each of whom he had iſſue of both ſexes.

CHAP. VIII.

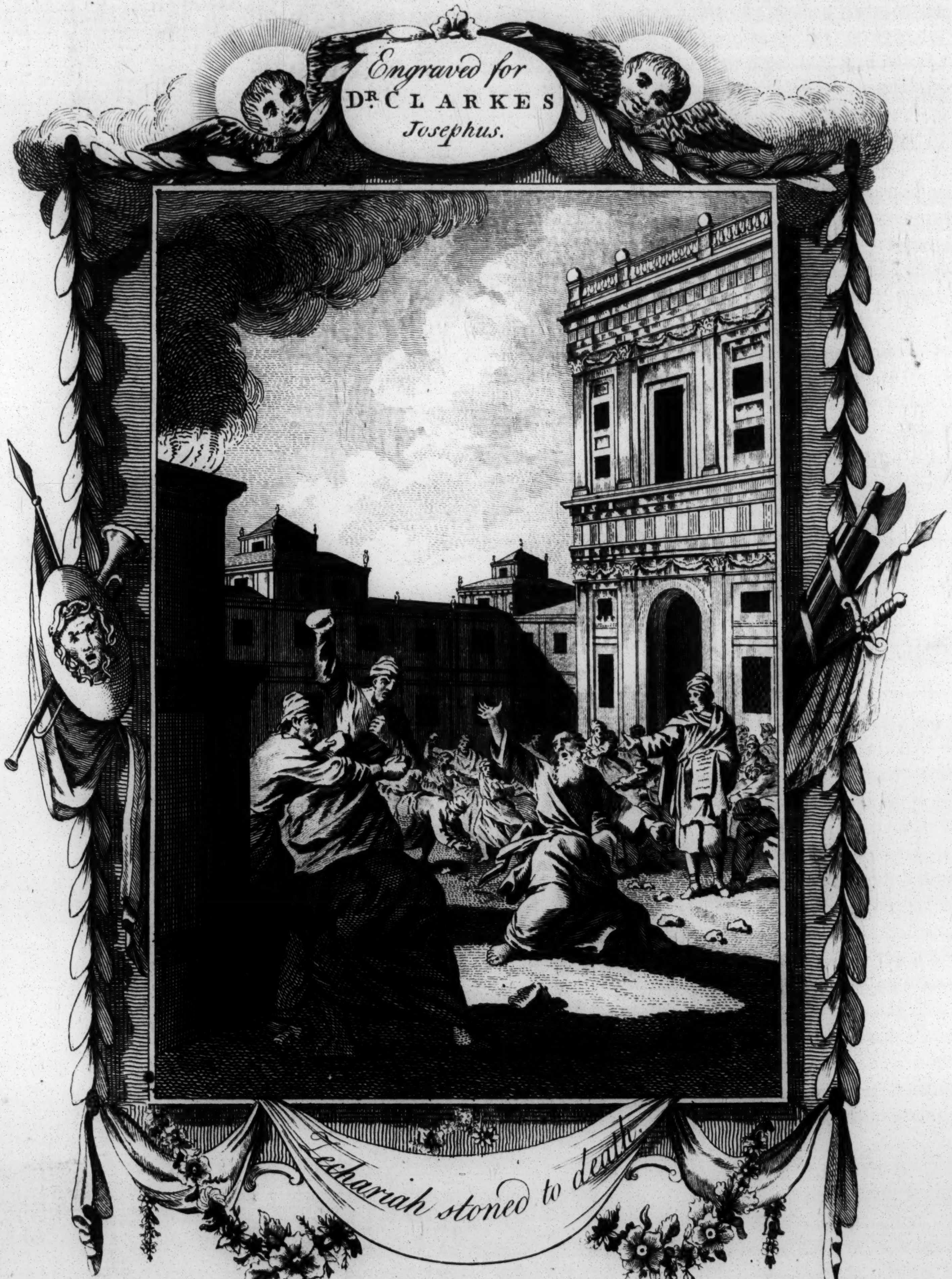
The death of Jehu; who is ſucceeded in the government by his ſon Jehoahaz. Joaſh, king of Jerſalem, repairs the temple. Jehoiada dies. The apoſtacy of Joaſh, who cauſes Zachariah to be ſtoned to death. Hazael beſieges Jeruſalem. Joaſh is murdered by the friends of Zachariah.

HAZAEL, king of Syria, maintained an obſtinate and bloody war againſt Jehu, king of the Iſraelites, laying waſte to a very extenſive tract of land eaſtward of the Jordan, committing great havock upon the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manaſſes, and burning to the ground the cities of Gilead and Batanea, the inhabitants whereof, without regard either to ſex or age, were indiſcriminately put to the ſword. In theſe enterpriſes, Hazael received but very inconſiderable oppoſition from Jehu, who had now degenerated into an impious contempt of the ſacred commands of the Almighty. In the twenty-ſeventh year of his reign over Iſrael, Jehu died; and his remains were buried at Samaria. Jehoahaz, the ſon of Jehu, ſucceeded to the throne of Iſrael.

Hazael makes war againſt the Iſraelites. 2 Kings x. 32.

Joaſh, the king of Jeruſalem, formed the reſolution of repairing the temple, which had ſuffered great injury in the days of Jehoram, Athaliah, and their ſons. He directed

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKES
Josephus.

Zechariah stoned to death.

Publish'd as the Act directs Sep^r. 21: 1786, by John Walker No. 44 Paternoster Row.

directed Jehoiada, the high-prieſt, to ſend certain prieſts and Levites to the ſeveral parts of his dominions for the purpoſe of raiſing a ſupply for repairing the temple, by impoſing a tax upon the people at the rate of a ſilver ſhekel by the head. Jehoiada being appriſed that the public were not in a diſpoſition to apply their money towards the propoſed contribution, omitted to put the king's commands in force. In the twenty-third year of his ſovereignty, Joaſh repeated his order to the high-prieſts and the Levites, and cenſured them for their former neglect. Jehoiada ſuggeſted a variety of expedients for raiſing the money, and at length, the following was adopted, as promiſing to be the leaſt burthenſome to the people. A cheſt made of wood was placed near the altar, and through the cover of this repoſitory an aperture was made, for the purpoſe of admitting donations. It was recommended to the people, to contribute towards the intended work, in proportion to their zeal for the holy religion. The public being perfectly ſatisfied with this mode of collecting the neceſſary ſum, they brought contributions of gold and ſilver in great abundance.

The cheſt was opened every day, and after the contributions had been counted in preſence of the king and regiſtered by the clerk of his treaſury, it was again locked by the prieſt entruſted with the cuſtody of the key. When it was found that ſufficient treaſure was accumulated for beginning the work, maſons, carpenters and other artificers were engaged, and the choiceſt timbers and other materials were provided. The reparations being compleated a conſiderable overplus of gold and ſilver, remained which was expended in chalices, goblets, cups, and other holy veſſels and utenſils. During the life of Jehoiada, a daily oblation of ſacrifices was made. He died in his hundred and thirtieth year; and in conſideration of his ſteady attachment to the houſe of David, and his exemplary righteouſneſs and virtue, his remains were depoſited in the ſepulchre of the kings.

The death of Jehoiada, Joaſh and his ſubjects become apoſtates 2 Chron. xxiv. 17, 18.

After the death of Jehoiada, Joaſh and the principal people of his dominions degenerated into a contempt of the worſhip of God, who, notwithſtanding the heinouſneſs of their guilt, was graciouſly pleaſed to ſend prophets to expoſtulate with them on their abominable apoſtacy: but the vengeance denounced againſt them, and the fate of their predeceſſors families, upon whom the judgment of Heaven had been inflicted, as a puniſhment for the enormity of their crimes, were not ſufficient to effect a reformation. Zachariah, the ſon of the deceaſed Jehoiada, exhorted the king and his ſubjects to repentance, as the only means of avoiding the dreadful judgments that would inevitably be the conſequence of perſiſting in their iniquities. But regardleſs of theſe ſalutary admonitions, and of the eminent ſervices rendered by his father, Joaſh cauſed Zachariah to be ſtoned to death in the temple. With his dying breath he appealed to the Almighty, as his judge and witneſs, that his life was made a ſacrifice for having adminiſtered good counſel, and for being the ſon of a man who had perſevered with unremitting zeal in the ſervice of the king.

Zachariah ſtoned to death, 21

A ſhort time after the death of Zachariah, Hazael conquered and pillaged the city of Gath, and then led his army towards Jeruſalem. Terrified by the approach of the Syrians, Joaſh propoſed a compoſition for raiſing the ſiege, and ſurrendered to Hazael the immenſe treaſure contained in the holy temple, in conſideration of his drawing off his troops. Joaſh being now ſeized with a violent illneſs, the friends of the deceaſed Zachariah, availing themſelves of that circumſtance, attacked him by ſupriſe, and put him to death, when he was forty-ſeven years of age. He was buried in Jeruſalem; but his daring crimes had rendered him an object of ſuch abhorrence to the public, that they denied his body a place in the royal ſepulchre.

CHAP. IX.

Amaziah ſucceeds Joaſh. Jehoahaz implores and obtains the aſſiſtance of God againſt Hazael. Upon the death of Jehoahaz, the government devolves upon his ſon Joaſh. Eliſha predicts the deſtruction of the Aſſyrians. Upon the death of Hazael, his Son Adad ſucceeds to the government.

JOASH was ſucceeded in the government of Judah by his ſon Amaziah. When Joaſh had reigned one-and-twenty years, Jehoahaz, the ſon of Jehu, aſſumed the government of Iſrael in Samaria, and exerciſed the powers thereof for ſeventeen years. He was a man of a character very different from his father; for he ſeemed to regulate his conduct according to the example of the moſt wicked of his anceſtors.

Hazael king of Syria, not only ſubdued and deſtroyed ſeveral of the cities of Jehoahaz, but alſo committed ſuch carnage in his armies as to reduce the force of that monarch to the inconſiderable number of ten thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe. It is to be remembered, that Eliſha predicted that Hazael would be the author of great calamities to the Iſraelites at the time when he informed him, that he would put his ſovereign to death, and uſurp the government of Syria and Damaſcus.

Driven to this calamitous exigency, Jehoahaz fervently ſupplicated the Almighty, for deliverance from the power and oppreſſion of Hazael: and God being pleaſed to accept his prayers, peace and happineſs were reſtored to his kingdom. Joaſh, the ſon of Jehoahaz, ſucceeded to the government of Iſrael and Samaria, in the thirty ſeventh year of the reign of his name ſake, Joaſh, king of Judah. He reigned ſixteen years, and was in all reſpects the reverſe of his father, being a man of moſt exemplary character. At this time Eliſha was very old; and being on his death bed, Joaſh made him a viſit, wept over him, and treated him as the father and friend of his country. He ſaid, that while the prophet lived, his prayers and predictions would defend the Iſraelites againſt their enemies, to whoſe mercy they would be expoſed after his deceaſe; and therefore he ſaid, he would rather die with, than ſurvive Eliſha.

The prophet was much affected with this generous ſorrow, and ordering a bow and arrows, bid the king ſhoot. After ſhooting three times, he left off, on which the prophet ſaid, if more ſhafts had been diſcharged, he ſhould have over-run the whole kingdom of Syria; but as he had ſhot only thrice, he ſhould gain three victories, in which the lands the enemy had taken from his father ſhould be recovered. Hereupon, the king left Eliſha, who ſoon afterwards died. The prophet was highly celebrated for the uprightneſs of his character, and the many miracles he wrought an account of which is ſtill preſerved in the records of the Hebrews. He was buried in a moſt magnificent manner, in teſtimony of the merit of ſo illuſtrious a man. A little time afterwards ſome thieves having murdered a traveller, they threw the body into the tomb of the prophet; but it had no ſooner touched him, than the man came to life. Thus his miracles continued even after his death.

A dead carcaſe revived by the touch of Eliſha's body, ver. 21.

Upon the deceaſe of Hazael, his ſon Adad ſucceeded by hereditary right to the government of Syria. According to the prediction of Eliſha, he was thrice vanquiſhed by Joaſh, who by thoſe victories recovered all the country that Hazael had taken from the Iſraelites. Upon the deceaſe of Joaſh, his ſon Jeroboam aſſumed the ſovereignty.

CHAP. X.

Amaziah defeats the Amalekites, Idumeans, and Gabilites. Amaziah becomes an idolater. He is vanquiſhed, and made priſoner by Joaſh. To preſerve his life he ſurrenders the city of Jeruſalem to the enemy. His ſubjects conſpire againſt and put him to death.

IN the ſecond year of the reign of Joaſh, king of Iſrael, Amaziah ſucceeded to the government of the tribe of Judah in Jeruſalem. Jehoadan, a native of Jeruſalem, was his mother. From his youth he was remarkable for his love of integrity; and the firſt act of his reign was to avenge the death of his father, whoſe murderers were all brought to juſtice; but he puniſhed not their children; following herein the ſentiments of Moſes, who held it wrong to chaſtiſe children for the crimes of their parents. Amaziah now enliſted, and appointed centurions over, ſuch of the men of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, as were about twenty years of age. Having determined to wage war againſt the Amalekites, Edomites, and Gabilites, he agreed to pay one hundred talents of ſilver to the king of the Iſraelites, for twenty thouſand of his forces. When he was ready to march againſt his enemies, a prophet adviſed him to diſcharge the Iſraelites, for they were an abandoned people, whoſe deſtruction would attend that of thoſe who joined with them; beſides, with God's help, his own army was ſufficient to deſtroy his enemies.

Amaziah gains victory II Cron. XXV. 6.

As the king had already paid for his forces, he did not approve this advice; but being reſolved to ſubmit to the will of God, as expreſſed by the prophet, he diſmiſſed them, ſaying, he would freely give that as a bounty, which had been received as wages. When theſe troops were diſmiſſed, he advanced with his own forces, and conquered his enemies, ten thouſand of whom he killed in one battle, and drove the other ten thouſand to the extremity of a mountain which overlooks Arabia, down which they were thrown, and killed; after which Amaziah returned with immenſe treaſure. In the interim, the twenty thouſand diſcharged troops were ſo enraged at the rejection of their ſervices, that they invaded the king's dominions, waſted the country quite to Bethſemere, killed three thouſand of the inhabitants, and drove off great numbers of cattle.

This ſucceſs ſo inflated the pride and vanity of Amaziah, that, forgetful of all veneration to that Almighty Being, through whoſe intervention the victory had been gained, he degenerated into the worſhip of the idols of the Amalekites; in conſequence of which, a prophet reproved him for adoring deities, which, ſo far from protecting him, were incapable of defending themſelves, but had been carried away with the reſt of the booty to Jeruſalem. The king commanded him to be ſilent; but the prophet added, that his horrid impiety would be followed by the dreadful vengeance of offended Heaven.

Regardleſs of this admonition Amaziah wrote to Joaſh, king of Iſrael, requiring ſuch ſubmiſſion from him and his people, as had been heretofore paid to David and Solomon, his anceſtors; threatening that the ſword ſhould decide the controverſy, in caſe of refuſal. To this haughty letter Joaſh ſent an anſwer to the following purport:

"A thiſtle that grew on Mount Lebanon ſent, on a certain time, to a cyprus-tree, growing on the ſame ſpot, ſaying, give thy daughter in marriage to my ſon: on which a wild beaſt trod the thiſtle to the ground. Learn hence to moderate your ambition, nor aim at things ſo much above you. Be cautious leſt your pride, on having conquered the Amelkites, ſhould lead you to ſuch actions as may occaſion the loſs of your kingdom and life."

He is taken
riſoner. 21,
3.

Amaziah was now much more enraged than before, and Providence leaving him to the influence of his own paſſions, he prepared for battle: the forces were drawn up on each ſide; but the troops of Aamaziah no ſooner ſaw the enemy, than they precipitately fled, and left the king to be taken priſoner. The enemy refuſed him quarter, but on the condition that the gates of Jeruſalem ſhould be thrown open to them. Neceſſity and the fear of death prevailed; and a breach of three hundred cubits wide, being made in the wall, Joaſh entered the city in a triumphal chariot, while Amaziah, his priſoner, marched before him. Joaſh having made prize of the gold, ſilver, holy utenſils, and other treaſure found in the palace and the temple, reſtored the king to liberty, and retired to Samaria with his booty. This event happened in the fourteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, whoſe ſubjects engaging in a conſpiracy againſt him, he fled to Lachiſh for refuge, but purſuing him to that place, they aſſaſſinated him. His body was conveyed to Jeruſalem, and buried there, with the honours of royalty. He died at the age of fifty-one, after a reign of twenty-nine years, leaving his ſon Uzziah the ſucceſſor to his throne.

CHAP. XI.

The hiſtory of Jonah. Jeroboam is ſucceeded by Zachariah. Uzziah is puniſhed for his degeneracy, and is ſucceeded by Jotham. Shallum kills Zachariah. Shallum ſlain, by Manahem, who after reigning ten years, is ſucceeded by Pekahiah. Pekah, having murdered Pekahiah, aſſumes the government, and is invaded by Tiglath-Pileſer. In the reign of Jotham, king of Judah, Nahum predicts the deſtruction of Nineveh and the Aſſyrians empire.

Jeroboam, the ſon of Joaſh made king. 2 Kings xiv. 16.

IN the fifteenth year of the reign of Amaziah, Jeroboam, the ſon of Joaſh, aſcended the throne of Iſrael; and he reigned forty years, his court being held at Samaria, in the palace of his anceſtors. He practiſed idolatrous worſhip, and was otherwiſe ſo licentious and profligate, that the judgments his wickedneſs brought upon the Iſraelites are almoſt innumerable.

Of Jeroboam it was predicted by the prophet Jonah, that he ſhould vanquiſh the Syrians, and extend his dominions to the city of Hamath northwards, and ſoutherly to the lake of Aſphaltites, which places were conſidered as the boundaries of the land of Canaan, according to the allotment of Joſhua. This prophecy was ſo flattering to the ambitious ſpirit of Jeroboam, that he ſeized from the Syrians the lands above mentioned, and annexed them to his own dominions, whereby the prediction of Jonah was verified.

The hiſtory of Jonah.

The Almighty commanded Jonah to repair to Nineveh, and declare to the people, that not their city only, but the whole kingdom in which it was ſituated ſhould be ſuddenly deſtroyed. But, dreading to encounter the danger to which he ſhould be expoſed by promulgating ſuch afflicting intelligence, he determined to direct his courſe to another quarter, and, in contempt of the Divine command, embarked at Joppa on board a veſſel bound for Tarſhiſh in Ciliſia. During the voyage, ſo violent a tempeſt aroſe, that the commander of the ſhip, the mariners, and even the pilot, abandoned every hope of eſcaping the fury of the contending elements. While part of the crew were at prayers, and the reſt exerting their beſt endeavours for the ſafety of the veſſel, it was obſerved, that Jonah alone remained inactive, he continuing, amidſt a ſcene of ſuch terror and conſternation, to lay upon his belly, his head being concealed from view. The tempeſt continuing to encreaſe, it was at length ſuppoſed, that the judgment with which the whole crew was threatened was the conſequence of the guilt of ſome perſon on board; and it was agreed that lots ſhould be caſt for deciding who was the offender. The lot falling upon Jonah, enquiry was made, as to who and what he was; whereupon, he ſaid, he was an Hebrew, and a prophet of God; at the ſame time acknowledging that his preſence had occaſioned the ſtorm, and recommending them to throw him overboard, as the only means of ſaving the ſhip, and preſerving their own lives. They at firſt conſidered, that it would be an act of great inhumanity, thus to devote to certain deſtruction a ſtranger, who had put himſelf under their care and protection; but, at length, his arguments combining with their fears and the neceſſity of the caſe, the ſhip then appearing to be on the point of ſinking, they caſt Jonah into the ſea, at which inſtant, the tempeſt ſubſided. The hiſtory of this prophet, which is recorded in Scripture, further relates, that he was ſwallowed by a whale, which, three days afterwards, caſt him up alive, and unhurt, upon the coaſt of the Euxine ſea.[†] Jonah having ſupplicated and obtained pardon for his diſobedience to the command of God, he proceeded to Nineveh, where he foretold the approaching diſſolution of the empire of Aſia, and then departed.

Uzziah makes war upon the Philiſtines and Arabians; ſubjects the Ammonites to contribution, and rebuilds the walls of Jeruſalem. 2 Chron. xxvi. 1—9.

Jeroboam reigned in proſperity forty years, and he was buried in Jeruſalem, being ſucceeded by his ſon Zachariah. Amaziah was ſucceeded in the government of the two tribes at Jeruſalem by Uzziah, in the fourteenth year of the reign of Jeroboam. Achiah, a native of Jeruſalem, was the mother of Uzziah, who was a provident, active, valiant, and juſt prince. He fought againſt the Philiſtines, deſtroyed the walls of Gath and Jamnia, and conquered ſeveral places by aſſault. He was ſucceſsful in an expedition againſt the Arabians, on the confines of Egypt; and in the neighbourhood of the Red Sea he built a town, in which he eſtabliſhed a garriſon. He ſubdued the Ammonites, ſubjugating to his power all their country, as far as Egypt, and laying the inhabitants under contribution. He rebuilt the walls of Jeruſalem, which had gone to decay, through the neglect of former governors, and repaired the breach made for the triumphant entry of the king Iſrael, when Amaziah was priſoner to him. Beſides other towers of inferior conſideration, he built one of an hundred and fifty cubits[‡] in height, and ſeveral caſtles and forts for the protection of his country. He likewiſe conſtructed aqueducts, ciſterns, and baſons, for ſupplying water for his cattle, of which he had immenſe numbers, the country being naturally adapted for paſturage; and he gave great encouragement to gardening and huſbandry. His military force conſiſted of three hundred and ſeventy thouſand men, provided with ſwords, bucklers, corſelets of braſs, and ſlings and bows; they were experienced in the art of war, and commanded by two thouſand officers. He had battering engines, and others for diſcharging darts and ſtones, together with grappling hooks, and various other implements of war. His proſperity, power, and grandeur, occupied his whole attention; ſo that for the tranſitory ſplendour of this life, he became wholly regardleſs of the ineſtimable bleſſings of eternity.

Uzziah uſurps the prieſt's office. 2 Chron. xxvi. 16.

On occaſion of a ſolemn feſtival, Uzziah cloathed himſelf in a ſacerdotal habit, and repaired to the temple, for the purpoſe of offering up incenſe upon the golden altar; whereupon, Azariah, the high-prieſt, and fourſcore other perſons of the holy order proteſted againſt his arrogating to himſelf a privilege to which the prieſts of the race of Aaron were intitled, to the excluſion of all other men. Azariah admoniſhed him no longer to provoke the wrath of God, by perſiſting in his abominable prophanity; the king commanded him to depart with the perſons accompanying him, on pain of being put to death, at which inſtant the temple was ſhook by a terrible earthquake, and the roof of the building opening, a ſun-beam entered by the aperture, and ſtruck the ſacrilegious prince, who immediately became a leper. The above was ſucceeded by another miracle. Not far to the weſt of the city, at a place called Eroge, the ſame earthquake divided a mountain in the middle, and part of it rolling half a mile, ſtopped on the eaſt ſide of an oppoſite mountain, cloſed up the highway, and covered the royal gardens with the fragments into which it ſeparated. The king being a leper, the prieſts adviſed him to depart the city, as one unfit for ſociety; and his ſpirit was ſo broken by his illneſs, that he complied. His ſon Jotham aſſumed the government, and the king having languiſhed awhile in retirement, died, and was buried in his gardens, in a tomb erected to his memory. He reigned near fifty-two years, and was near ſixty-eight years of age.

He becomes a leper. 20.

About this time, Shallum, ſon of Jabeſh, a domeſtic of Zachariah, king of the Iſraelites, murdered his maſter, before he had reigned ſeven months, and aſſumed the government: but news hereof reaching Menahem, who commanded an army at Thapſa he marched to Samaria, when Shallum had governed only thirty days, routed him in battle, put him to the ſword, and appropriated to himſelf the enſigns of royalty.

[†] Bochart is of opinion, that our author is miſtaken as to the place, where Jonah was caſt up by the whale. See his Hieron. Book I. part 2. cap. 19.

[‡] We have before ſaid, that a cubit is near two-and-twenty inches; therefore an hundred and fifty muſt amount to upwards of an hundred and eighty-two Engliſh feet; or about threeſcore yards and two feet.

Menahem returned with his army to Thapſa: but the citizens refuſing him admittance, he ravaged the adjacent country, and barbarouſly cauſed all the men, women, and children, to be deſtroyed. He reigned ten years over Iſrael. Soon after the above maſſacre, Pul, king of the Aſſyrians, threatened to invade the dominions of Menaham, who effected a compromiſe by paying the other a thouſand talents[*] of ſilver, which he raiſed by impoſing a tax of fifty ſhekels upon each of his ſubjects. He died ſoon afterwards, and was buried at Samaria, being ſucceeded in the government by his ſon Pekahiah, whoſe tyrannical and barbarous diſpoſition equalled that of his father. After reigning two years, Pekahiah was murdered at a public feaſt by Pekah, the ſon of Ramaliah, who reigned about twenty years, and died with a character equally diſtinguiſhed by his impiety to God, and his want of common juſtice to his fellow-creatures.

Tiglath-Pileſer, king of Aſſyria, made incurſions againſt the Iſraelites during the reign of Pekah, and conquered the land of Gilead, the country beynd Jordan, and the adjacent part of Galilee, with Aſſora, and Cydida, making captives of the inhabitants, whom he conveyed to his own country.

The tribe of Judah, in Jeruſalem, was now governed by Jotham, the ſon of Uzziah by Jeruſhah, a native of the city. This prince was diſtinguiſhed for his piety, juſtice, and public ſpirit. He rectified all abuſes, and eſtabliſhed good order and regularity in the ſeveral departments of the ſtate. The galleries and porches of the temple were repaired by him, and the city walls prevented from going to decay. He built large and ſtrong towers; ſubjected the Ammonites to the payment of one hundred talents,[*] and thirty thouſand chomers[†] of wheat and barley annually. He raiſed his kingdom to a ſtate of great ſplendour; and while his people were dreaded abroad, they were happy at home.

he pro-
et Nahum
etels the
ſtruction of
ineveh and
e Aſſyrian
pire, Na-
m. ii. 8,

The prophet Nahum, who lived in this king's reign, predicted the deſtruction of Nineveh, and the Aſſyrian empire, in words to this purpoſe: "Nineveh ſhall reſemble a fiſh-pool, the waters of which are agitated by a violent wind. The ſtorm ſhall occaſion the people to fly, and cry one to another, take with you your gold and ſilver; but this will be diſregarded, as life ſhall be held more valuable than riches. Factions ſhall prevail among them; and while bewailing their deplorable circumſtances, their knees ſhall tremble under them, and their countenances ſhall expreſs horror and deſpair. They ſhall aſk what will become of the habitations of the lions, and the dams of the whelps of the lions. And the Lord ſhall reply, that Nineveh, ſhall be exterminated from the face of the earth, when the devaſtations of the wild beaſts ſhe has ſent into the world ſhall ceaſe." At the end of an hundred and fifteen years, the above prophecy was verified.

CHAP. XII.

The death of Jotham, who is ſucceeded by his ſon Ahaz: Rezin, king of Damaſcus, and Pekah, king of the Iſraelites, beſiege Jeruſalem.

Jotham is ſucceeded by his ſon Ahaz. 2 Chron. xxvii. 8, 9. and xxviii. 1. An idolatrous and a bloody prince, v. 2—4.

JOTHAM dying in the forty-firſt year of his age, and the ſixteenth of his reign, his ſon Ahaz aſſumed the ſovereignty. He built altars in Jeruſalem, and on them offered ſacrifices to idols. After the cuſtom of the Canaanites, he ſacrificed his own ſon, as a burnt-offering. This prince infamouſly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the commiſſion of crimes more atrocious even than thoſe of the worſt of his predeceſſors.

A battle between the two kings of Jeruſalem and Iſrael. 2 Chron. xxviii. 5,

Rezin, king of Damaſcus, and Pekah, king of the Iſraelites, united their armies, and laid ſiege to Jeruſalem; but Ahaz ſeveral times repulſed them: and finding the fortifications of the place exceedingly ſtrong, they at length abandoned their projected enterpriſe. In the mean time, the king of Syria took poſſeſſion of the city of Elath, near the Red Sea, and having put the inhabitants to the ſword, eſtabliſhed a colony of his own ſubjects in that town. He alſo gained poſſeſſion of ſeveral caſtles and other places of ſtrength, and having committed great ſlaughter upon the Hebrews, returned to Damaſcus.

After the departure of the Syrians, the king of Jeruſalem marched his army againſt the king of Iſrael, but his abominable crimes had ſo highly provoked the diſpleaſure of the Almighty, that he was defeated with a loſs of a hundred and twenty thouſand men, including Amiah, the ſon of Ahaz, who was ſlain by Zachariah, the general of the Iſraelites, who alſo killed Azica, captain of the guards, and made priſoner of Elkanah, general of the Hebrew forces. Having taken a great number of captives of the Benjamites, and obtained a great booty, the victorious army proceeded in triumph to Samaria.

---

[*] A thouſand talents weighed one hundred, fourteen thouſand, and ſixty two pounds, ſix ounces; and their value in ſilver amounted to three hundred and forty two thouſand, one hundred and eighty ſeven pounds, ten ſhillings Engliſh money.

[†] A chomer contained about ſix hundred and five Engliſh pints; thirty thouſand chomers therefore muſt amount to eighteen millions, one hundred and fifty thouſand Engliſh pints.

Upon the approach of the conquerors, a prophet named Obel[*] went out of Samaria, and with a loud voice, told them they were not to underſtand their late ſucceſs as the conſequence of their own courage and virtue, but to conſider it as an inſtance of the diſpleaſure of Heaven againſt Ahaz. He rebuked them for making priſoners of their brethren, recommending that they might be immediately reſtored to freedom, adding that by refuſing to comply with his advice, they would expoſe themſelves to the vengeance of the Almighty. In conſequence of the prophet's Admonition, the Iſraelites ſummoned a council, in which Berachiah, a man of great influence and authority in the aſſembly, and three others, proteſted againſt admitting the priſoners into the town, leſt the judgment of Heaven ſhould fall upon the conquerors. Hereupon it was agreed, that the captives ſhould be reſtored to liberty, and to the poſſeſſion of the property of which they had been deſpoiled. Berachiah releaſed the priſoners from their bonds, and having provided them with all neceſſaries for their journey, accompanied them beyond Jericho, and then returned to Samaria.

C H A P. XIII.

Tiglath-Pileſer and Ahaz invade and ravage Syria. Rezin, king of Damaſcus, killed, and that city taken. Ahaz dies, and is ſucceeded by Hezekiah. Having ſlain Pekah, Hoſea takes poſſeſſion of the government. Hoſea ſubdued by Salmanazer. Hezekiah re-eſtabliſhes the worſhip of God, and conquers the Philiſtines.

Ahaz gains Tiglath Pileſer over to him, by vaſt promiſes and preſents, 2 Kings xvi. 7, 8.

AHAZ now diſpatched the meſſengers to Tiglath-Pileſer, king of the Aſſyrians, with magnificent preſents, they being authoriſed to promiſe him very conſiderable ſums of money, on condition of his joining the king of Jeruſalem in oppoſing the Iſraelites and the people of Damaſcus and Syria. This prince immediately marched to the aſſiſtance of Ahaz, and the combined forces ravaged the whole country of Syria, ſubdued Damaſcus, and put king Rezin to the ſword. The inhabitants of Damaſcus Tiglath-Pileſer ſent to Upper Media, and filled the place with his own ſubjects. The land of the Iſraelites was in a great meaſure depopulated, and immenſe numbers of priſoners taken. This being done, Ahaz ſeized the gold and ſilver in the royal treaſury, and in the temple, together with the rich preſents, and carried the whole to Damaſcus, where he delivered it to the king of Aſſyria, in gratitude for his aſſiſtance, and returned to Jeruſalem.

Ahaz was ſo deſtitute of all ſenſe of religion, that he worſhipped the gods of the Syrians, in the hope of their favouring his arms; on the contrary, when he had been overcome, he paid adoration to the Aſſyrian's gods; ſo that any kind of idolatry was equal to him; but he deſpiſed the worſhip of the true God, according to the religion of his forefathers, which brought on him the vengeance of Heaven. Having robbed the temple of all its moſt valuable effects, he ordered the doors to be kept faſt, to prevent others offering up their devotions there. After a continued courſe of impiety, he died in the ſixteenth year of his reign, aged thirty-ſix years and was ſucceeded by his ſon Hezekiah. At this period, by the treachery of Hoſea, a favourite at court, Pekah, king of Iſrael, was deprived of his government and life, Hoſea continuing nine years in poſſeſſion of his uſurped authority. His life and conduct proved that he believed not in God, and was one of the moſt abandoned of men. Being attacked by Salmanazer, king of the Aſſyrians, he was conquered, and obliged to become tributary, being rejected by that God whom he had deſpiſed.

The death age, and reign of Ahaz. 2 Chron. xxviii. 24. v. 1, 27.

Hezekiah his ſon ſucceeds, 2 Chron. xxix. 1.

Hezekiah became king of Jeruſalem in the fourth[†] year of Hoſea's reign. He was was a prince of ſuperior abilities, and celebrated for his regard to equity and piety. On his firſt advancement to the throne, he determined to adjuſt the great buſineſs of religion; and thereupon ſummoning his prieſts and Levites he addreſſed them to the following purport: "It is unneceſſary for me to remind you of the misfortunes conſequent on my father's ſins, in your refuſing the worſhip due to God, and uniting with him in the adoration of his idols: but as experience hath now taught you how dreadful a thing it is to trifle with Heaven, I recommend that all paſt failings may be buried in oblivion; that you, and the prieſts, and the Levites, cleanſe yourſelves from former pollutions; then opening the doors of the holy place, purify it by ſacrifices and conſecrations; on which you may hope for future proſperity as well as preſent pardon." The royal advice was ſo acceptable, that the prieſts immediately repaired to the temple, which they ſtripped of its impurities, prepared their holy veſſels, and placed ſacrifices on the altar, agreeable to the cuſtom of the Jews. In the interim, the king diſpatched meſſengers throughout

The king ſummons up all his people to Jeruſalem, to the feaſt of unleavened bread. 2 Chron. xxx. 5, 10.

---

[*] Script. Odeb.

[†] The Scripture ſays, that he commenced his reign in the third year of Hoſea. See 2 Kings, XVIII. 1.

his territories, to demand the attendance of the people at the feaſt of the unleavened bread, which, through the impiety of former kings, had been long neglected. The meſſengers alſo warned the Iſraelites to abſtain from all ſuperſtitious worſhip, and return to that of the God of Truth; promiſing, in the king's name, that they ſhould be equally free as his own people to paſs to and from this feaſt. The Iſraelites, however, treated the meſſengers with contempt, and inſulted the prophets, who recommended a return to their duty, and told them what miſery would reſult from their diſobedience: nay, they even ſeized and put to death ſeveral of the prophets, and proceeded from one impiety to another till the vengeance of God yielded them a prey to their enemies, as will be hereafter ſeen. Of the tribes of Zebulon, Manaſſeh and Iſſachar, however, multitudes attended to the words of the prophets, and repaired to Hezekiah, at Jeruſalem, to offer up their devotions.

The people being aſſembled, the king, accompanied by the princes and people, proceeded to the temple, where Hezekiah offered in ſacrifice of bulls, rams, and goats, ſeven each, on his own account. Having firſt placed his hands on the heads of the beaſts, the prieſt cut their throats, and then burnt without dividing them; while the Levites made a circle, and ſang divine hymns to muſical inſtruments, the other prieſts forming the chorus. This ended, both king and people worſhipped God with their faces bowed to the ground. Excluſive hereof, the king ſacrificed ſeventy bullocks, a hundred rams, and two hundred lambs; and likewiſe gave, as a feaſt for the multitude, ſix hundred bullocks, and three thouſand other cattle. The prieſts having ended their ceremonies, the king and people feaſted together, and joined in the praiſe of God.

Now approached the feaſt of unleavened bread, and during the preparations for it, ſacrifices were made for ſeven days, and Hezekiah gave the multitude two thouſand bulls, and ſeven thouſand cattle of various kinds. The king's example was followed by the princes, who gave a thouſand bulls, and a thouſand and forty other beaſts; ſo that ſo ſumptuous a treat, had not been known ſince the days of Solomon.

This feſtival being over, and the city of Jeruſalem purged from the abominations of idolatrous worſhip, a general purification took place through the whole country. Hezekiah ordered daily ſacrifices to be provided out of his own ſtores, and directed the people to preſent tenths and firſt-fruits to the prieſts and Levites.

The king over-runs the country of the Philiſtines. 2 Kings xviii. 8.

Having reſtored the kingdom to its former ſituation, Hezekiah made war againſt the Philiſtines, whoſe country he over ran, annexing all their cities from Gath to Gaza to his own dominions. In the mean time, the king of Aſſyria demanded of Hezekiah a tribute, which had been formerly paid by his father, threatening an invaſion, in caſe of his refuſal; but relying on the protection of Heaven, and that the prophet Iſaiah would timely inform him of whatever events futurity had in reſerve, he diſregarded the menaces of the Aſſyrian.

CHAP. XIV.

Salmanazer conquers Samaria, takes Hoſea priſoner, and tranſplants the people into Media and Perſia. A colony of Chuthites eſtabliſhed in the kingdom of Iſrael.

Salmanazer takes Samaria by aſſault, in the ninth year of Hoſea. Hoſea a priſoner, and the people tranſplanted 2 Kings xvii. 3, 6, and xviii. 9, 12.

HAVING received intelligence that the kings of Iſrael and Egypt had entered into a confederacy againſt him, Salmanazer marched a powerful army againſt Samaria, which after having reſiſted his aſſaults for upwards of two years, at length ſurrendered, in the ninth year of the reign of Hoſea, king of Iſrael, and the ſeventh of that of Hezekiah, king of Jeruſalem. This conqueſt proved wholly deſtructive of the kingdom of Iſrael, Hoſea being made priſoner, and his ſubjects being tranſplanted to Media in Perſia, and replaced by people who Salamanazer cauſed to remove from the borders of Chuthah, a river in Perſia, for the purpoſe of ſettling in the land of Samaria. This expulſion of the ten tribes from the land of their inheritance took place about nine hundred and forty-ſeven years from the departure of their anceſtors from Egypt, eight hundred from the days of Joſhua, and two hundred and forty years, ſeven months, and ſeven days from the revolt from Rehoboam, the grandſon of David, to Jereboam.

Salamanazer triumphed over and ravaged Syria and Phœnicia. In his hiſtory of the Tyrians, Menander ſpeaks of this prince in the following manner: "Elulæus reigned thirty-ſix years, and the Gittæans revolting againſt him, he diſpatched a fleet to reduce them to obedience, which ſervice was performed. The king of the Aſſyrians likewiſe marched an army againſt him, and penetrated into Phœnicia, but upon a peace being concluded, he drew off his troops. Not long after this, the cities of Sidon, Acre, Palæ-Tyrus, and many other places, abandoned their countrymen, and ſubmitted to the king of Aſſyria, who ſent a fleet of ſixty ſail againſt the reſt of the Tyrians, as the only people that ſubmitted not to his authority. This fleet was conducted by the Phœnicians, and had eight hundred rowers; but with only twelve veſſels, the Tyrians attacked them, threw them all into confuſion, and made captives of five hundred of the rowers; a victory which elevated their naval ſkill to the higheſt degree of reputation. Thus vanquiſhed, the king of Aſſyria returned, and poſted guards on the banks of the river, to prevent the Tyrians getting water: for which they were diſtreſſed near five years, during which they had none but what they procured by the digging of pits.

The Chuthites afflicted with a dreadful plague.
2 Kings, xvii. 25.

The people newly eſtabliſhed in Samaria were called Chuthites, from the river Chuthah in Perſia, whence they were brought by Salmanazar. They conſiſted of five nations, each of which worſhipped its particular deity. For their idolatrous practices, the wrath of Heaven fell upon and threatened them with deſtruction. Being viſited with a plague, which made dreadful havock among them, they were adviſed by the oracle to pay adoration to the true God, as the only means of relief. Hereupon they diſpatched meſſengers to the king of Aſſyria, entreating him that ſome of the prieſts, who had been made priſoners with the Iſraelites, might be ſent to them. This was complied with; and on the arrival of the prieſts, the Chuthites deſired them to read the law of Moſes, which they did, and likewiſe expounded it, ſhewing the reaſonableneſs of the worſhip: whereupon the Chuthites began the ſtudy and practice of the true religion, and the plague ceaſed in a ſhort time. The Hebrews ſtill call theſe people Chuthites, but among the Greeks, they bear the name of Samaritans. They are a people of a changeable diſpoſition, accommodating themſelves to exiſting circumſtances and occaſions, as their intereſt point out When the Jews are in a proſperous ſituation, they claim kindred to them, as being of the lineage of Joſeph: but on the contrary, when our people are oppreſſed with miſfortunes, they alledge, that they came from a diſtant country, having no connections with us, nor intereſts in our affairs.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS,

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK X.

From the Year of the World 3224 *to* 3425.

CHAPTER I.

Sennacherib beſieges Jeruſalem. In conſideration of receiving a ſum of money, he agrees to draw off his forces, but violates his treaty. Deputing Rabſhaketh to purſue the ſiege of Jeruſalem, Sennacherib marches againſt the Egyptians and Ethiopians. Hezekiah is informed by the prophet that he ſhall receive the protection and aſſiſtance of Heaven.

Sennacherib makes war upon Hezekiah 2 Kings xviii. 13.

IN the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, king of the two tribes Sennacherib, king of Aſſyria, marched againſt him with a powerful army; and having taken all the cities of Judah and Benjamin by aſſault, he was ready to advance towards Jeruſalem, when an embaſſy came to him with an offer of ſubmiſſion to his power, and of paying him tribute. Sennacherib gave the ambaſſadors audience, and reſolved immediately to deſiſt from the war, and to treat upon the king's terms, promiſing with the ſolemnity of an oath, that upon the receipt of * three hundred talents of ſilver, and † thirty of gold, he would depart. Hezekiah, upon this aſſurance, ſent him the money, in confidence of the enemy's departure, according to his oath. The Aſſyrian took the money, but broke his word; for he marched himſelf with his troops againſt the Egyptians and Ethiopians, leaving Rabſhaketh, his lieutenant-general, with Tharata and Anacharis, as colleagues with him, to carry on the war againſt Jeruſalem. They pitched their camp within ſight of the walls of the town; and by a meſſenger demanded a parley with Hezekiah, who deeming it imprudent to truſt his perſon in the power of an enemy who had ſo recently committed an act of treachery, directed Eliakim, his deputy governor, and Shebnah and Joah, the keepers of the records, to repair to the Aſſyrian camp. In a peremptory tone, Rabſhaketh bad the meſſengers enquire of their maſter, on what reaſon he had preſumed to refuſe the army admiſſion into the city, and acknowledge ſubmiſſion to the great and powerful Sennacherib; adding, that if Hezekiah hoped for aſſiſtance from Egypt, he would be miſerably deceived; and in that caſe he would be truſting to a broken reed, which would wound the hand that preſſed it. He told the meſſengers to inform their maſter, that the preſent expedition was undertaken by the direction of the Almighty who had already given Sennacherib, a compleat victory over the Iſraelites, and would unqueſtionably render him ſucceſsful in the war againſt Jeruſalem. Rabſhaketh ſpoke in Hebrew, a language in which he was well ſkilled: but Eliakim, fearing the effect of his diſcourſe in a tongue that was generally underſtood, requeſted him to proceed in the Syraic. Apprized of the motive for which a change of language was recommended, he exalted his voice, and continued his harangue in the Hebrew, ſaying, "It is neceſſary that your people ſhould clearly underſtand the commands of my maſter. I am aware that your deſign is to amuſe your countrymen with the vain hope of gaining a victory over our army. If you have courage to hazard an encounter, I will ſupply you with two thouſand horſes:—but you are conſcious of your inability to provide them riders. Being thus reduced, to deliberate proves an exceſs of folly. Inevitable ruin muſt be the conſequence of perſevering in yeur oppoſition; for the weak muſt of neceſſity ſubmit to the powerful."

---

* Three hundred talents weighed thirty four thouſand, two hundred and eighteen pounds, nine ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to one hundred and two thouſand and fifty-ſix pounds, five ſhillings.

† Thirty talents weighed three thouſand four hundred and twenty one pounds, ten ounces, and ten penny weights, and their value in gold amounted to one hundred and fixty-four thouſand, two hundred and fifty pounds Engliſh money.

Upon being informed of the purport of Rabſhaketh's diſcourſe, Hezekiah cloathed himſelf in ſackcloth, and proſtrating himſelf on the ground, fervently ſupplicated the aſſiſtance and protection of Heaven. He commiſſioned a number of his particular friends to accompany ſome of the prieſts to the prophet Iſaiah, for the purpoſe of requeſting him to implore the Divine aſſiſtance for humbling the pride and reducing the power of the enemy. The compliance of Iſaiah was, without difficulty obtained, and he was authoriſed by the oracle to declare, that, without proceeding to a battle, the enemy ſhould be compelled to make a diſgraceful retreat, with the loſs of a conſiderable part of the army; that Sennacherib ſhould not ſucceed in his expedition againſt the Egyptians, and that on his return to his own dominions, he ſhall die by the hands of his ſons.

Iſaiah foretels that the enemy ſhall depart. 2 Kings xix. 6, 7.

Sennacherib now diſpatched a letter to Hezekiah, repreſenting that to attempt reſiſtance againſt the power of a prince who had ſubjugated ſo many warlike nations, would be a dangerous expedient, and threatening to put the inhabitants of Jeruſalem, without diſtinction of age or ſex, to the ſword, if the gates of the city were not thrown open to his army. Repoſing the moſt abſolute confidence in the veracity of Iſaiah's prediction, Hezekiah paid no regard to Sennacherib's arrogant and inſulting letter, which he folded up, and laid in the temple. He continued to offer up ſupplications in favour of the people, till the return of Iſaiah, who reported to him the following anſwer: "That his petition having prevailed, no injury was to be apprehended from the enemy; and that the period was approaching, when the people would be reſtored to the peaceful enjoyment of their poſſeſſions."

Sennacherib draws off his army, 20—34.

A judgment of rats.

Sennacherib employed a conſiderable portion of time in laying ſiege to the city of Peluſium: but when he had raiſed his platforms nearly to a level with the tops of the walls, and had compleated every other material preparation for making the aſſault, he received intelligence that Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, with a formidable reinforcement, was marching to the aſſiſtance of the Egyptians, and that he had directed his courſe through the deſart, in order to attack the Aſſyrian army by ſurpriſe. Alarmed by this information, the Aſſyrian abandoned a farther proſecution of the ſiege, and returned to his dominions after the ſeveral enterprizes which he had meditated had proved abortive. This war by Sennacherib againſt the king of Egypt, is called by Herodotus, the war againſt the prieſt of Vulcan; the Egyptain king being a prieſt of that idol. This hiſtorian ſays, Sennacherib raiſed the ſiege of Peluſium on the following occaſion: the king of Egypt ſupplicated the aſſiſtance of his God, which being granted, it proved fatal to the Arabian." He has been guily of an error in writing Arabian inſtead of Aſſyrian. He adds that, "Immenſe ſwarms of rats came into the camp, and in one night deſtroyed all the bow-ſtrings, and rendered uſeleſs a great part of the other implements of war; in conſequence of which Sennacherib drew off his forces from the town." Beroſus, an hiſtorian of Chaldee, ſays, "Sennacherib, king of the Aſſyrians, waged war againſt all Aſia and Egypt." He writes to the preciſe meaning of what is contained in the following chapter.

CHAP. II.

A vaſt mortality in the camp before Jeruſalem. After his return to Nineveh, Sennacherib

nacherib is murdered by his ſons.

REturning from the Egyptian war, Sennacherib found, that in the courſe of the night ſubſequent to the commencement of the ſiege againſt Jeruſalem, a judicial peſtilence had made terrible devaſtation in his army, the general officers, tribunes, and private ſoldiers who periſhed on that occaſion amounting to one hundred and eighty-five thouſand men. Conſidering this mortality as the effect of the diſpleaſure of Heaven, and fearing the reſt of his army might experience a ſimilar fate, he proceeded by forced marches to Nineveh, where he was ſometime afterwards murdered by his two eldeſt ſons, Adrameleck and Selennar, in the temple of Araſcus, which was his darling idol. The people of the country, deteſting the inhumanity of the action, baniſhed them out of their dominions, whereupon they fled into Armenia, Aſſarachod, the third ſon, ſucceeding to the government.

Sennacherib murdered by two of his ſons in the temple of his darling idol. ver. 37.

CHAP. III.

At the Interceſſion of Hezekiah, the Almighty prolongs his life. Hezekiah and Balad, king of Babylon, contract a league of amity. Iſaiah predicts the captivity of the Iſraelites in Babylon, and the miſeries to befal Hezekiah and his poſterity. The death of Hezekiah.

IN gratitude for his deliverance from the power of his enemies by the intervention of divine providence, Hezekiah humbled himſelf in prayer and thankſgiving before God. While employed in this righteous avocation, he was afflicted with ſo grievous a ſickneſs, that his phyſicians deſpaired of his recovery. Being reduced to this extremity, he ſupplicated the Almighty to prolong his days, till he ſhould become the father of a ſon who might ſucceed him in the ſovereignty. In conſideration that having no iſſue to ſucceed him, proved the ſource of greater affliction to the king, than the circumſtance of being deprived of the grandeur and other advantages of royalty, God accepted his prayers, and directed the prophet to aſſure him, that his afflictions ſhould ſubſide in three days; that his life ſhould be protracted for fifteen years; and that he ſhould become the father of a ſon, who ſhould ſucceed him in the government. The meſſage delivered by the prophet was of ſo extraordinary a nature, that the king could not refrain from entertaining a doubt of its authenticity; and therefore he requeſted, that by ſome miracle, the prophet would confirm the authority of his miſſion. Being aſked what evidence he required, the king ſaid, that the moving of the ſhadow on his dial ten degrees backwards would yield him perfect ſatisfaction. Hereupon the prophet immediately wrought the miracle, whereby the king's doubts were removed, and being in a ſhort time reſtored to perfect health, he repaired to the temple, and devoutly worſhipped the Lord.

About this time, the Medes effect a diſſolution of the Aſſyrian empire, of which event we ſhall ſpeak more at large hereafter. Balad, king of Babylon, having diſpatched ambaſſadors charged with the delivery of rich preſents to Hezekiah, and alſo with a commiſſion to propoſe a treaty of alliance, they experienced a very gracious reception, and after they had been ſhewn the royal armoury and the immenſe treaſures which the king poſſeſſed in gold and ſilver, they were diſmiſſed with gifts of high value for their ſovereign. Upon Iſaiah making enquiry relating to the ſtrangers, the king informed him, that they were ambaſſadors from the king of Babylon, to whom he had ſhewn the treaſures of his palace, by way of enabling them to make a report to their maſter of his great power and opulence. Upon this, the prophet ſaid, "I am commiſſioned to inform you, that in a ſhort time your treaſures will be removed to Babylon, at the court of which country many of your poſterity will be reduced to the degrading neceſſity of ſerving in the capacity of eunuchs. Theſe events being foretold by God, be aſſured that they will inevitably tranſpire." This information was exceedingly afflicting to Hezekiah, who ſaid, that ſince the judgment of Heaven could not be averted, he had only to implore God, that he might paſs the remainder of his life in tranquillity. Iſaiah and twelve other prophets faithfully committed their predictions to writing, and as all the events tranſpired preciſely as they had foretold, ſucceeding generations were convinced that they had acted by Divine inſpiration. Hezekiah died in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-ninth of his reign.

An embaſſy from the king of Babylon to Hezekiah. ver. 12.

Iſaiah foretels the captivity of Babylon, ver. 16, 17, 18.

CHAP. IV.

Hezekiah is ſucceeded by his ſon Manaſſeh, who is taken priſoner by the king of Babylon; but he is reſtored to his government. The death of Menaſſeh, who is ſucceeded by his ſon Amon. After a ſhort reign, Amon dies, and his ſon Joſiah aſcends the throne.

UPON the deceaſe of Hezekiah, the government devolved to Manaſſeh, his ſon by Achiba, a native of Jeruſalem.

This prince acted on principles directly oppoſite to thoſe of his father. The moſt abominable practices, which had called down the vengeance of Heaven upon the Iſraelites, were the examples by which his conduct was regulated. He even dared to profane the holy temple. He barbarouſly perſecuted men of the moſt exemplary piety; and the very prophets were ſacrificed to his inſatiable luſt of blood; ſcarcely a day paſſing, whereon ſome of theſe pious men were not made victims to his cruelty. The Almighty ſent prophets to exhort the king and the people to repent of their crimes, on the penalty of ſuffering puniſhment equal to thoſe inflicted upon their brethren, the Iſraelites. Theſe admonitions were treated with contempt; and the king and people of Judah continuing to purſue their uſual courſes of iniquity the Almighty was pleaſed to create a powerful enemy in the king of Babylon and Chaldea, whoſe forces obtained a compleat victory over Manaſſeh, he being ſurprized and made a priſoner of war. His dominions being ravaged, and himſelf at the mercy of the conqueror, this unhappy prince fervently ſupplicated the Almighty to cauſe his enemy to treat him with clemency and tenderneſs. The Lord, in commiſeration of his ſufferings, liſtened to his prayers; and, after ſome time had elapſed, the king of Babylon reſtored him to his throne.

He erects an altar, and offers daily ſacrifices upon it. He fortifies the city.

Manaſſeh now exerted his utmoſt abilities to make every poſſibly atonement for his former crimes. He purified the city, conſecrated the holy temple anew, and made it the buſineſs of his life to manifeſt a due reverence and gratitude toward his Creator. Conſcious that his former guilt had, in a great meaſure, been the cauſe of the miſeries which his people had endured, he endeavoured to effect a reformation among them, both by his example and authority. He cauſed an altar to be erected agreeable to the directions of Moſes, upon which daily oblations were made: and having reſtored the religious ceremonies to their original purity, he directed his attention towardsimproving the fortifications of the city. He made the neceſſary reparations in the old walls, and, as a further ſecurity, encompaſſed them with new ones. He conſtructed ſeveral ſtrong and lofty towers, the out works of which he amply provided with neceſſary ſtores. During the remainder of his reign, his piety ſuffered no abatement, and he was eſteemed one of the happieſt ſovereigns of his time. He died at the age of ſixty-ſeven, being then in the fifty-fifth year of his reign; and his remains were interred in the royal garden. He was ſucceeded by Amon, his ſon by Emalſema, who was a native of the city of Jabat. This prince adopted thoſe profligate examples which his father had afforded in the early part of his life. His iniquitous courſes incited ſome perſons with whom he lived upon terms of intimacy to conſpire with his confidential domeſtics in taking away his life, which they effected in the twenty-fourth year of his age, and the ſecond of his reign. Upon the deceaſe of Amon, whoſe murderers were puniſhed with death, his ſon Joſiah, then about eight years of age, was advanced to the throne.

Manaſſeh dies. II. Chron. xxxiii. 20.

His ſon Amon ſucceeds him ibid.

Joſiah ſucceeds Amon. Ver. 25.

CHAP. V.

Joſiah aboliſhes idolatry, and reſtores the worſhip of God. He alſo eſtabliſhes various excellent regulations in civil affairs.

JEHIDA, the mother of Joſiah, was a native of Boſcath. At an early period of life, this prince manifeſted a diſpoſition to regulate his conduct according to the excellent examples of David. Before he had compleated his twelfth year, he afforded a ſignal inſtance of righteouſneſs, by aboliſhing idolatrous worſhip, and reſtoring the religion of the true God. Such of the ordinances of his predeceſſors as were productive of bad conſequences he revoked, retaining only thoſe that were conducive to the public welfare. In ſome inſtitutions he made ſuch alterations and amendments as would have reflected honouron the moſt conſummate wiſdom and the experience of advanced years. He cauſed all the groves and altars dedicated to idolatrous worſhip to be demoliſhed; and by his admirable conduct his ſubjects were detached from their ſuperſtitious idolatry, and inſpired with a zealous veneration for the worſhip of the true God. He deputed commiſſioners to ſuperintend and regulate the manners of the people, and alſo appointed magiſtrates impartially to adminiſter juſtice in contentions in civil affairs. He nominated commiſſioners in the different parts of his kingdom for receiving contributions of gold and ſilver, for the purpoſe of repairing the temple: but, averſe to giving his ſubjects any cauſe of complaint, theſe ſubſcriptions were to be optional and voluntary. The contributions being depoſited in the treaſury, Amaſiah, governor of the city, Shaphan the ſcribe, Joaſh the recorder, and Hilkiah, the high-prieſt, were appointed to provide materials, engage artificers and workmen, and ſuperintend the reparations.

Voluntray contributions for repairing the temple II. Chron. XXIV. 8.

In the eighteenth year of his reign, the king directed Hilkiah to diſpoſe of the gold and ſilver that ſhould remain after defraying the expences attending the reparation of the holy edifice, in cauſing the whole thereof of to be converted into chalices, goblets, cups, and other veſſels, and utenſils for the ſervice of religion; and he further commanded, that all the gold and ſilver then in the treaſury, ſhould be manufactured in the ſame manner.

e books of
ſes found
the tem-
, and read
the king,
4, 18.

Upon removing the treaſure, the high-prieſt diſcovered the ſacred books of Moſes; which he delivered to Shaphan, the ſcribe, who, after having peruſed them, repaired to the king, and informed him, that his commands had been obeyed; adding, that he had found the books of Moſes. Hilkiah read theſe books to the king, who, upon hearing their contents, in an agony of grief, tore his cloaths, and called for certain particular friends. On their arrival, he deſired them to accompany the high-prieſt to the propheteſs Huldah, the wife of Shallum, who was a man of diſtinguiſhed reputation; requeſting that they would unite their endeavours, to prevail upon her to make interceſſion with the Almighty for pardon towards himſelf and his ſubject; ſaying there was great reaſon to apprehend, that the vengeance of Heaven would be directed againſt the preſent generation, as a puniſhment for the iniquities of their anceſtors; and that without obtaining a reconciliation with the Lord, they ſhould be diſperſed over the face of the earth, and terminate their lives in miſery. Upon the king's order being communicated to the propheteſs, ſhe directed them to report this anſwer: "That the impious ſuperſtition of the people, and their contempt of the menacing predictions of the prophets, had incurred the wrath of Heaven; that the people would be baniſhed from their native land, and be deprived of the bleſſings of life; and that no ſupplications could prevail, to avert the judgment which the Lord had irrevocably pronounced. However (continued the propheteſs) report to Joſiah that, from a regard to his piety, the Almighty will not inflict theſe puniſhments during his life; but that immediately after his deceaſe, the Divine vengeance will be executed upon the people.

Huldah fore-
tels the de-
ſtruction of
Jeruſalem,
Ver, 23, 25.

Hereupon Joſiah diſpatched meſſengers to the ſeveral cities within his dominions, commanding the prieſts, Levites, and his ſubjects in general to repair to Jeruſalem: and upon their being aſſembled, the books of Moſes were read to them; after which, the king advanced to an eminence in the midſt of the multitude, and adminiſtered the oath of obedience to the laws of Moſes, and the holy worſhip and religion of God; and the people unanimouſly bound themſelves under thoſe ſacred engagements. After ſacrifices had been performed, prayers were put forth for obtaining the bleſſing of the Almighty. The king enjoined the high-prieſt to take a particular ſurvey of the veſſels and other plate contained in the temple, and actually to deſtroy ſuch articles as had been dedicated by his predeceſſors to the ſervice of the idolatrous religion. The king's commands was punctually obeyed, and the remnants of the utenſils were caſt away. In obedience to the command of Joſiah, all the prieſts who were not of the line of Aaron were put to death.

The reformation of the city of Jeruſalem being effected, Joſiah made a journey through his kingdom, and deſtroyed every evidence which remained of Jeroboam's ſuperſtition and idolatry: and the bones of the falſe prophets, he cauſed to be burnt upon the altar which Jeroboam had erected. Thus, after the expiration of three hundred and ſixty-one years, was the prediction of the prophet verified: for while Jeroboam was offering up ſacrifice, it was foretold that theſe events ſhould be produced by a man of the race of David, bearing the name of Joſiah. The king in perſon, and by means of deputies, applied to many of the Iſraelites who had eſcaped from a ſtate of captivity to the Aſſyrians, with a view of reclaiming them from the abominable worſhip of idols, aud inſpiring them with a juſt idea of their duty towards the eternal God. He cauſed the figures of the horſes placed over the porch of the temple, and dedicated to the ſun, to be demoliſhed, and appointed officers induſtriouſly to ſearch for, and effectually to deſtroy whatever veſtiges of idolatry might remain in the towns and villages in the different parts of his dominions.

I. Kings. XIII. 2.

The whole nation being thus compleatly purified, the king convened his ſubjects in Jeruſalem for the purpoſe of celebrating the feaſt of unleavened bread, otherwiſe called the paſſover, on which occaſion he gave to the populace from his own ſtore, thirty thouſand lambs and kids, and three thouſand oxen. The heads of the prieſthood preſented to the reſt of the ſacerdotal order, two thouſand ſix hundred lambs, and the principal Levites gave to their tribe five thouſand lambs and five hundred oxen. Under the direction of the prieſts, a ſacrifice was made of this prodigious number of victims, according to the precepts of Moſes, and the ceremony was the moſt ſolemn that had been performed ſince the days of the prophet Samuel.

The paſſover celebrated, II Chron. XXXV. 1, 19.

CHAP. VI.

Joſiah refuſes Pharaoh-Nechoh a paſſage through his country. Joſiah is killed by an arrow diſcharged by an Egyptian. He is ſucceeded by Jehoahaz, who after being made

made priſoner, dies in Egypt. Eliakim aſcends the throne.

WITH a view of annexing Aſia to his dominions, Pharaoh-Nechoh, king of Egypt, marched a powerful army towards the Euphrates, with a deſign of reducing the Medes and Babylonians, who had ſubverted the Aſſyrian empire. Having proceeded as far as Mendes [*], a town under the juriſdiction of Joſiah, the latter refuſed him a paſſage; whereupon Pharaoh diſpatched a herald to declare, that he had no hoſtile intentions towards him, but having occaſion to repair in haſte to the neighbourhood of Euphrates, he hoped the king would not put him under the neceſſity of forcing a paſſage through his country. However, Joſiah perſiſted in his refuſal; and while giving orders at the head of his army, an Egyptian diſcharged an arrow, whereby he was terribly wounded. He now gave orders for his troops to retreat, and returned to Jeruſalem, where he died in conſequence of his wound, being then thirty-nine years of age, and in the thirty-firſt year of his reign. His body was depoſited with great ſolemnity and magnificence, in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors; and on occaſion of his death, ſeveral days were devoted to public mourning. On this ſovereign's deceaſe, the prophet Jeremiah wrote an elegy, which is ſtill extant, therein predicting the approach of the Babylonian captivity, and the calamities to reſult from that event. The prophet Ezekiel left two books of predictions on the ſame ſubject. Theſe prophets were of the ſacerdotal race. Jeremiah reſided at Jeruſalem from the thirtieth year of Joſiah's reign, till the deſtruction of the temple and city.

The death of Joſiah 24.

Upon the deceaſe of Joſiah, Jehoahaz, who was then twenty-three years of age, aſſumed the government, holding his court at Jeruſalem. This prince was of an irreligious and immoral diſpoſition; his mother's name was Hamutal.

Jehoahaz ſucceeds. 2 Kings XXIII. 31.

Upon the return of the king of Egypt from the war, he diſpatched a meſſenger to require the attendance of Jehoahaz at Hamath in Syria, where he put him in fetters, and transferred the government to Eliakim, his elder brother, who on this occaſion changed his name to Jehoiakim. The Egyptian made him tributary by taxing his country to the amount of one talent of gold [†], and one hundred talents of ſilver [‡]. He took Jehoahaz with him into Egypt, where he died, having reigned only three months and ten days. Abuma [¶], a native of Raman, was the mother of Jehoiakim, who was a prince irreverent to God, and deſtitute of all compaſſion and tenderneſs to man.

Eliakim made king of Judah 34.

Jeoahaz dies in Egypt,

CHAP. VII.

Nebuchadnezzar ſubdues Pharaoh-Nechoh, and makes Jehoiakim his tributary. The calamities to beſal Jehoiakim foretold by the prophet Jeremiah.

[§] IN the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, Nebuchadnezzar [‖], king of Babylon, marched a formidable army to Carchabeſa, a city near the Euphrates, in order to proſecute a war againſt Pharaoh-Nechoh, who then had all Syria under his command. Collecting a powerful body of troops, Pharaoh advanced to oppoſe the invader, and the armies engaging on the banks of the Euphrates, the Egyptian was defeated, and compelled to retreat, with the loſs of ſeveral thouſands of his men.

In the eighth year of Jehoiakim's reign, and the fourth of Nebuchadnezzar's, the Babylonians invaded Judea, threatening deſtruction to its inhabitants, unleſs they paid a tribute, like the reſt of the Syrians. Jehoiakim, terrified by theſe threats, purchaſed his peace, and paid contribution for three years; but in the fourth, hearing that the king of Egypt was advancing againſt the Babylonians, he refuſed to pay tribute. He was, however, miſinformed, for the Egyptians were afraid to attack the Babylonians; which agreed with Jeremiah's prediction, that the Egyptians would be no better than a broken reed to depend on. This prophet likewiſe foretold, that the Babylonians, ſhould ſoon deſtroy Jeruſalem, and take Jehoiakim captive. Theſe predictions were not only held in contempt by all ranks of people, but ſome even proceeded ſo far, as formally to exhibit articles againſt the prophet, accuſing him with having endeavoured to foment an inſurrection. This charge being agitated in the council, the majority voted for puniſhing him with death: but others recommended, that the complaint might be diſmiſſed, and the priſoner diſcharged from confinement; contending, that ſeveral other perſons, of which number was Micah, had propheſied to the ſame purpoſe; and that inſtead of being deemed deſerving of puniſhment, public honours had been conferred upon them, being conſidered as prophets of the Lord. The arguments of thoſe who ſpoke in favour of Jeremiah prevailed, and he was, at length, releaſed.

---

[*] Script. Megiddo.

[†] Weighing an hundred and fourteen pounds, fifteen penny weights, and being in value five thouſand, four hundred and ſeventy-five pounds, Engliſh.

[‡] An hundred talents weighed eleven thouſand, four hundred and ſix pounds, three ounces; the value thereof in ſilver being thirty-four thouſand, two hundred and eighteen pounds, fifteen ſhillings.

[¶] Scrip. Zebudah.

[§] Vorſtius, in his ſecond Exercit. de LXX. Annis Captivitatis, tell us that Joſephus, in what follows to the end of this book, is to be read with great caution. See Grotius upon the fifth of Daniel, to the ſame purpoſe.

[‖] Nebuchodonoſor.

Having committed his predictions to writing, in the ninth month of the fifteenth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, when the people were aſſembled in the temple, on occaſion of a ſolemn faſt, Jeremiah read his book to the whole congregation. Having heard the misfortunes that were to befall the city, the temple, and the people, the princes, taking the book from the prophet, adviſed him, and Baruch his ſcribe, to ſecrete themſelves. They then repaired to the king, and preſenting the book to him, it was ordered to be read by the ſecretary, which being done, he was ſo enraged, that, ſeizing the writing, he tore it, and then caſt it into the fire, commanding Jeremiah and Baruch to be immediately brought before him, in order that he might ſentence them to puniſhment: but to elude the king's reſentment they had retired to a place of concealment.

eremiah and aruch to punish- ; but they ſcape.

CHAP. VIII.

Jehoiakim admits Nebuchadnezzar into Jeruſalem. The treacherous and cruel proceedings of Nebuchadnezzar, who puts Jehoiakim to the ſword, and advances his ſon Jehoiakin to the throne.

ehoiakim re- eives Nebu- hadnezzar to Jeruſa- em, 2 Chron. xxvi. ver. 6.

SOON after the above occurrences, Jehoiakim, being greatly alarmed by the diſmal predictions of Jeremiah, admitted Nebuchadnezzar and his whole army into Jeruſalem upon friendly terms. Conſidering his own perſon as ſecure, he had made no preparations for oppoſing the Babylonians, who had no ſooner entered the city, than, in contempt of the conditions of his treaty, and of the rights of friendſhip and hoſpitality, he put the king and all the young men of diſtinction to the ſword. Having ordered the body of Jehoiakim to be thrown into the fields without the walls of the city, Nebuchadnezzar transferred the powers of the ſovereignty to Jehoiakin, the ſon of the deceaſed king. He took priſoners into Babylon about three thouſand of the moſt conſiderable inhabitants of the city, among which number was the prophet Ezekiel, then a very young man. Jehoiakim died at the age of thirty-ſix, after reigning eleven years. Nebutha, a native of Jeruſalem was the mother of Jehoiakin, his ſucceſſor.

CHAP. IX.

Nebuchadnezzar beſieges Jeruſalem, and makes priſoners of Jehoiakin, his mother, and his moſt particular friends.

Nebuchadnezzar beſieges Jeruſalem, 2 Kings xxiv. 10, 11.

IMagining that the new king might attempt to avenge the death of his father, Nebuchadnezzar laid ſiege to Jeruſalem; whereupon Jehoiakin, who was a prince of a mild diſpoſition, agreed to ſurrender, on condition that no injury ſhould be offered either to the city, or its inhabitants. The treaty was ratified, and the king's mother, and others of his kindred were delivered to Nebuchadnezzar's commiſſioners as hoſtages.

The king and a great number of others made priſoners, 12, 16.

However, before a year had elapſed, the king of Babylon broke his agreement, and commanded his officers to ſeize all the young men of the city, and conduct them in fetters into his preſence. In conſequence of this order, ten thouſand, eight hundred and thirty-two perſons, including Jehoiakin, his mother, and many others of his kindred, were taken into cuſtody, and ſecured in priſon.

CHAP. X.

The government transferred to Zedekiah, who binds himſelf by an oath to aſſiſt the Egyptians. Zedekiah violates his engagements, and Nebuchadnezzar beſieges Jeruſalem. The king of Egypt marches to the relief of the city, and is defeated by the Babylonian, who returns to the ſiege. Zedekiah rejects the prophecies and counſel of Jeremiah.

Zedekiah advanced to the government.

AFTER the impriſonment of Jehoiakin, Nebuchadnezzar raiſed his uncle Zedekiah to the throne, binding him under the obligation of an oath neither to offer any violation to the form of government, nor to contract an alliance with the Egyptians. This prince commenced his reign when he was twenty-one years of age. He held honour, virtue and religion in the utmoſt contempt, and conſtantly aſſociated with young men of a character equally abandoned and diſſolute with his own. The prophet Jeremiah frequently admoniſhed him to change his courſe of life, and comport himſelf according to the principles of religion and juſtice, adviſing him to place no confidence in the reports of the falſe prophets, who had told him that the Babylonians would never again attempt the conqueſt of Jeruſalem, and that whenever thoſe people ſhould engage the Egyptians, the latter ſhould prove victorious. When in preſence of the prophet, Zedekiah acknowledged his advice to be founded in truth and juſtice; but upon return-turning to his profligate companions, their perſuaſions ſeduced him to return to his former errors.

At this time, Ezekiel, who reſided at Babylon, predicted the deſtruction of the temple, and ſent his prophecy to Jeruſalem. The two prophets agreed that the city ſhould be taken by force, and Zedekiah carried into captivity. Jeremiah ſaid, that the king ſhould convey him priſoner to Babylon; while Ezekiah predicted that he ſhould not ſee that city. This apparent inconſiſtency in the prophecies, led Zedekiah to doubt the truth of the whole: but it will hereafter be ſeen that he was miſtaken in his conjecture.

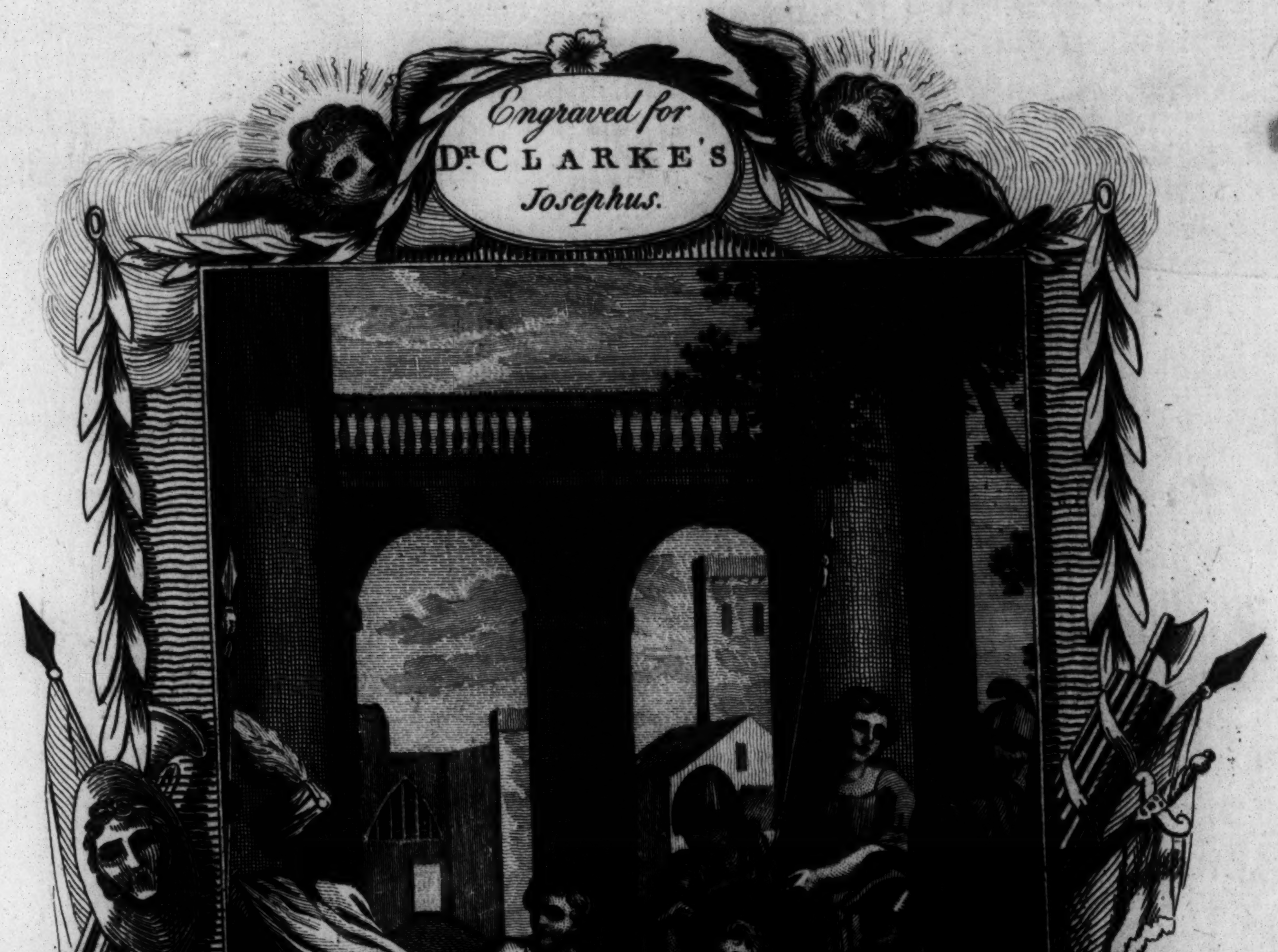
At the end of eight years, Zedekiah violated his oath to Nebuchadnezzar, by taking part with the Egyptians; thinking that, jointly, they could ſubdue the king of Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar immediately marched into Zedekiah's country, and after ſeizing his fortreſſes, ravaged and beſieged Jeruſalem. Pharaoh learning how Zedekiah was preſſed, advanced to his relief, with a view to raiſe the ſiege. Nebuchadnezzar having intimation thereof, would not wait his approach, but advanced to give him battle, and, in one conteſt, drove him out of Syria. This circumſtance ſuſpending the ſiege, the falſe prophets repreſented to Zedekiah that it was abſurd to fear the Hebrews would be carried captives to Babylon: whereas it was rather to be expected that the priſoners already taken would be permitted to return, and the plate and and treaſure, which had been carried from the temple, reſtored. In contradiction hereto, Jeremiah charged the falſe prophets, with being impoſtors, ſaying no good was to be hoped from the Egyptians; but that they ſhould be firſt conquered, and then the army of Babylon would return to the ſiege; that thoſe who eſcaped death by ſword and famine, would be made captives and the city and temple would be plundered. We are doomed (ſaid the prophet) to ſeventy years ſlavery to theſe people and their poſterity; at the end of which period, the Medes and Perſians ſhall free us from that ſlavery, by utterly deſtroying the empire of Babylon. We ſhall then return hither, build the temple anew, and reſtore the city to its former ſplendour."

Nebuchadnezza drives Pharaoh out Syria.

The majority of the people paid great attention to what the prophet ſaid; but the leading men and the unprincipled in general, conſidered and treated him as a mad man. Jeremiah having proceeded twenty furlongs from Jeruſalem, in the way to Anathoth, he was met by a magiſtrate, who confined him, on pretence that he was deſerting to the king of Babylon. It was in vain that he urged his being on his way home only; for he was hurried before a tribunal of juſtice, examined, tortured, and condemned to death; and he remained ſome time this miſerable ſituation.

Nebuchadnezzar agai beſieges the city. 2 Kin xxx. 1, 2.

In the tenth month of the ninth year of Zedekiah's reign, the king of Babylon again beſieged Jeruſalem with a large army, and, for a year and a half, exerted all his art and ſtrength to conquer it: but the city, though enfeebled by famine and peſtilence, did not yield. At this time, Jeremiah, who was in priſon, called to the people to open the gates, and admit the Babylonians, as the only means to prevent their deſtruction: he ſaid thoſe who remained in the city would be deſtroyed by famine or ſword; but the enemy would ſpare ſuch as ſurrendered them. Hereupon, the princes went to the king, and repreſented the prophet as one whoſe idle tales would delude the multitude; inſinuating that the people appeared reſolute to defend the city to the uttermoſt, till their courage was abated by his predictions. The diſpoſition of the king would not have led him to extremities; but urged as he was, and unwilling to diſoblige perſons of their rank he permitted them to diſpoſe of the prophet as they pleaſed. Hereupon they repaired to the priſon, and taking out Jeremiah, lowered him with a rope into a pit, where they left him up to the neck in mud, that he might be ſuffocated. An Ethiopian, one of the king's favourite ſervants, informing his majeſty of his ſituation he ordered him to ſelect thirty men that could be depended on, who ſhould take ropes, and inſtantly releaſe him. This being done, the prophet was privately introduced to the king, who aſked him, if he could relieve his diſtreſs by procuring the interpoſition of Heaven. Jeremiah replied in the affirmative; "But (ſaid he) your people will neither credit me, nor take my advice. Thoſe who call themſelves your friends, are my foes: they conſider me as an impoſtor, and are now conſpiring my deſtruction: but a regard to my own ſafety compels me to refrain from explaining to you the danger with which you are ſurrounded." Upon this the king bound himſelf by an oath that no injury ſhould be offered to the prophet, who then adviſed him to ſurrender up the city to the king of Babylon, as the only means of averting the impending deſtruction. He further ſaid, he was commiſſioned by the Almighty to declare, that if the advice he had given was neglected, the city and temple ſhould be levelled with the ground, and himſelf, his family, relations, and ſubjects, involved in irretrievable ruin. Zedekiah ſaid he was diſ-

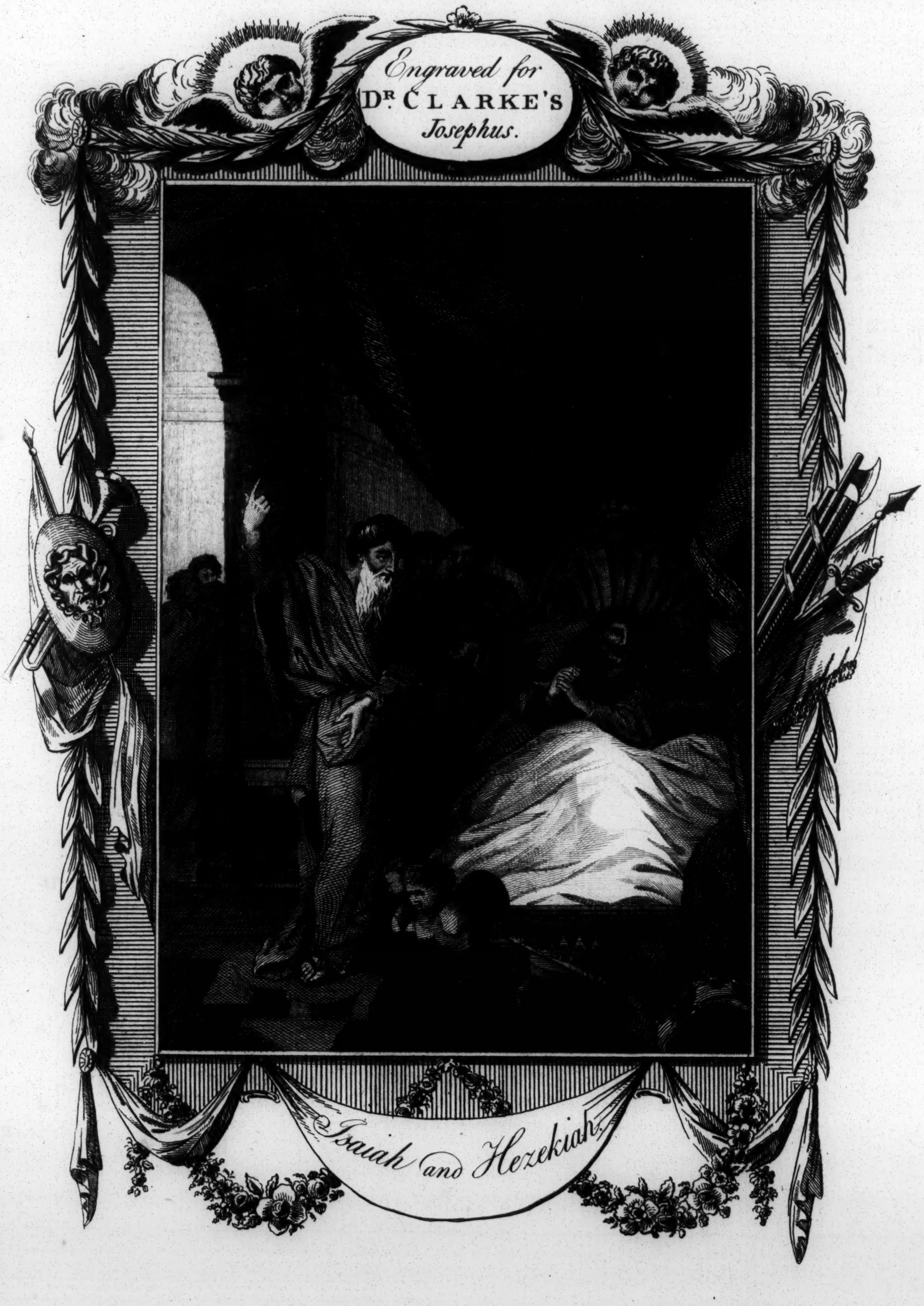

Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

Jeremiah taken out of the Dungeon

Publish'd as the Act directs July 14. 1786 by John Walker Paternoster Row.

BRITISH MUSEUM

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.
Isaiah and Hezekiah.

Published as the Act directs Augt. 4, 1786 by John Walker Paternoster Row.

diſpoſed to follow this advice, in order to provide for the public welfare; but yet he was under apprehenſion, that if he ſhould comply, ſome of his people who had revolted to the enemy, would perſuade Nebuchadnezzar to put him to death. The prophet told him he had no cauſe to be alarmed on this account; for if he ſurrended the city, no violence would be offered either to himſelf, his wives, or children; and that the temple would ſuſtain no injury. Zedekiah now told the prophet to retire, enjoining him not to divulge what had paſſed to any perſon whatever, and if enquiry ſhould be made as to the reaſon of the interview, he ſhould pretend that the object of his viſit was to ſolicit his liberty.

CHAP. XI.

Jeruſalem taken, plundered and burnt. The children and friends of Zedekiah put to death; after which he is deprived of ſight, and taken captive into Babylon, where he dies. The treachery of Iſhmal. The Egyptians are ſubdued and taken captives into Babylon. Particulars relating to Daniel, Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego. The death of Nebuchadnezzar.

THE Babylonians raiſed works round the city, ſo as to drive the defendants from the walls. Notwithſtanding the inhabitants were afflicted with the combined miſeries of a plague and a famine, they maintained an obſtinate and brave defence, having recourſe to every expedient that could poſſibly be deviſed for rendering ineffectual the ſtratagems of the beſiegers. After the ſiege had been proſecuted with great vigour for a year and a half, a ſcarcity of proviſions, and the want of men and warlike ſtores, rendered a longer reſiſtance impracticable. When Zedekiah had reigned elven years, three months and nine days the city was ſurrendered, at midnight, to Nergelaer, Aremantus, Emegar, Nabaſaries, and Acharampſaris, the officers who Nebuchadnezzar had appointed to the management of the ſiege, he being then at Reblathis. Obſerving the officers and ſoldiers enter the temple, Zedekiah, accompanied by his wives, children, and friends, eſcaped by a narrow paſſage towards the deſart: but being informed of their rout, early in the morning the enemy purſued and ſurrounded them in the neighbourhood of Jericho. Being in this deſperate ſituation, Zedekiah was abandoned by his friends and followers, who fled different ways, in order to provide for their own ſafety; ſo that the king, his wives, and children, together with a ſmall number of faithful adherents, were, without difficulty made priſoners, and conducted into the preſence of Nebuchadnezzar, who, upon obſerving the royal captive approach, upbraided him with infidelity and ingratitude to the author of his advancement to the throne; adding, that the juſtice of Heaven had made him a priſoner, in order to puniſh his temerity and treachery. The Babylonian then commanded, that in the preſence of Zedekiah, his wives, children and friends ſhould be put to death, and that after his royal priſoner had been deprived of ſight, he ſhould be eſcorted to Babylon in chains. Theſe orders were obeyed. Thus were the predictions of Jeremiah and Ezekiel verified. The former ſaid Zedekiah ſhould be made a priſoner, ſee, and converſe with the king, and be taken to Babylon; and the latter declared, that, though he ſhould be conveyed as a priſoner to the above city, he ſhould not ſee the king there.

Jeruſalem taken after eighteen months ſiege, 2 Kings xxv. 1—3.

Zedekiah's children and friends put to death, and he is deprived of his ſight. 7.

Thus the ſovereignty of the race of David became extinct, after a ſucceſſion of one-and-twenty kings, who reigned for the ſpace of five hundred and fifteen years, ſix months and ten days, including the twenty years of the reign of Saul, who was of a different tribe.

After this great victory, Nebuchadnezzar diſpatched Nebuzar-Adan, his commander in chief, with orders to repair to Jeruſalem, and burn and otherwiſe totally to deſtroy the palace and temple, and after levelling the whole city with the ground, to conduct the captive inhabitants to Babylon. In the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, and the eighteenth year of that of Nebuchadnezzar, theſe orders were carried into execution by Nebuzar-Adan, who after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, carried to Babylon an immenſe booty, including all the gold and ſilver veſſels of the temple, Solomon's great laver, the brazen pillars, with their chapiters, and the golden tables and candleſticks. Theſe events took place four hundred and ſeventy years, ſix months and ten days, from the time of its being built; one thouſand and ſixty-two years, ſix months and ten days, from the departure of the Iſraelites from the land of Egypt; one thouſand nine hundred and fifty years, ſix months and ten days, from the general deluge, and three thouſand five hundred and thirteen years, ſix months and ten days from the creation of the world.

The city and temple burnt. 8—11.

Seraiah, the high-prieſt; Sepheniah, the next in dignity of the prieſthood; three chief keepers of the temple; the principal eunuch of the bed-chamber; ſeven of the king's friends, and his ſecretary, beſides, ſeveral other perſons of eminence, were taken priſoners by Nebuzar-Adan, and conducted into the preſence of Nebuchadnezzar

Nebuzar-Adan's priſoners, Jer. lii. 24, 25.

nezzar at Rablathlis, in Syria, when he commanded Seraiah, the high-prieſt, and ſome others of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of theſe perſons to be beheaded, ſending the reſt, with Zedekaih, captives to Babylon, with Jehozadack, the high-prieſt, the ſon of Seraiah.

Having explained the order in which the ſovereignty deſcended from father to ſon, it will be proper to mention the ſucceſſion of the high-prieſts under thoſe kings. The firſt inveſted with the pontifical dignity after the building of Solomon's temple was Zadock, and his ſucceſſors were in the following order: Ahimaaz, Azariah, Joram, *Iſus, Axioramus, Phideas, Sudeas,† Julus, Jotham, Urias, Nerias, Odeas, Saldumus, Elcias, Sareas, and Jehozadack.

Zedekiah dies in priſon at Babylon. Jer. lii. 11.

Upon the return of Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon, he cauſed Zedekiah to be thrown into priſon, where he ſome time afterwards died. He was buried with the honours of royalty. The king reſtored Jehozadack to liberty, and aſſigned habitations in Babylon for the priſoners. The veſſels taken from the temple he dedicated to his idols. Nebuzar-Adan committed ſuch of the priſoners as were not of diſtinguiſhed rank to the care of Gedeliah, a man of a benevolent temper, who allotted to each of them a portion of ground ſufficient to produce a ſubſiſtence, on condition of paying a tribute to the king.

Jeremiah was relieved from confinement, and the king having given orders that he ſhould be treated with kindneſs, Gedeliah offered him the privilege of going to Babylon, adding, that, if he preferred any other place of reſidence, he would write to the king on the ſubject. Jeremiah anſwered, that he would rather live among the ruins of his native land. This being told to Nebuzar-Adan, he directed Gedeliah to provide properly for him, and ſent the prophet ſome valuable preſents. Having obtained the liberty of his ſervant Baruch, Jeremiah choſe him for his companion, and fixed on Mizpah for his reſidence. Baruch was the ſon of Neriah, nobly deſcended, and a great maſter of his native language.

Thoſe who had fled the city during the ſiege, being by this time acquainted with its deſtruction, repaired, in great numbers, to Gedeliah at Mizpah; among whom were Johanan, the ſon of Careah Jaazaniah and Seraiah, with Iſhmael, a perſon of royal blood, but of moſt abandoned character, who had been protected by Bathal, king of the Ammonities, while the ſiege laſted. Theſe people applied to Gedeliah, who invited them to remain in that country, and cultivate the earth, promiſing under the ſanction of an oath, that they ſhould be undiſturbed in their poſſeſſions. He adviſed them to fix on their places of reſidence, and permitted his own people to aſſiſt them in fitting up their dwellings; but cautioned them to be aſſiduous in providing for the vintage and harveſt, that there might be plenty of corn, wine, and oil, for the winter. Having thus encourged them, he left them to their own diſpoſal.

The report of Gedeliah's generoſity towards the priſoners ſo greatly advanced his reputation in the ſurrounding nations, that the natives thereof reſorted to him in great numbers, ſo that a populous colony was in a ſhort time eſtabliſhed, lands being aſſigned to the uſe of the emigrants, on condition of a certain acknowledgment to the king of Babylon. Gedeliah's generoſity to the ſettlers ſo highly engaged the eſteem of Johanan and the other principal men, who had intelligence of a conſpiracy forming againſt him, by Iſhmael and the king of the Ammonites, that they informed him that Iſhmael was to aſſaſſinate him, and then, he being of the royal line, to uſurp the government of the Iſraelites. To counteract this plan, they requeſted his permiſſion to deſtroy Iſhmael; for they thought the Iſraelites would be ruined by the continuance of the plot. Gedeliah ſaid he deemed it impoſſible that any man could ſo far deviate from all ſenſe of moral obligation as to ſeek the deſtruction of his preſerver: but if this was the caſe, he would not ſo far violate the laws of hoſpitality as to take the life of the man who had ſheltered himſelf under his protection. On this declaration, Johanan and his friends departed.

A dreadful maſſacre. Jer. lii. 3, 7.

A viſit being made, about a month after this, to Gedeliah, by Iſhmael and ten of his friends, they were moſt hoſpitably treated. The glaſs having gone round, till Gedeliah and his party were ſomewhat elevated, the others treacherouſly murdered them all. This maſſacre was perpetrated at midnight; when then aſſaſſins ſallying forth, they indiſcriminately put to death all the Jews and Babylonians that they could find. The following day, eighty men came with preſents for Gedeliah, when Iſhmael invited them into the houſe of the deceaſed in conjunction, and with his accomplices murdered them and threw their bodies into a pit, ſparing the lives of a ſmall number, on condition of their making diſcovery where they had concealed their corn, apparel and other effects. They then took away as priſoners the inhabitants

---

* According to Biſhop Montague Iſus and Axioramus are fictitious names. See his Appatus.

† The ſame learned prelate reads Joel and Oſeas for Odeas, and Sallum for Saldum. See Apparat. 6.

of Mizpah, the daughters of Zedekiah, whom Nebuzar-Adan had committed to the care of Gedaliah, being of the number. Iſhmael haſtened to the king of the Ammonites with intelligence of this exploit, but in the mean time Johanan and the other chiefs, being informed of the barbarities committed at Mizpah, they united their forces, and going in purſuit of Iſhmael, they overtook him near the fountain of Hebron. Rejoiced at the ſight of the purſuers, the captives immediately joined them. Iſhmael and eight of his followers eſcaped to the king of the Ammonites.

ohanan eſcues the priſoners: ut Iſhmael, nd eight with him, fly o the king of he Ammon- tes, ver. 13, 15

Accompanied by the men, women, and children, that he had redeemed, Johanan proceeded to Mandra, where they repoſed one day, intending to go into Egypt, leſt in revenge for the death of Gedaliah, the Babylonians ſhould attack them. However, they determined to conſult Jeremiah as to what courſe they ſhould purſue, and bound themſelves by an oath to follow his directions. The prophet promiſed an anſwer; and in ten days reported, that they ſhould be perfectly ſecure in their preſent ſituation: but if they ſhould go into Egypt, they muſt expect judgments as dreadful as thoſe that had befallen their brethren. Diſcrediting this meſſage from God, and believing it to be an invention of Jeremiah in favour of his diſciple Baruch and calculated to ſeduce them into the power of the Babylonians, Johanan and the other chiefs ſeized Jeremiah and Baruch, and proceeded into Egypt, where, ſoon after their arrival, the prophet had a viſion, wherein it was revealed to him, that the king of Babylon ſhould ſubdue that country, when part of the people would be ſlain, and the reſt taken captives to Babylon. In obedience to the command of God, he communicated this prediction to the multitude. The prophecy was verified in the twenty-third year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, whom that monarch, after ſubjecting Cœle-Syria, and defeating the Moabites and Ammonites, made an incurſion into Egypt, where having put the reigning prince to death, and advanced another to the throne, he took into captivity in Babylon all the Jews he found in that country.

Thus were the Hebrews twice made priſoners beyond the Euphrates. In the reign of Hoſea, the ten tribes were taken acroſs the river by the Aſſyrians, as were the other two by Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Chaldeans and Babylonians, upon the conqueſt of Jeruſalem. The Chuthites were removed by Salmanazer from Perſia and Media, into the land of the Iſraelites, where they aſſumed the appellation of Samaritans: but the king of Babylon introduced no ſettlers in the room of the people he captured. Hence it was, that Judea, Jeruſalem, and the temple, were totally abandoned for the ſpace of ſeventy years. One hundred and thirty years, ſix months, and ten days elapſed between the captivity of the ten tribes, and the tranſmigration of the other two.

The hiſtory of Belteſhazzar, Shadrach, Meſhech, and Abednego. Dan. i.

Some of the fineſt young men among the Jews being ſelected for Nebuchadnezzar's particular ſervice, they had tutors appointed to inſtruct them in the learning of Chaldea: and ſome of them were caſtrated, agreeable to the cuſtom of the country. Among them were four relations of Zedekiah, viz. Daniel, Ananias, Miſhael, and Azariah; but their names were changed to Belteſhazzar, Shadrack, Meſhech, and Abednego. The king was equally pleaſed with the goodneſs of their tempers and ſtrength of their judgments, and directed proviſions to be ſent them from his own table: but Daniel conſidering ſuch elegant viands ſuited not their ſituation, applied to Aſchanes, the eunuch, and begged that, inſtead of the king's proviſions, they might eat pulſe or dates, or any homely food. The eunuch expreſſed a readineſs to gratify them; but ſaid, that if they ſhould grow lean on ſuch food, and decline in health and complexion, the king might ſuſpect what had happened, eſpecially if their companions looked better than they did; which might endanger his life. However they urged the eunuch to make the experiment, ſaying they could return to their former food, if this was found not to agree with them. The trial being made, the eunuch found they increaſed in health of body, and vigour of mind; on which he kept to himſelf the king's allowance. A courſe of this temperance ſo ſtrengthened their faculties, that they rapidly encreaſed in Hebrew and Chaldean learning; particularly Daniel, who became a proficient in their arts, undertook to expound dreams, and had ſometimes viſions of his own.

About two years after the conqueſt of Egypt, Nebuchadnezzar had a very extraordinary dream, and alſo a revelation from God of its meaning: but he forgot the particulars of both. Hereupon, he called into his preſence the Chaldeans, Magi, and prophets, commanding them to relate and expound the viſion. To obey, they ſaid was impoſſible; but if he would relate the dream, they would give its interpretation. Hereupon, the king ordered them to be put to death. Daniel hearing of the intended execution, went to Arioch, the captain of the guards, to enquire the cauſe; on which the captain informed him, they were to die, becauſe they could not explain a dream, which the king had forgot.

Daniel now requeſted they might be reſpited for one night, and he hoped God would enable him to interpret the dream. The captain acquainting the king with this circumſtance, the execution was ſuſpended. The friends of Daniel retired with him to his chamber, where they ſpent the night in prayer that God would be pleaſed to reveal to Daniel the dream which the king had forgotten. Their prayers were heard, and God made known to Daniel both the dream and its interpretation. He aroſe early in the morning, and repairing to the men under ſentence of death, bad them be of good courage, for he was certain of delivering them. They returned their joint thanks to Heaven, and then Daniel went to Arioch, deſiring to be introduced to the king, whoſe dream he could now interpret.

Daniel no ſooner ſaw the king, then he ſaid, he did not approach him from motives of vanity, or a pretence of poſſeſſing more wiſdom than the Chaldeans and Magi, but in compaſſion to the unfortunate, God had enabled him to explain the meaning of the dream, which was to the following purport: "Reflecting on what would be the fate of your kingdom after your deceaſe, you imagined that you beheld a ſtatue in an erect poſition, the head being of gold, the arms and ſhoulders of ſilver, the belly and thighs of braſs, and the legs and feet of iron. A ſtone breaking from the mountain ſeemed to cruſh the gold, ſilver, braſs and iron into duſt, which was ſcattered to the extremities of the earth, and in the mean time, this ſtone ſo increaſed, as to reſemble a mountain in bulk. The ſignification of the viſion is, that yourſelf, and your predeceſſors in the ſovereignty were repreſented by the golden head; the hands and ſhoulders ſignify, that your empire ſhall be deſtroyed by two kings; by the braſs is imported, that your kingdom will afterwards be ſubverted by a ſovereign from the weſt, clad in brazen armour: and further the dream ſignifies, that a man in an armour of iron, a metal ſtronger than gold, ſilver, or braſs, ſhall ſubdue the king laſt alluded to."

Nebuchadnezzar acknowledged that Daniel had related a true account of his dream and bowing to the ground worſhipped him, under the appellation of Belteſhazzar, which was the name of his idol. The king appointed Daniel and ſome of his relations to rule over the whole province, which exaltation threatened them with ruin, as will appear from what follows.

In the plain of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar placed a golden image, ſixty cubits[‡] in height, and ſix in breadth; and the princes and great men in all parts of his dominions being ſummoned to attend the dedication of this figure, proclamation was made, that upon a trumpet being ſounded, all perſons ſhould proſtrate themſelves before and worſhip the idol, on the penalty of being caſt into a fiery furnace. The ſignal being given, the people humbled in adoration before the image, except Daniel and his relations, who diſdained to commit an act ſo derogatory to the laws of their country; and information of their diſobedience to the king's edict being exhibited againſt them, they were caſt into the fire. But by a wonderful interpoſition of Divine Providence, they remained amidſt the flames wholly uninjured. This miraculous proof of the goodneſs of God in the preſervation of his ſervants, had ſuch an effect upon Nebuchadnezzar, that he ever after held thoſe righteous perſons in the higheſt honour and eſteem.

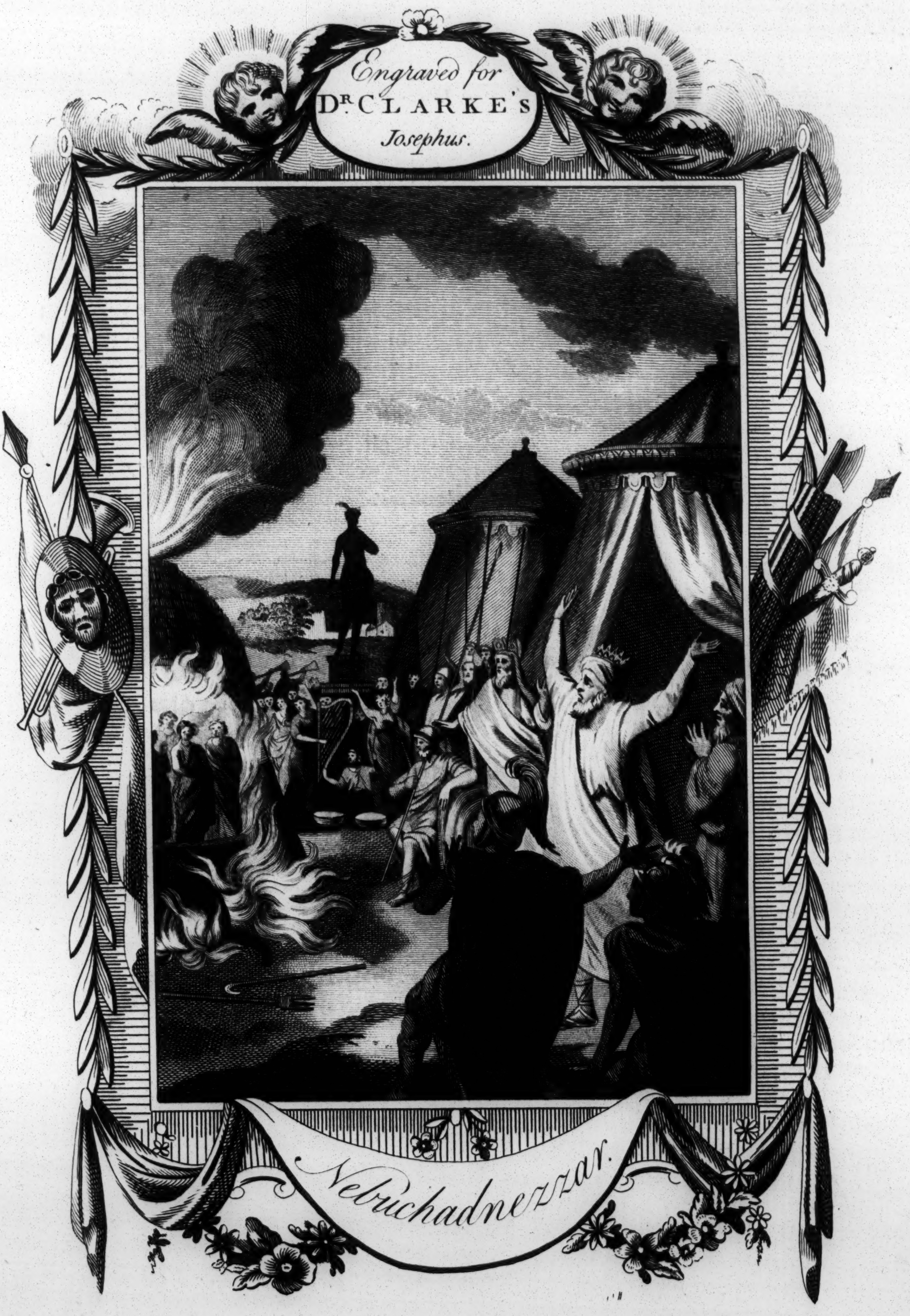
Daniel and and his companions caſt into a fiery furnace and miraculouſly preſerved. Dan. iii. 12.

A ſhort time afterwards, Nebuchadnezzar had a ſecond dream, intimating, that after being expelled his kingdom, and living ſeven years among the beaſts of the foreſt, he ſhould be reſtored to the powers of royalty. On this occaſion, the Magi and the other wiſe men were conſulted; but Daniel only was capable of interpreting the viſion; and agreeably with his explanation, after Nebuchadnezzar had paſſed ſeven years in ſolitude, in compliance with his prayers, the Almighty was pleaſed to reinſtate him in all the ſplendour of the regal dignity.

Nebuchadnezzar died in the forty-third year of his age, having been diſtinguiſhed for his vigilance, and a better fortune than attended any of his predeceſſors. The Chaldean hiſtory, written by Beroſus, recites the following particulars: "Nabuchodonozor, the elder, learning that an officer to whom he had intruſted the government of Egypt, Cœle-Syria, and Phœnicia, had departed from his fidelity; and illneſs preventing his engaging in war, he ſent Nebuchodonzor, his ſon, with part of his army, to chaſtiſe him. He fought him, gained the victory, and reduced the provinces to obedience. In the interim, the father died at Babylon, in the twenty-firſt year of his reign. The young king, hearing of his father's death, adjuſted the affairs of Egypt and the other provinces, and charged ſome friends to conduct to Babylon the army, with the Jews, Syrians, Phœnicians, and Egyptians, who were his priſoners; and then travelled over the deſart with a few attendants. In the interim, the Chaldeans took care of his government, ſo that, on his coming home, he

---

[‡] Sixty cubits were upwards of a hundred and nine feet, or ſomething more than thirty ſix yards and one foot.


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.
Nebuchadnezzar.

Publish'd as the Act directs June 9th 1786, by J. Walker Paternoster Row.

BRITISH MUSEUM

he was fully eſtabliſhed. His firſt buſineſs was to divide his captives into colonies; and he next adorned with the ſpoils of war, the temple of Belus, and other places of worſhip. He enlarged and repaired the old city buildings, and erected fortifications on the banks of the river. Within the city he built three entrenchments of brick-work, and the ſame number without it. The place being thus fortified, he adorned the gates in a curious manner, and built a moſt magnificent palace near that of his father. This building was wonderfully grand; and it is remarkable, that it was compleated in fifteen days. There were arches in this edifice ſupporting huge ſtones that had the appearance of mountains hanging in the air: and on theſe were planted ſeveral kinds of trees, to gratify the queen (a Median by birth) who wiſhed to ſee the curioſities of her country repreſented. Theſe gardens are celebrated by Magaſthenes, in the fourth volume of the Hiſtory of India. This author ſpeaks of the king as ſuperior even to Hercules, as he had reduced almoſt all Lybia and Iberia. This monarch is alſo mentioned by Diocles, in the ſecond part of his hiſtory of Perſia; and by Philoſtratus, in his account of the Phœnicians and Indians, who records that in the reign of Ithobal, king of Tyre he laid ſiege to that city for thirteen years.

CHAP. XII.

The government deſcends from Nebuchadnezzar to Evil-Merodach, who releaſes Jehoiakin. Cyrus and Darius beſiege Babylon. Daniel expounds a viſion to Belſhazzar. Babylon taken. Daniel becomes the favourite of Darius. Daniel's wonderful deliverances, viſions, and predictions.

Evil-Merodach ſucceeds Nebuchadnezzar. Jehoiakin ſet at liberty and preferred. Jer. lii. 31.

NEbuchadnezzar being ſucceeded by his ſon Evil-Merodach, he reſtored Jehoiakin, king of Jeruſalem to liberty, beſtowed many valuable preſents upon him and appointed him to the government of his palace in Babylon. Having reigned nearly eighteen years, Evil-Merodach was ſucceeded by his ſon Nigliſar, who reigned forty years, when the government devolved to his ſon Laboſardochus, who reigned nine months, and was ſucceeded by Belſhazzar, by the Babylonians called Naboandel.

Balſhazzar perceives a hand writing on the wall. Dan. v. 2, 3.

Cyrus, king of the Perſians, and Darius king of the Medes, marched againſt Babylon and while they were beſieging that city, Belſhazzar had a ſurpriſing viſion. Being at ſupper, ſurrounded by his courtiers and concubines, in a ſpacious apartment, where the tables were decorated with a profuſion of ſilver veſſels, he ordered to be brought into his preſence the ſacred veſſels which, after the plunder of Jeruſalem, Nebuchadnezzar had depoſited in the temple, though he had not preſumed to apply them to any prophane or vulgar uſe. Being elevated with liquor, while the king was ſpeaking in an irreverent and prophane manner of the true God, he perceived a hand in the act of writing upon the walls which ſtruck him with aſtoniſhment and terror: and he immmediately aſſembled the Chaldeans, and other men celebrated for their wiſdom in order to divine the meaning of the characters ſo miraculouſly produced. Having conſulted together, they declared themſelves incapable of developing the myſtery. The king now ordered proclamation to be made through his dominions, that whoever interpreted the writing, ſhould be rewarded with a golden chain, the privilege of wearing a purple robe, and taking rank as the third man in the kingdom. The ſame perſons again aſſembled; but their efforts proved as fruitleſs as before.

Daniel expounds the writing. 25, 28.

At the recommendation of his grandmother, the king ſent for Daniel, and aſſured him that, if he ſhould intepret the writing, the conditions of his proclamation ſhould be fulfilled. After declining the acceptance either of preſents, or diſtinctions of honour, Daniel thus addreſſed himſelf to the king:" The writing ſignifies, that your death is approaching. Admoniſhed by the fate of your great anceſtor, you would have acted wiſely in regulating your life according to the dictates of the holy religion. Driven from the ſociety of mankind, Nebuchadnezzar was compelled to herd with the beaſts of the foreſt, till in compliance with his penitential ſupplications, it pleaſed the Almighty to reſtore him to his throne; a bleſſing that he ever after gratefully acknowledged. But ſo little are you influenced by his example, that you blaſphame God, and prophane the veſſels appartaining to his holy altar. Your impious proceedings have provoked the wrath of Heaven; and the writing upon the walls is predictive of the puniſhment in reſerve for you. The word MENE ſignifies *number*, and imports, that the days of yours life and reign ſhall be few; the meaning of TEKEL is weight, which implies that your reign is weighed in the balance, and drawing to a concluſion; PERES means a *fragment*, and portends that your kingdom ſhall be divided between the Medes and Perſians." Dejected as the king was at this interpretation, yet he ratified to Daniel all that had been promiſed; for he conſidered that, however fatal the news might be to him, the prophet had acted the part of a conſcientious man, in telling him the real truth.

Soon after this, the city of Babylon fell into the hands of Cyrus, who took it in the ſeventeenth year of the reign of Belſhazzar. who is deemed the laſt king of the family of Nebuchadnezzar. Darius was ſixty-two years old when with the aſſiſtance of his kinſman, Cyrus, the ſon of Aſtyages, Babylon was ſubdued. Cyrus took Daniel with him to Media, where he promoted him to the rank of one of the three chief governors, under whom were three hundred and ſixty§ others, as Darius had originally modelled the government. Darius had ſuch veneration for Daniel, that he ſeldom engaged in any buſineſs of conſequence without his advice, which drew on him the envy of the other favourites at court: but Daniel was particularly cautious not to fall into their ſnares. He ſcorned to accept a bribe, and took only a legal acknowledgment for favours conferred: yet this did not prevent his enemies from combining his deſtruction, which they attempted in the following manner.

Daniel regularly prayed to God three times a day, and his adverſaries ſought to entrap him from this circumſtances. They made application to Darius, in the name, and by order of the officers of ſtate, to iſſue an edict, that whoever ſhould ſolicit any thing, from God or man, for thirty days, ſhould be thrown into the lions den. Darius, unaware of their intentions, paſſed the decree. This circumſtance ſhocked all the people except Daniel, who continued to worſhip God publicly, as if the order to the contrary had never iſſued. His enemies having now a pretence for their proceedings, they informed the king, that Daniel was the only perſon who deſpiſed the royal proclamation, by continuing his worſhip, which, they ſaid, was not done from a motive of religion, but in mere contradiction to the king's command. Their malice being the more violent, from an apprehenſion that the king's partiality for Daniel might induce him to pardon the ſuppoſed offence, they preſſed him for immediate juſtice on the delinquent, whom they inſiſted ſhould be caſt into the lions den. Darius compelled to yield to their importunities, told Daniel he had no doubt but the life of ſo good a man would be protected by the immediate interference of Divine Providence. Daniel being put into the den, the mouth of it was cloſed by a large ſtone; and Darius having ſealed the door with the royal ſignet, returned to his palace. The king was ſo troubled that he could neither eat nor ſleep during the night; and in the morning early, he repaired to the den, where he found the ſeal unbroken, and every thing as he had left it. Darius looking through a grate, called Daniel by his name, to enquire if he was ſafe and well; when the prophet anſwered in the affirmative; on which the king ordered him be ſet free; but the enemies of Daniel denied that this was a providential deliverance; inſiſting that the reaſon why Daniel remained unhurt was, that the lions had then no appetite. Darius was ſo enraged at this palpable malice, that he ordered the lions to be fed till they were perfectly ſatisfied, and then that the accuſers of Daniel ſhould be put among them: ſaying, "If the lions touch them not, it is becauſe they are filled; but if they deſtroy them the preſervation of Daniel muſt be aſcribed to the Providence of God." They were no ſooner thrown in, than they were torn to pieces.

Daniel caſt into a den of lions, but is not hurt. Dan. xi. 16, 23.

His enemies torn to pieces by the beaſts. 24.

Soon after this wonderful deſtruction of Daniel's enemies, Darius cauſed proclamation to be made throughout all his dominions, that his ſubjects ſhould acknowledge the God of Daniel as the only true God. Daniel having acquired univerſal eſteem, he built a magnificent edifice at Ecbatane, the capital of Media, which is equally wonderful for its beauty and ſtrength. This building ſtill remains entire, as when firſt erected being no way impaired, like other buildings, by the injuries of time. It is kept as a monument of the kings of the Medes, Perſians, and Parthians, and a Jewiſh prieſt has, to this day the care of it.

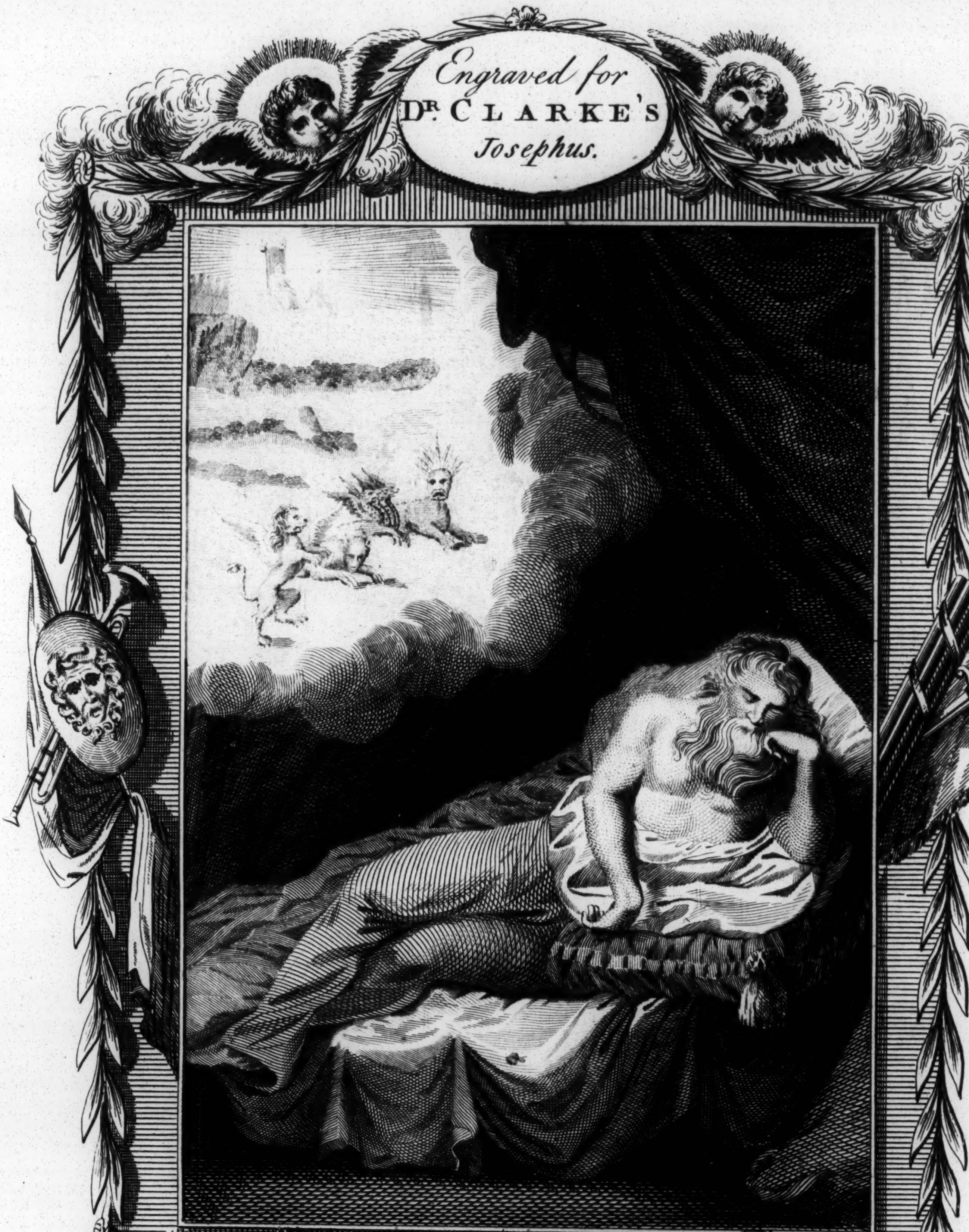
The life of Daniel is pregnant with many remarkable circumſtances. Excluſive of the gift of prophecy, he was happy in the enjoyment of the higheſt reputation both with the prince and the people; and his writings prove that he was admitted to the immediate converſation of God, who revealed to him not only future events, but the particular time when theſe events ſhould happen. Other prophets generally foretold misfortunes, by which they made enemies both of princes and people; but Daniel poſſeſſed the eſteem of both, from the good news he had the happineſs to reveal. It was alſo univerſally allowed, that his predictions were infallible, which may be alſo judged from the works which he has left us.

Daniel relates, that as he was enjoying the air with his friends, at Suſa, the capital of Perſia, they were ſuddenly ſurpriſed by an earthquake; on which his friends fled, and left him aſtoniſhed on the ground. In this ſituation ſomebody ſeemed to touch him, bid him riſe, and he ſhould ſee what would happen to his countrymen in future ages. On his getting up, he a ſaw a ram with ſeveral horns, one of which was higher than the reſt: looking weſtward he be-

---

§ Dan. VI. 1. mentions only three hundred and twenty.

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
D^{r}. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

Daniel's Vision.

Publishd as the Act directs Aug.^{t} 11, 1786 by John Walker, Paternoſter Row.

beheld a goat paſſing through the air, which attacked the ram, beat him down twice, and trod on him. Then a large horn grew from the forehead of the goat, which being broke, four more aroſe in its ſtead, directed to the four quarters of the Heavens The prophet writes that, from one of theſe came forth a ſmall horn, which, on its increaſe, was to make war againſt the Jews, deſtroy Jeruſalem, and aboliſh the ceremonies of the temple, and all ſacrifices, for twelve hundred and ninety-ſix days. Daniel thus expounds this viſion. The Medes and Perſians are intimated by the ram: their following kings by the horns, and the laſt of their ſovereigns, by the laſt horn, as his wealth and power was to exceed the reſt. A king of Greece, who ſhould deſtroy the Perſian empire, is meant by the goat. The horn on the goat's forehead, means the firſt of their kings, and the four budding horns their ſucceſſors, who, though not allied to them, ſhould divide their dominions: that theſe ſhould reign many years, and from them a king ſhould ariſe, who ſhould wage war againſt the nation of Jews, abrogate their laws, ruin their commonwealth, and, for three years, interrupt the worſhip of God, and the ceremony of offering up ſacrifices. Under the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, this prophecy was verified.

Daniel left in writing many wonderful predictions relating to the Romans, and the deſolation in which they ſhould involve the Jews; and the events tranſpired preciſely as foretold. The prophecies of Daniel and their accompliſhment are evidences of truth infinitely more than ſufficient utterly to controvert and confound the impious doctrines of the Epicureans, who deny the exiſtence of an overruling Providence, and contend, that the world is governed by chance; a notion as abſurd as to ſuppoſe a ſhip without a pilot would be ſafe amidſt contending winds and waves, or to detach the idea of inevitable deſtruction from a chariot and horſes without a driver, furiouſly travelling amidſt rocks, crags, and precipices.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS,

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK XI.

From the Year of the World 3425 *to* 3635.

CHAPTER I.

Cyrus reſtores the Jews to freedom, and commiſſions his governors and other officers to aſſiſt them in rebuilding the city and temple of Jeruſalem.

The Jews reſtored after ſeventy years captivity, as the prophet Jeremiah foretold, Ezra i. 1, 2.

IN the fifth year of the reign of Cyrus, and the ſeventieth of the captivity of the Jews of Babylon, was verified the following prediction, which Jeremiah pronounced previous to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem: that after a bondage of ſeventy years under Nebuchadnezzar and his ſucceſſors, the Hebrews ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in their former ſtate of happineſs, opulence, and ſplendour. The Almighty was pleaſed to incline Cyrus to diſpatch circular letters throughout Aſia, purporting that the God worſhipped by the Iſraelites was that eternal and Divine Being through whoſe bounty he had been advanced to the throne, and that he found himſelf honourably mentioned by the ancient prophets, as the prince deſtined to reſtore the Hebrews to their former magnificence, and independency. Cyrus had peruſed the prophecies of Iſaiah, which were written two hundred and ten years preceding his birth, containing a revelation from God, that a man named Cyrus, the king of many powerful nations, would reſtore the Hebrews to poſſeſſion of their native country. This prediction was delivered one hundred and forty ſeven years before the deſtruction of the temple.

Having convened the leading men among the Jews in Babylon, Cyrus informed them that he would grant paſſports to ſuch of their nation as were diſpoſed to return to their native country; and that they ſhould have permiſſion to rebuild the city and temple of Jeruſalem; adding, that he would order his governors and other officers on the borders of Judea, to provide them with gold, ſilver, and other articles neceſſary for the ſtructure of the temple, and alſo to ſupply them with beaſts for ſacrifice. Immediately after this proof of the king's friendly diſpoſition, the principal men of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, together with the prieſts and Levites, departed for Jeruſalem: but rather than relinquiſh the poſſeſſions they had obtained, many of the Jews declined removing from Babylon.

When the people who had accepted the propoſal of Cyrus for rebuilding the temple arived at Jeruſalem, great contributions were made in gold, ſilver, horſes and other cattle. Numbers attended the ceremony of oblations, and the ancient forms of religious inſtitutions with as great punctuality as was obſerved when the city was firſt erected. Cyrus had ſent to Jeruſalem the holy veſſels and other utenſils which had been taken from the temple, and conveyed to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, Mithridates†, the king's treaſurer, being charged to deliver them to the care of Abaſſar, till the temple ſhould be compleated, when he was to depoſit them with the prieſts and magiſtrates. Cyrus addreſſed the following letter to the governors of Syria.

Cyrus *the king, to* Syſina *and* Sarabaſon, *greeting.*

"I have given permiſſion for all the Jews within my dominions, to return to their own country, to rebuild the city of Jeruſalem, and to erect the holy temple on the ſpot where that fabric originally ſtood. Mithridates, my treaſurer, and Zorobabel, governor of Judea, have my directions to ſuperintend the ſtructure, and cauſe it to be raiſed ſixty cubits from the earth, and to be of the ſame meaſure in breadth; the walls to be compoſed of three ranges of poliſhed ſtone, and one of wood, the produce of the country; and to provide an altar for ſacrifice. The whole expence attending the above, I ſhall myſelf defray. Mithridates, my treaſurer, and Zorobabel, Prince of Judea, have been commiſſioned to reſtore the following holy utenſils, which Nebuchadnezzar carried from the temple: fifty ewers of gold, and four hundred of ſilver; fifty golden and four hundred ſilver veſſels; fifty golden water bailes, and five hundred of ſilver; thirty chalices of gold, and three hundred of ſilver; thirty golden and two thouſand four hundred ſilver phials, and one thouſand large veſſels of various kinds. It is my pleaſure that they ſhall regularly be paid the revenues that were formerly enjoyed by their predeceſſors, and that they be allowed two hundred and five thouſand five hundred drachmas, inconſideration of beaſts for ſacrifice, and alſo two thouſand five hundred meaſures of wheat, in lieu of fine flour. I direct that the proviſion above ſpecified ſhall iſſue from the tribute of Samaria. Agreeably with the law of Moſes the prieſt only are to offer up ſacrifice; and they are daily to put forth prayers for the royal family, and the proſperity and happineſs of the Perſian Empire. Whoever ſhall preſume to diſobey, this my royal proclamation, ſhall be condemned to the loſs of life, and the confiſcation of property."

The number of perſons that Cyrus redeemed from captivity, and that returned to Jeruſalem, was forty two thouſand, four hundred and ſixty-two.

CHAP. II.

The neighbouring nations, and particularly the Chuthites, oppoſe the re-conſtruction of the temple. Upon the death of Cyrus, his ſon Cambyſes ſucceeds to the throne.

THE Jews exerted every poſſible effort in preparations for rebuilding the city and temple: but they had made no conſiderable progreſs in the undertaking, when the neighbouring nations applied to to the princes and governors appointed to ſuperintend the work, urging them to prevent farther proceedings. The moſt ſtrenuous oppoſers of the project were the Chuthites, a people, who, as we have before related, after his expulſion of the Jews, Salmanazar, king of Aſſyria, eſtabliſhed in Samaria. By the force of bribes and the promiſe of further gratifications, the commiſſioners were prevailed with to neglect carrying the orders of Cyrus into effect, of which he was entirely ignorant, being then engaged in the proſecution of a war againſt the Maſſagetes, in which he loſt his life.

Upon the death of Cyrus, Cambyſes becomes king.

Upon the death of Cyrus*, his ſon Cambyſes ſucceeded to the throne. The Syrians, Phœnicians, Ammonites, Moabites, and Samaritans, cauſed a remonſtrance, under the ſignature of Rathymus, hiſtory-ſecretary; Semelius, the ſcribe; and the magiſtrates of Phœnicia and Syria, to be preſented to Cambyſes, ſetting forth, that the Jews lately returned from Babylon were employed in rebuilding their city, the deſtruction of which was a juſt puniſhment for their ſeditious practices; that if they were permitted to proceed, they would no ſooner be in poſſeſſion of power, than they would diſclaim all obedience, having ever diſtinguiſhed themſelves as avowed enemies to monarchical government, and cut off all communication with Cœle-Syria; and therefore ſupplicating the king to countermand their operations.

CHAP. III.

Cambyſes interrupts the progreſs of the building. His death. The adminiſtration of government inveſted in the Magi. The crown deſcends to Darius.

THE remonſtrance relating to the reſtoration of the city and temple extremely irritated Cambyſes, who was naturally of a tyrannical, haughty, and vindictive diſpoſition. He returned the following anſwer :

---

† According to ancient coins, this name ſhould be Mithradatos, as Spanheim has obſerved.

* In Scripture this king is called Artexerxes.

King CAMBYSES *to* RATHYMUS, *his Hiſtoriographer*, SEMELIUS, *the ſcribe, and the reſt of the people of* Samaria *and* Phœnicia, *greeting*.

"I have cauſed the records of former times to be examined, and have found your repreſentations reſpecting the city of Jeruſalem to be founded on good authority. The Jews appear ever to have been a vindictive, turbulent people, naturally diſpoſed to rebellion, and their kings in the laſt extreme vexatious and tyrannical in the impoſition of taxes. On theſe conſiderations I command that you exert your utmoſt power to prevent the re-conſtructing of the city ; for, in proportion to the increaſe of power among theſe people, will the ſpirit of ſedition revive ; and as they have revolted againſt former ſovereigns, there is the greateſt reaſon to apprehend that they will audaciouſly oppoſe the authority of the preſent government."

Upon the receipt of the above mandate, Rathymus and Semelius immediately took horſe, and, attended by an immenſe concourſe of people, repaired to Jeruſalem, and put a ſtop to the progreſs of the building, which remained in a ſtate of ſuſpenſe for about nine years ; the undertaking not being renewed till the ſecondyear of the reign of Darius, king of Perſia.

Cambyſes ſtops the work, 1 Edras, II. 25, &c.

Upon his return from the conqueſt of Egypt, after he had reigned ſix years, Cambyſes died in the city of Damaſcus. The government was transferred to the Magi, who held the adminiſtration one year, at the expiration of which period, Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, was advanced to the throne by the Septrapœ, or the heads of the ſeven principal Perſian families, and the unanimous ſuffrages of the people.

Darius elected king.

CHAP. IV.

Zorobabel obtains the permiſſion of Darius to rebuild the city and temple, and the work is compleated in ſeven years.

BEFORE his advancement to the throne, Darius made a ſolemn vow, that, if it ſhould ever prove his fortune to exerciſe the powers of ſovereignty in Babylon, he would reſtore the holy veſſels that had been taken from Jeruſalem. Soon after Darius had been elected king, Zorobabel, the captain or ſuperintendant of the Jewiſh captives, who had long lived in habits of friendſhip and intimacy with him, repaired to Babylon, and was appointed to an office of high honour and truſt in the royal houſhold.

In the firſt year of his reign, Darius gave a magnificient entertainment to his principal officers, the princes and nobility of the Medes and Perſians, and the governors of one hundred and twenty-ſeven of his provinces ſituated between India and Etheopia. After his gueſts had retired, the king, after a ſhort repoſe, and finding that he was not again diſpoſed to ſleep, engaged in converſation with Zorobabel, and two other officers equally diſtinguiſhed by his favour and confidence. He ſaid, that to the man who ſhould give the moſt ſatisfactory ſolution of the queſtions he had to propoſe, he would grant the privilege of wearing a purple robe, drinking from a golden cup, ſleeping upon a bed of gold, riding in a chariot with a golden harneſs, wearing a ſilken tiara*, with a golden chain, poſſeſſing a place next inferior to his own in the council, and being honoured as one of royal deſcent. The king then propoſed the following four queſtions. What is more powerful than wine ? Can any thing exceed the ſtrength of kings ? What can ſurpaſs the power women ? Can any thing have a ſtronger influence than the force of truth ? Deſiring the officers to ruminate upon theſe propoſitions the king retired.

Darius propoſes four queſtions to his officers, 1 Edras, III. 4, 12.

The following morning Darius aſſembled the Medes and Perſians, his governors and others who had been his gueſts the preceding day, and aſſuming the ſeat of juſtice, he called upon Zorobabel and the other two officers to give their expoſitions of the queſtions he had propoſed to them.

The power of wine, &c.

The firſt who ſpoke contended in favour of the ſuperiority of the power of wine ; ſaying, "It diſturbs the underſtanding, reduces the moſt potent monarch to the imbecility of an infant, gives liberty to the ſlave, and puts a beggar upon an equality with a prince ; it chears and elevates the miſerable, diſcharges debts, relieves every neceſſity, renders the villain fearleſs of the authority of kings, and prompts men to treat their deareſt friends as their moſt inveterate enemies : when ſleep has diſſipated the effects of wine, a man has no recollection of what paſſed while he was in a ſtate of intoxication. For theſe reaſons, I conceive the operation of wine to be the moſt powerful."

"It cannot be diſputed (ſaid the ſecond officer) that the Almighty has created man ſo far the maſter of all ſublunary things as to apply them to whatever purpoſes his inclinations may direct. As all earthly creatures are ſubſervient to men ; ſo kings have an authority over men themſelves. The ſovereign of theſe ſovereigns of the creation muſt be allowed an indiſputable ſuperiority. Subjects willingly expoſe themſelves to the moſt imminent dangers of war, and even contend with nature herſelf, in obedience to the command of their prince, to whom devolves the whole honour and profit of victory. The huſbandman with unremitting toil cultivates the earth; and his firſt duty is to ſupply the king's ſtores with the produce of his grounds. Thus, while the people are fighting and working for him, the ſovereign indulges in all the luxuries of abundance, ſecurity and eaſe: he ſleeps ſurrounded by his guards, who dare not cloſe their eyes while their maſter enjoys his repoſe; and no other concerns muſt interrupt that ſlavery of attendance to which they are indiſpenſably bound. What power then, can exceed that of the man to whom the public pays ſuch implicit obedience?

---

* This was a rich ornament for the head, worn by emperors, kings, and great perſonages among the eaſtern people.

Zorobabel's iſcourſe up- n the power f women and ruth. 13, 42.

Zorobabel now argued in the following manner upon the power of women and truth: "Neither the force of wine, nor the power of princes, who bind the multitude in a common bond of allegiance, can be denied; but women have inconteſtibly the ſuperiority. Before the king, the mother of the king exiſted; kings are the gifts of women; women are alſo the mothers and nurſes of thoſe by whom the vineyards are cultivated; they direct our domeſtic concerns, provide neceſſary and ornamental coverings for our bodies; and they are ſo abſolutely neceſſary, that we can neither be brought into exiſtence, or ſupport life, without them. When a beautiful woman is before us, we diſregard gold and ſilver, or eſteem them only as being the means of obtaining poſſeſſion of the beloved object. The charms of women ſeduce us to abandon our country, relations, and deareſt friends, and attach ourſelves wholly to them. When we have explored the ſea and land for things moſt valuable and curious in nature, do we not congratulate ourſelves in the opportunity of preſenting our acquiſitions to a favourite miſtreſs? Frequently have I ſeen the king condeſcend to receive a blow on the face from his concubine Apame, daughter of Rabepſaces Themaſinus! She has taken the diadem from his head, and placed it on her own; and dreading to give her offence, he has accommodated himſelf to her caprices, and yielded to her various humours. But neither women nor kings muſt be put in competition with the power of truth. Conſidering the aſtoniſhing magnitude of the earth, the elevation of the Heavens, the wonderful rapidity of the ſun's motion, and that the whole is governed by the Divine Providence, it muſt follow, as a neceſſary conſequence, that the Almighty is the perfection of juſtice and truth, and that truth, againſt which nothing can ultimately prevail, ſurpaſſes every other power. Truth alone is immutable; and the advantages we derive from it, are pure and eternal."

The auditors unanimouſly approved, and highly applauded the ſentiments of Zorobabel; and in conſideration of his ſuperiority of his underſtanding, the king ſaid, he ſhould poſſeſs the firſt place in his eſteem, be next in honour to himſelf, and adopted as a branch of the royal family.

Darius gives orders for re-building the city and temple, 47, 57.

Availing himſelf of the favourable opportunity now afforded him, Zorobabel called to the recollection of Darius the vow he had made, that if ever he ſhould enjoy the ſovereignty, he would rebuild the city and temple of Jeruſalem, and make reſtitution of the ſacred veſſels and utenſils ſeized and taken to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar. Darius iſſued orders to his officers to eſcort Zorobabel and his companions to Jeruſalem, and aſſiſt them in reconſtructing the temple. He alſo diſpatched mandates to the magiſtrates of Phœnicia and Syria, commanding them to provide carriages for conveying cedar from Mount Libanus, and to unite their beſt endeavours for forwarding the ſtructure. He not only contributed fifty talents towards the building, but alſo provided ſacerdotal veſtments, and organs to accompany the voices of the Levites, commanding the Edomites, Samaritans, and people of Cœle-Syria, to reſtore the lands taken from the Jews, whom he exempted from the payment of all kinds of taxes. He appointed a portion of land for the uſe of the officers of the city and temple; and, in ſhort, fulfilled all the intentions of Cyrus in favour of the Hebrew nation.

Zorobabel expreſſed grateful acknowledgments to Heaven for the favours he had received from the king, and fervently prayed for the ſucceſs of the propoſed undertaking. He then repaired to his countrymen in Babylon, and communicated to them the joyful intelligence of being relieved from bondage; whereupon they joined in thankſgivings to God; and after that ſolemnity, they celebrated the period of their deliverance by a public rejoicing for ſeven days.

Thoſe who were to go upon the expedition to Jeruſalem, attended by the convoy appointed by Darius, were ſelected by the principals of the different tribes, who provided carriages, horſes, and other beaſts of burden for the women and children. The firſt in the proceſſion were perſons playing upon cymbals and other inſtruments; they were followed by † four million ſix hundred and twenty-eight thouſand, ſelected from the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, being upwards of twelve years of age. After theſe came four thouſand and ſeventy Levites; and a promiſcuous multitude of women and children, to the number of forty thouſand, ſeven hundred and forty-two. Of the ſtock of the Levites there were a hundred and twenty-eight ſingers, and a hundred and ten porters; and of others that ſerved and aſſiſted in the ſanctuary, three hundred and twenty-two. There were alſo ſix hundred and fifty-two that called themſelves Iſraelites, but could not prove their extraction. There were others that had taken wives whoſe genealogy could not be made out, either from the Levitical or ſacerdotal records; and theſe were accounted unqualified for the holy function, to the number of five hundred and twenty five. The men and women chaunting hymns and ſacred ſongs were two hundred and forty-five. The number of domeſtics in the proceſſion was eſtimated at ſeven thouſand, three hundred and thirty-ſeven. There were four hundred and thirty-five camels, and five hundred and twenty-five other labouring beaſts.

---

† The account Joſephus here gives us, of the number of Jews who returnd from the captivity of

The people were led to this expedition by Zorobabel, the ſon of Salathiel, who belonged to the tribe of Judah, and was deſcended in the line of David: Jeſus, the ſon of Joſedec, was the high-prieſt: and Mardochæus and Serebæus, whom the tribes had elected to ſhare in the command, contributed one hundred Minas of gold,‡ and five hundred of ſilver||, towards the expences of the expedition. The Jews who choſe to remain in Babylon followed the proceſſion to ſome diſtance on the road to Jeruſalem, but gradually forming themſelves into ſmall parties, they returned to their ſeveral places of reſidence.

A general aſſembly indicted at Jeruſalem, Ezra iii. 1.

Zorobabel, the leader, and Jeſus, the high-prieſt, in the ſeventh month after the Jews had retired from Babylon, iſſued orders for an aſſembly of the people in Jeruſalem. Theſe orders being chearfully complied with, an altar was erected, according to the inſtitution of Moſes, on the ſpot where the altar had ſtood in former times. Hereupon, the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries were greatly offended, being enemies to the Jews, and inclined to obſtruct all their operations.

At this time, according to the inſtitution of Moſes, occurred the feaſt of the tabernacles; and that ſolemnity was followed by daily oblations, the ſacrifice of the ſabbaths, and of the new moons, and other holy feſtivals. From the firſt day of the ſeventh month, the people continued to repair to Jeruſalem, for the purpoſe of diſcharging ſuch vows as they had bound themſelves to perform.

The building advanced beyond expectation, Ezra iii. ver. 9, 11.

The building was now commenced, and immenſe ſums were expended among the various artificers, and in making the neceſſary proviſions for thoſe who were employed in the conveyance of materials. The Sydonans liberally aſſiſted in the undertaking; they conveyed vaſt numbers of cedar planks from Libanus, and framed a great number of boats, which they removed to the port of Joppa, agreeable to the directions of Cyrus, which Darius confirmed and ordered to be carried into execution.

The foundation of the temple being compleated in the ſecond month of the ſecond year after the return of the Jews, they began to raiſe the ſuperſtructure on the firſt day of the third month; the direction of the work being entruſted to ſuch of the Levites as were twenty years of age and upwards, Jeſus, the high-prieſt, his ſons and brothers, Zolimiel, and others, who executed their ſeveral commiſſions with ſuch induſtry that a progreſs was made in the undertaking greatly ſuperior to the moſt ſanguine expectations.

A conſiderable advancement being made in the building, the prieſts habited in ſacerdotal veſtments, and provided with muſical inſtruments, repaired to the temple, and being joined by the Levites and the ſons of Aſaph, ſeveral hymns, compoſed by David to the honour of God, were ſung. Such of the prieſts, Levites, and others, who had been witneſſes of the wonderful magnificence of the former ſtructure, with loud exclamations lamented the great inferiority of the new temple: but thoſe who had not beheld the former, and were conſequently incapable of making compariſon, were perfectly ſatisfied.

Finding that the Jews were employed in rebuilding the temple, great numbers of

---

Babylon, ſeems to be ſwelled beyond the bounds of probability. Neither in 1Ezr. ii. nor in Eſdr. v. where both the names and numbers of all the families that returned are particularly recounted, does the ſum total amount to any thing near what he here affirms them to have been.

‡ The Hebrew Mina of gold weighed one pound, one ounce, thirteen pennyweights, eighteen grains; and its value in gold was fifty-four pounds fifteen ſhillings; an hundred therefore, muſt weigh an hundred and fourteen pounds, fifteen pennyweights; and in value, amount to five thouſand four, hundred, ſeventy-five pounds.

|| An Hebrew Mina of ſilver weighed two pounds, three ounces, ſeven pennyweights, twelve grains; and was in value ſix pounds, ſixteen ſhillings and ten pence halfpenny; five thouſand therefore, muſt weigh eleven thouſand four hundred and ſix pounds three ounces; and in value amounted to thirty four thouſand, two hundred and eighteen pounds, fifteen ſhillings Engliſh money.

the Samaritans applied to Zorobabel, ſoliciting that they might be permitted to aſſiſt in compleating the fabric, alledging, that from the time of being tranſplanted into that country by Salmanazar, they had practiſed the Jewiſh mode of worſhip. They were informed, that people had been peculiarly appointed both by Cyrus and Darius for proſecuting the undertaking, and therefore their requeſt could not be complied with; but that acceſs would be indiſcriminately allowed to all perſons who were diſpoſed to worſhip the true God. Diſguſted by this refuſal, the Samaritans inſtigated the Syrians to renew the efforts they had made in the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyſes for obſtructing the work. Siſines, governor of Syria and Phœnicia, Sarabazanes, and others, repaired to Jeruſalem, and demanded of the principal people, what authority they had for their proceedings, obſerving, that from the thickneſs of the walls and the ſtrength of the gates, the building had rather the appearance of a caſtle than a temple. Zorobabel and Jeſus replied, that Cyrus, king of Perſia and Babylon, had ordered the temple to be rebuilt, and the veſſels and donatives taken away by Nebuchadnezzar to be reſtored; adding, that if they thought proper to apply to Darius on the ſubject, he would permit them to inſpect certain records, which would confirm the truth of their aſſertion. The Jews, however, were apprehenſive, that at the inſtance of the Syrians, Darius might be induced to revoke his orders: but the prophets Haggai † and Zacharias aſſured them, that they were authoriſed by divine revelation to declare, that the undertaking would continue to receive the favour and protection of the Almighty. Thus encouraged, the people laboured with unremitting diligence to bring the fabric to a ſtate of completion. The Samaritans wrote to Darius, complaining of the fortifications of Jeruſalem, and ſtating that the Jews were erecting a building there which reſembled a citadel rather than a place of worſhip, and obſerved that theſe works could not be intended for the ſervice of the king, to whom they cauſed to be ſhewn, an epiſtle written by Cambyſes, who there interdicted the proſocution of the plan, as being highly injurious to the public. Hereupon, Darius ordered the royal archives to be examined; and at Ecbatane, a caſtle in Media, a book was found containing the following record: "In the firſt year of the reign of king Cyrus, it was commanded, that the holy temple of Jeruſalem ſhould be rebuilt, the height to be ſixty cubits, and the breadth of the ſame meaſure; and that an altar ſhould be conſtructed within the edifice; that the walls ſhould be formed by three ranges of poliſhed marble, and one range of wood, the produce of the country; that the ſacred veſſels taken into Babylon, by Nebuchadnezzar ſhould be reſtored; that Abaſſar, governor of Syria, and others, ſhould be appointed to ſuperintend the ſtructure, and, from the taxes of the province, to furniſh victims for ſacrifice, wine, oil, and every other article which the prieſts ſhould judge neceſſary; that theſe commiſſioners ſhould not remain in Jeruſalem, but leave the work to be executed by the ſervants of the Lord; that the prieſts ſhould put forth ſupplications for the proſperity of the king and people; that whoever ſhould dare to act in oppoſition to theſe commands ſhould be condemned to be hanged, and his effects to be confiſcated; and that, as a puniſhment for his impiety, he would be ſtruck by a ſevere and inſtant judgment from Heaven."

Siſines and Sarabazanes queſtion the authority of the proceeding. Edras vi. 3, 4.

The decree of Cyrus in favour of the Jews. 24, 26.

Upon diſcovery of the above record, Darius wrote to Siſines and his colleagues to the following effect

"*King* DARIUS *to* SISINES, *maſter of the horſe*; SARABAZANES, *and other* MAGISTRATES, *greeting*.

"I tranſmit you the copy of a letter extracted from the records of Cyrus, and it is my royal command, that you ſtrictly adhere to the directions therein contained."

The temple finiſhed. Edras vii. 5.

In conſequence of this letter, Siſines, and the others to whom it was addreſſed, determined to unite their endeavours towards compleating the edifice; and with ſuch induſtry this undertaking was proſecuted that in the ſpace of ſeven years it was entirely finiſhed. On the twenty-third day of the eleventh month, which the Hebrews call Adar, and the Macednians Dyſtrus, and in the ninth year of the reign of Darius, a ſolemn ſacrifice was made of an hundred bulls, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs, and twelve goats, as a ſin-offering, in gratitude for the deliverance of the ten tribes from captivity in Babylon, and the reſtoration of the holy ceremonials of Religion in a new temple. Galleries were erected round the temple, and the prieſts and Levites appointed porters to attend the different gates.

Upon the fourteenth day of the firſt month, the Jews aſſembled in Jeruſalem, and, after the example of their anceſtors, celebrated the feaſt of unleavened bread, with a purity of zeal becoming that ſolemn occaſion.

The Jews now eſtabliſh an ariſtocracy in Jeruſalem

Or, Aggæus.

Jeruſalem, the adminiſtration being veſted in the high-prieſt, till the Aſmonnean family reſtored the monarchical form of government. Previous to their bondage in Babylon, the Jews lived under the government of kings from the days of Saul and David, being a period of five hundred and thirty-two years, ſix months and ten days; and indeed the ſame ſyſtem of government ſubſiſted before, notwithſtanding the powers of adminiſtration were lodged with officers called judges, who preſided upwards of five hundred years after the deceaſe of Moſes and Joſhua.

The Samaritans, who were a rich and powerful people, claimed an alliance with the Perſians, and greatly valued themſelves on that account; they were of a haughty and malignant diſpoſition, and proved exceedingly vexatious to the Jews, continually complaining of the taxes demanded for ſacrifices, and exerting their utmoſt endeavours to harraſs and annoy them. The Jews deputed Zorobabel and four others to preſent a memorial againſt the Samaritans to Darius, who having read the accuſation, charged the commiſſioners with the following letter:

King Darius *to* Tangar *and* Sambaba, *maſters of our horſe at Samaria*; Sadrack Bobelon, *and their countrymen, greeting.*

Darius reproves the Samaritans for their enmity to the Jews.

"Whereas I am given to underſtand by Zorobabel, Ananias, and Mardochæus, on the part of the Jews, that you ſtand accuſed of interrupting and diſcouraging the rebuilding of the temple, and of refuſing to bear your part in the charge of the ſacrifices, which by my order and command you ought to have done: this is to will and require you upon the ſight of this letter, forthwith to ſupply them out of my treaſury in Samaria with whatſoever they ſhall want for the uſe of their ſacrifices and worſhip, to the end that they may offer up daily prayers and oblations, both for myſelf and for my people."

CHAP. V.

Xerxes ſucceeds Darius, and at the Interceſſion of Eſdras grants favours to the Jews. Edras dies. Nehemiah obtains the permiſſion of Xerxes to rebuild the walls of Jeruſalem.

UPON the death of Darius, his ſon Xerxes ſucceeded to the throne, and his conduct proved that he was as zealouſly diſpoſed to favour the Jews and promote their religion as his predeceſſor had been. At this time, Joachim, the ſon of Jehu, was high-prieſt; but the high-prieſt of the Jews reſident in Babylon, was Eſdras, a man particularly converſant in the laws of Moſes, and held in univerſal eſteem on account of his righteouſneſs and virtue: Eſdras being deſirous of going to Jerſualem and taking with him to that city a number of the Babylonian Jews, he requeſted the king to grant him a recommendatory letter to the governors of Syria. Xerxes accordingly wrote a letter to Eſdras, permitting the departure of himſelf and his companions, and ordering their countrymen throughout Babylon, to contribute towards the purchaſe of ſacrifices, and for ſuch gold and ſilver veſſels as might be demeed neceſſary. This letter directed the governors of Syria and Phœnicia to ſupply Eſdras with whatever he might have occaſion for, and that an hundred cores * of wheat ſhould be dedicated to God, according to the proviſion of the law. The magiſtrates were interdicted from accepting any gratuities from the prieſts, Levites, ſingers, porters, or other perſons belonging to the temple. By the letter authority was given to Eſdras to appoint judges to preſide over Syria and Phœnicia, and he was directed to inſtruct the ignorant ſo that they might underſtand all tranſgreſſions either againſt the laws of God, or the commands of the king, would be puniſhed with death, or pecuniary fines as, the nature of the offence might require.

Eſdras convenes the Jews in Babylon.

Having returned thanks to God for the king's bounty, Eſdras aſſembled the Jews in Babylon, and read to them the letter, of which he ſent copies to the Jews in Media, retaining the original in his own poſſeſſion. The goodneſs of the king to Eſdras furniſhed matter of agreeable ſurpriſe to the people, many of whom packed up their property, and repaired to Babylon with a view to return to Jeruſalem; while others choſe to remain in their old habitations: and this accounts for two tribes only being found in Aſia and Europe, under the Roman emperor. The other ten tribes are ſituated beyond the Euphrates, where their numbers are increaſed almoſt beyond credibility. Thoſe who choſe to return into their own country, were appointed to aſſemble at the Euphrates, where having held a ſolemn faſt for three days, and offered prayers for the ſucceſs of their expedition, they departed on the twelfth day of the firſt month, reached Jeruſalem in the fifth month, and of the ſeventh year of the reign of Xerxes. On his arrival, Eſdras delivered ſix hundred and fifty talents of ſilver †, a hundred talents of ſilver veſſels‡ twenty talents of golden veſſels,§ and twelve|| talents of fine braſs, more valuable than gold, to the prieſts who took care of the holy treaſure, being the gifts of the king and his friends, and ſuch of the Iſraelites as ſtill remained in Babylon. Having diſcharged his commiſſion, Eſdras, in behalf of the whole people of Iſrael, made an oblation of twelve bulls as a burnt-offering, and twelve goats as a ſin offering. Eſdras having delivered the king's letter to the officers of Syria and Phœnicia, in compliance with the requiſitions it contained, the Iſraelites were ſupplied with whatever their occaſions required.

---

* A Chore was the ſame as a Chomer, and contained about ſix hundred and five Engliſh pints; an hundred Chores therefore muſt amount to ſixty thouſand five hundred pints Engliſh.

† An hundred and fifty talents weighed ſeventy four thouſand one hundred and forty pounds, ſeven

A complaint to Eſdras againſt thoſe Levites that had married ſtrange women. 1 Eſdras viii. 92. and Ezra ix. 1, 2.

Eſdras was now greatly afflicted upon learning that ſome of the prieſts and Levites had eſpouſed foreign women, ſo that, in direct violation of the law, the ſacerdotal race was confounded with the laity. So poignant was his ſorrow upon this occaſion, that he rent his garments, tore the hair from his head and beard, and caſt himſelf upon the earth in a ſtate of total deſpondency; for ſo great a number of conſiderable perſons had tranſgreſſed in the manner abovementioned, that he entertained no hope of being able to prevail upon them to abandon their wives and children. Such of the people as held the laws of God in veneration aſſembled round him, to ſympathize in his ſorrows, and entreat his mediation with Heaven, leſt the whole nation of the Iſraelites ſhould be puniſhed for the crimes of certain individuals. At length, the good man aroſe, and fervently addreſſed himſelf to God, imploring pardon for thoſe who had ſo heinouſly offended againſt his holy laws, in intermarrying with foreign women. While he was pronouncing this prayer, Jechonias, a man of diſtinction, brought to him an account of all the perſons who had offended in the manner abovementioned, recommending him to propoſe an oath, purporting that the Jews ſhould repudiate their ſtrange wives, and abandon the children of their impious marriages, and that puniſhment ſhould be inflicted upon thoſe who refuſed concurrence therein. In compliance with this advice, he adminiſtered the oath, and then retired to the apartment of Johanan, the ſon of Eliaſhib, where, on account of his exceſſive grief, he remained the whole day without receiving any refreſhment.

A reſolution taken to turn away their ſtrange wives and children by them. Ezra x. 1, 9.

Eſdras publiſhed a proclamation for the Jews that had returned from captivity to aſſemble in Jeruſalem, on the penalty of excommunication, and the forfeiture of their effects to the holy treaſury. On the twentieth day of the ninth month, which the Hebrews call Thebeth, and the Macedonians Apelleus, the tribes of Judah and Benjamin met, and when they had ſtationed themſelves in the upper part of the temple, Eſdras addreſſed himſelf to them ſaying, the diſmiſſion of the ſtrange wives they had married was the only means whereby they could obtain forgiveneſs of that atrocious ſin. They unanimouſly acquieſced in this propoſal; obſerving, however, that, as the offenders were numerous the ſeaſon extremely cold, and the matter in queſtion of high importance, it would be proper to allow time for deliberate conſideration. Upon this, it was ageed that a commiſſion of enquiry ſhould be inſtituted, conſiſting of a ſelect number of the elders, and other principal men, who were innocent of the alledged crime, for the purpoſe of making a report of thoſe who were to be conſidered as delinquents. The examination commenced on the firſt day of the tenth month, and continued till the firſt day of the month following, when it appearing that numbers of the relations of Jeſus, the high-prieſt, as well as other prieſts, Levites and Iſraelites, were involved in a common tranſgreſſion, they immediately diſowned and abandoned their wives and children, from a principle of reſpect and veneration to the law. After this, an oblation of rams was made as a peace offering; and it was acknowledged, that the regulation for the reſtraint of marriages, which Eſdras had revived, ſhould be adhered to by the preſent generation and their poſterity.

The feaſt of tabernacles having commenced, and the people being aſſembled in that part of the temple fronting the eaſt, Eſdras, at their deſire, ſtood in the midſt of them, and read the law of God, which ſervice continued from morning till noon, to the great inſtruction of the audience, who learnt the laws of truth and uprightneſs and were taught to reflect on the fate of their forefathers, in conſequence of the violation of thoſe laws the obſervance of which would have enſured their happineſs. This reflection occaſioned the con-

---

ounces, and ten penny weight, and their value in ſilver amounted to two hundred and twenty two thouſand, four hundred and twenty one pounds, ſeventeen ſhillings, and ſix pence.

‡ An hundred talents weighed eleven thouſand four hundred and ſix pounds, three ounces, and a~~mounted in value to thirty four thouſand two hun~~dred and eighteen pounds, fifteen ſhillings.

§ Twenty talents weighed two thouſand two hundred and eighty one pounds, three ounces, and their value in gold was an hundred and nine thouſand five hundred pounds.

|| Twelve talents weighed thirteen thouſand ſix hundred and eighty nine pounds.]

gregation to weep; which being obſerved by Eſdras, he ſaid their expreſſions of ſorrow were a kind of prophanation of the feſtival which it was their duty to celebrate with chearfulneſs; and exhorted them not to make their repentance a more ſevere mortification than was neceſſary to ſecure them againſt future miſconduct. In compliance with this advice, the people paſſed eight days in feaſting and rejoicing, and then returned to their reſpective habitations, after expreſſing their gratitude to Eſdras for the reformation he had introduced. Eſdras, whoſe conduct both in a public and private capacity had gained him univerſal eſteem, died about this time in Jeruſalem, at an advanced age, and he was buried there with great magnificence. About the ſame time alſo died Jehoiakim, the high-prieſt, who was ſucceeded by his ſon Eliaſhib.

The death of Eſdras. The death of Jehoiakim the high-prieſt, and Eliaſhib his ſon ſucceeds him. Nehemiah cup-bearer to Xerxes, Nehemiah ii. 1.

Among the Jewiſh captives was Nehemiah cupbearer to Xerxes, who while walking near Suſa, the capital of Perſia, heard ſome people converſing in Hebrew; on which he aſked them whence they came. They ſaid from Judea, and on his enquiring reſpecting the ſtate of Jeruſalem, they ſaid the walls were deſtroyed, the country expoſed to the inroads of the enemy, the people carried into captivity, and numberleſs dead bodies left on the highways. Nehemiah wept at theſe misfortunes, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, exclaimed, "When, O God, ſhall thy people ceaſe to be oppreſſed, and expoſed to the inſults of others!" While Nehemiah was thus lamenting, a perſon informed him that the king was going to ſupper; and he haſtened to attend his duty. After ſupper, the king obſerving the countenance of his attendant to be expreſſive of melancholy, enquired into the cauſe of his dejection; when, after a ſhort ejaculatory prayer, that God would favour the purpoſe he had in view, he exclaimed," Alas Sir, can I be otherwiſe than miſerable ſince Jeruſalem, the place of my nativity, is reduced to a heap of rubbiſh; the tombs of my anceſtors violated, and the aſhes of the dead ſacrilegiouſly prophaned. Permit me to implore your royal permiſſion to go to Jeruſalem, and yield my aſſiſtance in repairing the temple and city." The king granted his requeſt; and on the following day delivered to him letters to Sadeus, governor of Syria, Phœnicia, and Samaria, wherein he was commanded to treat the bearer with kindneſs and reſpect, and ſupply him with whatever his neceſſities might require. He firſt went to Babylon, and from thence, accompanied by a conſiderable number of Jews, proceeded to Jeruſalem, where he arrived in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Xerxes; and after having ſhewn his letters of recommendation to his friends, he delivered them to Sadeus. He then aſſembled the people in the city, and addreſſed to them a diſcourſe, wherein he exhorted them to preſevere with unremitting aſſiduity in repairing the buildings, ſince the undertaking was manifeſtly approved by the Almighty power, who, in conſideration of their righteouſneſs and juſtice, had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed Abraham, Iſaac and Jacob, by his favour and protection.

Nehemiah gets leave of Xerxes to aſſiſt in the repairing of the city and temple, Nehemiah ii. 6.

Nehemiah directed the magiſtrates to ſurvey the ground, take dimenſions of the walls; and aſſign to the inhabitants of the ſeveral towns and villages, their proper proportions of labour; and after pledging himſelf that he and his dependants would exert their utmoſt efforts for compleating the work, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

The activity with which the Jews purſued their work, ſo alarmed the Ammonites the Moabites, the Samaritans, and Cœle-Syrians, that they made repeated attempts, both by force and treachery, to fruſtrate and defeat the project: they ſtationed ambuſhes, who attacked by ſurprize and put numbers of the Jews to death, and kept ruffians conſtantly in pay, for the purpoſe of taking away the life of Nehemiah; and by menaces of an invaſion and other ſtratagems, nearly ſucceeded in their deſign of inducing the people to abandon the undertaking. But in defiance of dangers and difficulties, Nehemiah, who was attended only by a ſlight guard, continued his vigilance. Foreſeeing that if he ſhould be deſtroyed his countrymen would not be able to compleat the building, he ordered the carpenters, maſons, and labourers to work with their ſwords by their ſides, and to have their bucklers in readineſs, that they might be prepared to repel any ſudden attack. He ſtationed trumpeters at the diſtance of five hundred paces,* from each other, to ſound an alarm, in caſe of the approach of an enemy. He every night paraded round the city, receiving no more of the refreſhments of food and ſleep than was barely ſufficient for ſuſtaining nature; and he was ſo inured to the fatigue of watching and hard labour, that he ſurmounted difficulties which ſcarcely any other man would have attempted to oppoſe. This courſe he continued for the ſpace of two years and three month, in which time the walls of the city were built.

The fortifications compleated, Nehemiah vi.

The fortifications being compleated, Nehemiah and the people offered up ſacrifices, and employed eight days in feaſting and rejoicing, which was highly diſpleaſing to the Syrians. The city being but thinly inhabited, Nehemiah prevailed upon the neighbouring prieſts and Levites to reſide within the walls, engaging to provide habitations for them at his own expence. He directed the people following the occupation of huſbandry to bring their tenths into the city, for the maintenance of the prieſts and Levites, to the end that the duties of their holy office might not be interrupted by an attention to temporal concerns. Theſe directions being obſerved, the population of the city rapidly increaſed. After many other actions highly meritorious, Nehemiah died at an advanced age.

---

* Five hundred yards, or a mile and a half.

CHAP. VI.

Artaxerxes aſcends the throne, and after repudiating his wife Vaſhti, eſpouſes Eſther, the niece of Mordicai. Haman urges the king to extirpate the Jewiſh nation. He is executed upon a gibbet provided for Mordecai.

yrus, other- ſe Artax- xes. ſuc- eds to erxes, his ther.

UPON the deceaſe of Xerxes, the crown of Perſia devolved to his ſon Cyrus, who was called Artaxerxes by the Greeks. On the commencement of his reign, this prince appointed governors over one hundred and twenty-ſeven provinces between Ethiopia and India. In his third year, he gave a moſt magnificent entertainment, which continued without interteruption for an hundred and eighty days; and on this occaſion the ſeveral foreign ambaſſadors attended on eight ſucceſſive days. A tent was erected on pillars of gold and ſilver, covered with purple and fine linen, being ſufficiently ſpacious to contain ſome thouſands of people. The wine was ſerved in veſſels of gold and ſilver, adorned with precious ſtones of great value. The attendants were directed, as uſual among the Perſians, that no one ſhould be compelled to drink more than he choſe; and proclamation was made, that a certain number of days ſhould be appointed as a feſtival for the general welfare of the kingdom. Vaſhti the queen, had a ſeparate apartment, where ſhe entertained the women. That his company might behold the exquiſite beauty of the queen, Artaxerxes commanded her attendance: but from a veneration to the laws of the Perſian empire, which permit not a wife to be ſeen by any but her huſband and her domeſtics, ſhe declined a compliance. The eunuchs were repeatedly ſent to ſummon her, but ſhe ſtill perſiſted in her refuſal. This ſo incenſed the king, that, when the feaſt was ended, he adviſed with the ſeven commiſſioners appointed to interpret the laws of Perſia, how he ſhould act in this caſe of his wife's refuſal. Muchæus, one of the commiſſioners, ſaid that the offence was not ſimply againſt the king, but a dangerous precedent to his ſubjects, whoſe wives might be taught diſobedience to their huſbands, if the queen's preſumption ſhould go unpuniſhed; and therefore, he adviſed, that the king ſhould iſſue a proclamation, importing that he had baniſhed Vaſhti for ever from his court and preſence, and determined to take another wife. The king's love for the queen pleaded ſo powerfully for his living with her, and the laws ſo much to the contrary, that he knew not how to act. Whilſt he was almoſt diſtracted with his own thoughts his friends adviſed him to conſider the unreaſonableneſs of his attachment to one woman, when he had only to chuſe among the whole ſex, and fix on that wife who ſhould be moſt agreeable to him. They urged that the former wife would ſoon be forgotten, in the charms and converſation of a new one.

Artaxerxes diſmiſſes his queen. Eſter i. 21, 22.

The king yielding to theſe perſuaſions, perſons were deputed to ſearch throughout the king's dominions for ſome diſtinguiſhed beauty; and at length they found in Babylon, a maiden named Eſther, the elegance and grace of whoſe perſon rendered her the object of univerſal admiration. Her parents being dead, ſhe had been educated in the houſe of her uncle Mordecai, a man of great diſtinction, of the tribe of Benjamin. Eſther, together with four hundred other virgins, remained under the care of the king's eunuchs for ſix months, they being treated with every poſſible attention, delicacy and reſpect; and provided with eſſences and perfumes for the improvement of their charms; and one of this number of maidens was each night conducted to the king's bed. When it came to Eſther's turn to be introduced to the king, he was ſo charmed with her beauty, converſation and behaviour, that he determined to eſpouſe her; and in the month of Adar, being the twelfth of the ſeventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes, the nuptials were accordingly ſolemnized. Meſſengers were diſpatched to proclaim the approach of the marriage feſtival, at which the principal men of the Perſians, Medes, and ſeveral other nations, were ſumptuouſly entertained for the ſpace of a month. When Eſther entered the palace, the king placed the crown upon her head, and continued to live with her, without making any enquiry as to her country or extraction. In the interim, Mordecai, the queen's uncle, removed from Babylon to Suſa, and made frequent enquiries at the palace reſpecting the welfare of Eſther, whom he loved with as much tenderneſs as he could have done, had ſhe been his own daughter.

Artaxerxes eſpouſes Eſter. Eſter ii. 6, &c.

About this time, the king iſſued an ordinance, prohibiting the approach of any perſons, while he ſhould be ſeated on the throne, unleſs they were commanded to attend, on the forfeiture of their heads; and officers provided with axes were appointed to attend, in order to execute ſuch as diſobeyed this command. The king held in his hand a golden ſceptre, which he waved when he was diſpoſed to extend mercy to an offender; and touching the ſceptre was a confirmation of his pardon.

Bigthan and Tereſh, who were eunuchs of the royal bed-chamber, engaged in a conſpiracy to take away the life of the king; but Barnabazus, a Jew by deſcent, who was ſervant to one of them, having informed Mordecai of their deſign, the latter, by means of Eſther, conveyed intelligence of the treachery of his domeſtics to the king, in conſequence of which they were apprehended, and after being convicted, they were puniſhed with death. As an acknowledgment to Mordecai, the king only appointed him a domeſtic in the palace, and ordered the ſervice he had rendered to be entered upon the record.

A conſpiracy againſt Artaxerxes diſcovered to Mordecai, and from him to the king by Eſter. ver. iv. 21, &c.

Haman, the ſon of Hammedatha, an Amalekite, being promoted at court, by the king's command both Perſians and foreigners paid him great homage. Mordecai alone refuſed to bow to him, that mode of ſalutation being contrary to the cuſtom of his country. This being obſerved by Haman, he was highly offended, that a Jew ſhould refuſe that mark of reſpect which was chearfully paid him by the natives of the country. So exaſperated was he on this account, that he formed the reſolution of wreaking vengeance not only on Mordecai, but upon the whole nation of Jews, againſt whom his enmity became the more implacable upon reflecting, that they had formerly ſubdued and driven his countrymen out of their land. Repairing to the king, he repreſented the Jews as a turbulent and refractory race of people, ſingular and unſociable in their manners, ſuperſtitious in their ceremonies, and as the common enemies of mankind; and concluding with a requeſt, that they might be entirely extirpated from the kingdom, and a propoſal that, on condition of the king's compliance, he would pay forty thouſand talents [‡] of ſilver, by way of indemnifying the royal revenues from diminution. Though the king declined to accept the ſilver offered by Haman, he authoriſed him to act towards the Jews according to his own diſcretion. Having ſucceeded thus far, Haman, in the king's name, publiſhed an edict to the following effect:

Haman meditates vengeance againſt the Jews. Eſther iii. 6.

ARTAXERXES, *the* Great King, *to the one hundred and twenty-ſeven* Governors *of the provinces of* India *and* Ethiopia, *greeting.*

"For as much as God hath given me the ſupreme rule over numerous nations, and as much command over the reſt of the world, as gratifieth my higheſt ambition: I am diſpoſed, therefore, not to tyrannize over my ſubjects, but to rule them with a gentle hand, to ſecure them in peace and freedom and to ſettle their tranquillity on a firm baſis. Theſe things I have maturely conſidered; and being informed by Haman, my favourite friend and counſellor, on whoſe allegiance, diſcretion and juſtice, I can depend, and who ſtands firſt in my eſteem, that a barbarous people have intermixed with my ſubjects, and preſume to govern themſelves by their own laws, and preſcribe a rule of conduct contrary to good order and ſubjection; a people who in their manners and behaviour hold our monarchy and adminiſtration in defiance: you are therefore hereby commanded, that when Haman, ſhall give notice who are meant by this proclamation, that, in purſuance of this decree, you put all the ſaid people to the ſword, men, women, and children, without diſtinction: and I farther enjoin, that this be executed on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month of the preſent year; that one day may compleat the deſtruction of your enemies and mine, and our lives be ſpent in peace and ſecurity."

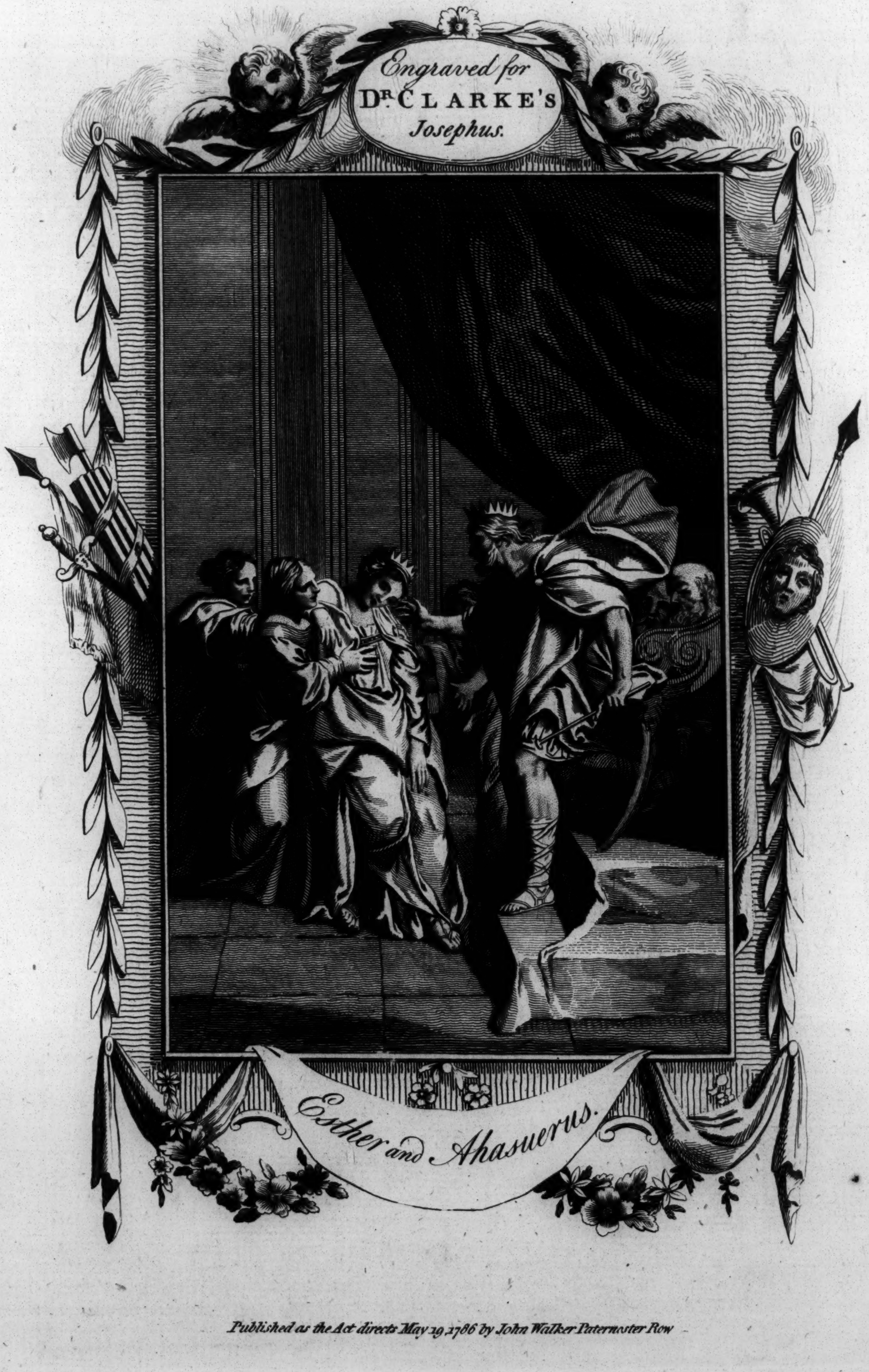
This order was ſoon circulated through all the towns of the empire, and the people prepared to deſtroy the Jews on the appointed day; nor was the diſpoſition at Suſa leſs violent againſt them, than in other places. In the interim, the king and Haman ſpent their time in feaſting and drinking; but the people of reflection were ſhocked at the approaching maſſacre.

Mordecai no ſooner learnt the purport of the proclamation, than he rent his cloaths, covered himſelf with ſack-cloth,

threw

[‡] We take the talent here meant to be the Babylonian, which was much inferior to the Hebrew, and weighed only ſixty-ſix pounds, ſix ounces, eight pennyweights and eighteen grains, and its value in ſilver amounted to no more than one hundred ninety nine pounds, twelve ſhillings and two pence farthing; forty thouſand therefore muſt weigh two million ſix hundred ſixty-one thouſand ſix hundred and ten pounds, and amount in value to ſeven, million nine hundred eighty four thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-five pounds Engliſh money. But the ſum here ſeems greatly exaggerated by Joſephus; for in Eſther iii. 9. there is mention made of no more than ten thouſand talents of ſilver, that Haman offered to pay the king upon this account.

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

Esther and Ahasuerus.

Published as the Act directs May 29, 1786 by John Walker Paternoster Row

threw aſhes on his head, and went through the city, proteſting againſt the deed; but ſtopped at the gate of the palace, which no man durſt enter in ſuch a dreſs: in all other places the Jews were likewiſe abandoned to grief. The queen learning that Mordecai was at the palace-gate in ſo forlorn a habit, ſent and begged that he would change his dreſs: but he replied, that he would not, till the cauſe of it was removed. The queen ſent Hatach, one of the king's eunuchs, to learn Mordecai's reaſon for ſuch an appearance, on which he told him the particulars of the king's order for the deſtruction of the Jews, and what a ſum of money Haman had offered for the grant. He gave Hatach a copy of the original order, to communicate to the queen; and begged her intereſt with the king to ſpare the lives of a whole people. Mordecai's meſſage being reported to his neice, ſhe directed the eunuch to remind him, that to approach the king on his throne, without being commanded to appear, would ſubject the intruder to be puniſhed with death, which would be immediately inflicted, unleſs a ſignal of pardon ſhould be given by the king extending the ſceptre. By the ſame meſſenger Mordecai now ſignified, that the queen's perſonal ſafety was not alone to be conſidered, when the lives of a whole nation depended on the iſſue of a moment; that if ſhe neglected the preſent opportunity of interpoſing on behalf of a whole people threatened with deſtruction, Providence might ſtill protect them, and reduce her and her family wholly to their mercy. The queen now commanded the eunuch to direct Mordecai to aſſemble the Jews at Suſa, and appoint a faſt for three days, with prayers for her ſafety and ſucceſs, at the end of which time, ſhe would, at the hazard of her life, intercede with the king to revoke the cruel proclamation iſſued by Haman. A faſt was accordingly obſerved for three days, while Mordecai and the reſt of the people fervently implored the Almighty to defend them from the calamities with which they were threatened by the pride and preſumption of Haman who was deſirous of exacting ſuch humiliation as was due alone to the great Author of the Creation. The queen alſo refrained from taking refreſhment for three days, and being cloathed in a mourning veil, according to the cuſtom of the country, ſhe continued to pray that God would avert the deſtruction with which the Iſraelites were threatened.

A faſt obſerv-
ed for three
days. Eſter vi.
16, 17.

After this humiliation, the queen cloathed herſelf in royal attire, and leaning upon one virgin attendant, while another bore her train, ſhe approached the king, who was ſeated on his throne, being habited in robes of ſtate, ornamented with gold, pearls and precious ſtones. Trembling as ſhe approached the throne, the queen raiſed her eyes, and imagining that her conſort looked diſpleaſed, ſhe fainted [†] into the arms of her attendants. Alarmed at this circumſtance, Artaxerxes deſcended from his throne, and folding her in his arms, aſſured her, that though ſhe appeared in his preſence uncommanded, ſhe had no cauſe of apprehenſion, the law for reſtraining the intruſion of his ſubjects having no reference to her, who was a partner in the ſovereignty. He then laid his ſceptre gently on her neck, and delivered it into her hand, whereby all her fears were diſſipated. Having recovered the power of ſpeech, ſhe ſaid, ſhe could no otherwiſe account for her ſwooning, than by ſuppoſing it proceeded from the ſurpriſe of beholding the ſplendid and magnificent appearance of his majeſty. Theſe words were delivered in ſo weak and languiſhing an accent, that the king became ſtill more ſolicitous to yield her comfort; and therefore he aſſured her, that he would comply with any requeſt ſhe ſhould make, even if it ſhould be half of his kingdom. Upon this, ſhe ſaid, ſhe had only to entreat that his majeſty, accompanied by Haman, would accept of an entertainment ſhe had provided. In conſequence of this invitation, they both attended her the following day; and when the king had drank freely of wine, he repeated his deſire, that Eſther would particularize the favour ſhe wiſhed to be conferred upon her. She ſaid, if the king in company with Haman would honour her with another viſit the next day, ſhe would then prefer her petition. The king agreed to the propoſition: and Haman was highly gratified by the honour of being ſelected to attend on the occaſion.

Eſter approaches the king on the throne, and is encouraged by him. Eſter, v. 1, &c.

On his return, Haman met Mordecai in the palace, but, as uſual, received not from him the mark of reſpect and humility conſtantly paid him by the Perſians. He informed Zereth, his wife, and ſeveral of his friends, that he had received the honour of ſupping with the king and queen, who had given him a ſimilar invitation for the following day; adding, however, that notwithſtanding he was ſo honourably diſtinguiſhed, he was chagrined and diſconcerted by the inſolence of Mordecai.

Zereth adviſed him to erect a gallows fifty cubits high, and obtain the king's permiſſion to hang Mordecai on it in the morning. He took her advice, and a gibbet was put up within his own palace. But the providence of God defeated the hopes of Haman; for the king being unable to ſleep that night, aroſe, and ordered his ſecretary to bring him a number of ſtate papers for peruſal. On reading them, the king found great honours and riches had been beſtowed on one man for his valour; that the fidelity of a ſecond to his prince had made his fortune: at length he came to the account of the conſpiracy of Bigthan and Tereſh, of which Mordecai had made diſcovery. The king bad the ſecretary ſtop here, and aſked him, if the party had been rewarded for his ſervices; to which the other ſaid that no reward was mentioned in that account. The ſecretary was now ordered to enquire the hour; and bringing word that it was day-break, the king bad him ſee if any of his friends were at the gate of the palace. The king being told that Haman waited, he ordered him in, and ſaid, "As I eſteem you my beſt friend, I wiſh for your advice, what honours, conſiſtent with my own dignity, and my affection for the party, ſhall I beſtow on the man who has conferred the greateſt obligation on me?" Haman, thinking this queſtion related to himſelf ſaid, that the man thus to be diſtinguiſhed ſhould be cloathed in royal apparel, be preſented with a chain of gold, and being mounted on the king's own horſe, his majeſty ſhould direct one of his confidential friends to march before him through the city, and proclaim "Thus ſhall it be done to them whom the king delighteth to honour." The king appearing pleaſed with this propoſal, ſaid, "Do you take the horſe, royal apparel, and golden chain, and having found Mordecai, the Jew, ſee him cloathed and mounted, as you have recommended; and then I direct, that you ſhall walk before him as the herald; for you, being my moſt worthy friend, are the moſt proper perſon to execute what you have adviſed. This honour ſhall be done to Mordecai, becauſe I owe my life to his zeal." Haman was confounded at this order, but obliged to comply; therefore he took the horſe, the royal apparel, and chain of gold, and went in ſearch of Mordecai, whom he found cloahed in ſackcloth at the gate of the palace, and deſired him to put on the purple robes. Mordecai, ignorant of what had paſſed, thought Haman intended to ridicule him, and therefore treated him as one who meant to inſult the unfortunate. The matter being explained, Mordecai was convinced that the king intended him this honour in reward of his preventing the effects of the conſpiracy: whereupon he put on the robes and being inveſted with the golden chain, he mounted the horſe, and rode through the city, being preceeded by Haman, who prononuced this proclamation: "Thus ſhall it be done to the man whom the king delighteth to honour." This ceremony being ended, Mordecai repaired to the king, while Haman went home under a dejection of ſpirits and informed his wife and friends of what had happened, and they agreed, that to execute the vengeance meditated againſt Mordecai would be impracticable; ſince it was evident that he was protected by God.

[†] This circumſtance of the queen's ſwooning is not recorded in any of the canonical chapters of the book of Eſther, but is mentioned in the fifteenth of the apocryphal writings.

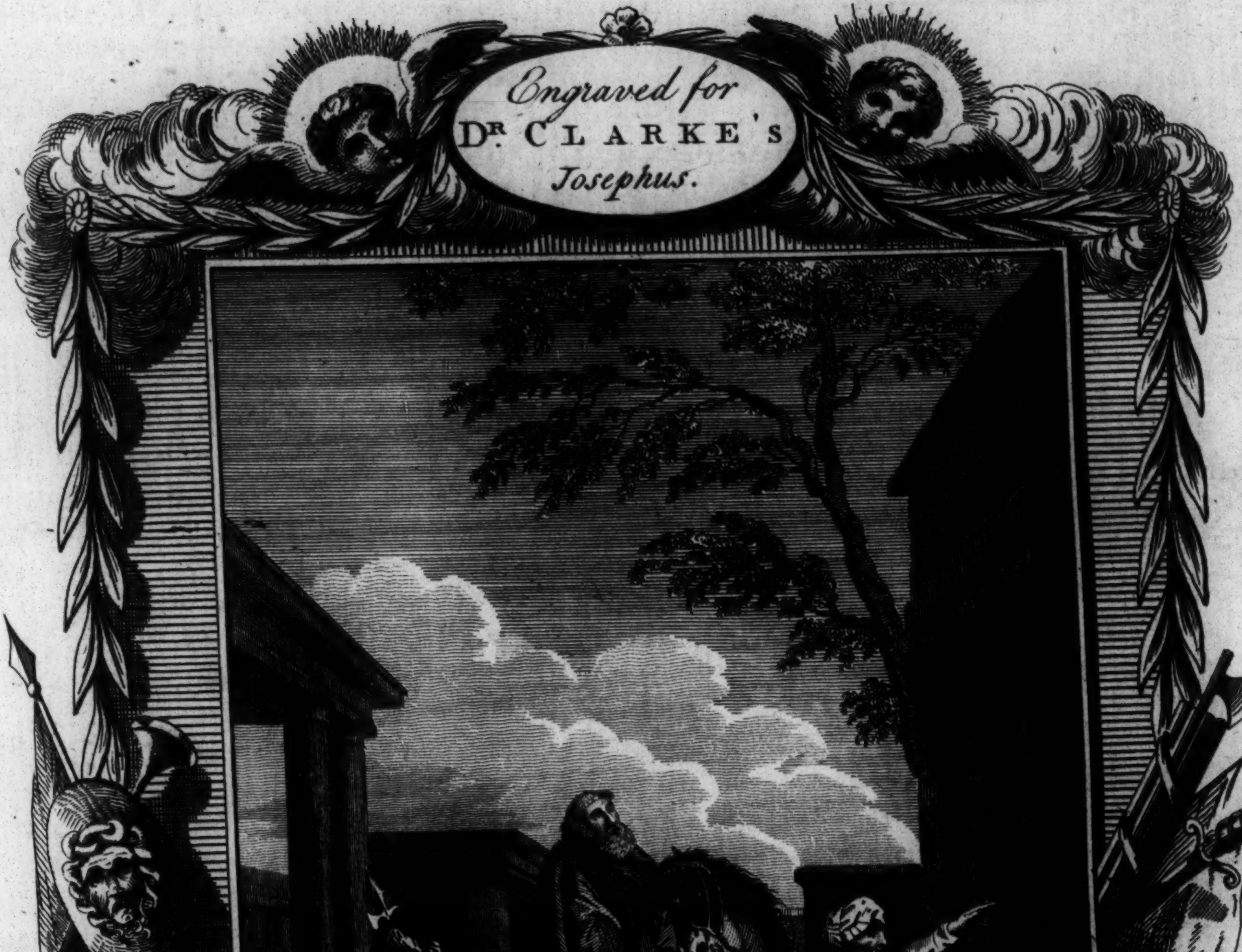
Mordecai promoted. Eſther vi. 11, &c.

While they were in converſation, ſome of the king's eunuchs came to require the attendance of Haman at ſupper; and one of them, named Sambuchadas, in paſſing through the court-yard, obſerved the gibbet, and enquired for what purpoſe it was intended. Being informed, that Haman had cauſed it to be erected for the execution of Mordecai, he departed. During the ſupper, the king deſired Eſther to make the demand before alluded to, and it ſhould be immediately granted. She then mentioned the deplorable ſituation of the Jews, ſaying, if they had been conſigned to baniſhment, ſhe would not have preſumed to interrupt the buſineſs of ſtate by an application in their behalf; but ſince the ſentence of total deſtruction was pronounced upon them, ſhe could not refrain from imploring his majeſty to revoke his proclamation. Upon being aſked by the king who had formed that deſign againſt them, Eſther replied, that their ruin had been plotted by Haman. Diſconcerted by this diſcourſe, the king retired into the garden; and in the mean time, Haman, foreſeeing the gathering ſtorm, ſolicited Eſther to pardon the fault he had committed, and threw himſelf in a poſture of humiliation on the bed near her. At this inſtant the king returned into the apartment, and obſerving the ſituation of his favourite, reproached him with treachery in making an attempt upon the honour of his queen. Overwhelmed with confuſion at the diſpleaſure expreſſed in the king's countenance, voice, and deportment, Haman was incapable of uttering a word in his own vindication. The eunuch Sabuchadas now informed Artaxerxes, that Haman had cauſed a gibbet to be erected in his court-yard for the execution of Mordecai. Immediately upon receiving this intelligence, the king ordered the ſame puniſhment to be inflicted upon Haman that he intended for Mordecai, and he was accordingly executed upon the gibbet he had erected.

Eſther plea in behalf of the Jews.

Haman hanged. Eſther viii.

Haman's eſtate was given to Eſther, who by this time had informed the king that Mordecai was her uncle, and he being ſent for, Artaxerxes delivered to him the ring that he had formerly entruſted with Haman,


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE's
Josephus.

Mordecai honoured.

Publish'd as the Act directs April 28, 1786 by John Walker Paternoster Row.

15 59
AUG

man, and at the ſame time the queen aſſigned to him the poſſeſſions of the deceaſed. She now reminded the king of the ordinance againſt the Jews which, in his ſovereign's name, Haman had diſperſed through the empire, ſaying, that her own life depended on the preſervation of her relations, friends, and countrymen. The king aſſured her, that no injury ſhould be offered to the Jews, and authoriſed her to write ſuch letters to them as ſhould compleatly appeaſe their apprehenſions, promiſing, that, to give them a validity that could not be diſputed, they ſhould be ſealed with the royal ſignet. Commanding his ſcribes and ſecretaries to attend, he directed them to write to his hundred and twenty-ſeven governors between Ethiopia and India, ſeverely reprobating the conduct of Haman; and revoking the proclamation he had iſſued; repreſenting the Jews as a people approved by him for their righteous and peaceable diſpoſition; and expreſſing his royal pleaſure to be, that as the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, called Adar, had been appointed for their extirpation, ſo that particular day ſhould be the period for their general deliverance; and further it was declared, that whoever ſhould preſume to diſobey the king's commands, ſhould ſuffer military execution.

axerxes
okes the
ct againſt
Jews.
her. xvi.

Upon the departure of Mordecai from the palace, wearing a crown, a royal robe, and chain of gold, his countrymen interpreted his appearance into a prelude of their approaching happineſs, and where ever the king's letters arrived an univerſal joy prevailed among the people in whoſe favour they were written; and the princes, governors, and magiſtrates behaved towards the Jews in general with very particular reſpect.

After the publication of the edict in their be half, the Jews of Suſa put five hundred of their enemies to death, of which circumſtance the king informed Eſther, ſaying if ſhe had any further requeſt to make, it ſhould be granted. She demanded that the ten ſons of Haman might be hanged upon the gallows originally intended for the execution of Mordecai and that the Jews might be allowed another day of vengeance. The king complied; and on the day following near three hundred more were killed at Suſa; excluſive of which ſeventy-five thouſand were eſtimated to have been deſtroyed in different parts of the empire. They firſt ſlaughter at Suſa was on the thirteenth, and that in the country on the fourteenth of the twelfth month; and on the day ſucceeding each maſſacre, the Jews feaſted and rejoiced. By the order of Mordecai, theſe days are celebrated as anniverſary feſtivals, being called Purim, or feaſts of preſervation, in commemoration that the Jews obtained deliverance from the power of their adverſaries at the time when the latter expected to overwhelm them with ruin. The affairs of the Jews were exceedingly proſperous under the admiſtration of Mordecai.

CHAP. VII.

The pontificate deſcends to Judas, and from him to John, who kills his brother Jeſus in the temple. Jaddus becomes high-prieſt, and his brother Manaſſeh eſpouſes the daughter of Sanballat.

Various revolutions in the prieſthood.

UPON the deceaſe of Eliaſhib, the pontificate deſcended to his ſon Judas, and he was ſucceeded in that dignity by his ſon John, who was the cauſe of the temple being prophaned by Bagoſes, commander in chief to Artaxerxes. Bagoſes, the intimate friend of Jeſus, the brother of John, was deſirous of advancing him to the dignity of the prieſthood, and preſuming on ſuch powerful patronage, he engaged in a contention reſpecting his expectations with his brother John, who, being enraged, attacked and ſlew him in the temple. In conſequence of this violation, the Jews were deprived of their liberties, and the temple was prophaned by the Perſians; for no ſooner was Bagoſes informed of the death of Jeſus, than exclaiming, "Impious generation, who make the place of worſhip like a ſhamble!" he haſtened towards the temple, and though oppoſed by numbers of the Jews, ruſhed into that building, ſaying, his preſence could not be more offenſive than a dead body in that place. From this time he exerciſed great ſeverity over the Jews, for about ſeven years. Upon the death of John, the prieſthood devolved to his ſon Jaddus, who had a brother named Manaſſeh. Sanballat, conſidering that Jeruſalem was a city of great importance, and that its ſovereigns had often ſucceſsfully oppoſed the Syrians and Aſſyrians, gave his daughter Nicaſa in marriage to Manaſſeh, as a teſtimony of the friendſhip he intended to maintain with the Jews. He was governor of Samaria in the reign of Darius, being by birth a Chuthite, from which people the Samaritans derived their origin.

CHAP. VIII.

Alexander the Great transfers the war from Europe into Aſia. He ravages the Perſian Empire, but contrary to expectation, treats the Jews with kindneſs.

Alexander becomes king of Macedon.

PHILIP, king of Macedon, being about this time treacherouſly ſlain by Pauſanias, his ſon Alexander aſcended the throne; and croſſing the Helleſpont, he obtained a ſignal victory over Darius, near the river Granicus. He then ſubdued Lydia and Ionia, and marching through Caria, entered the country of Pamphylia.

The elders of Jeruſalem were now greatly enraged againſt Manaſſeh for marrying a ſtrange wife, fearing that if this circumſtance paſſed unnoticed, it might be a dangerous precedent for others, and might at length become cuſtomary. They remembered, that marrying women not of their own people, had heretofore cauſed their captivity, and the misfortunes conſequent thereon: wherefore they inſiſted that Manaſſeh ſhould no longer attend the altar, unleſs he diſmiſſed his wife. Hereupon, Manaſſeh told Sanballat, his father-in-law, of the high regard he had for his daughter, but ſaid he could not ſubmit to be deprived of the prieſthood and its honours on account of his marriage, even to ſo worthy a woman. Hereupon Sanballat ſaid, that if he would continue to acknowledge his wife, he would not only ſecure him in his preſent ſtation, but raiſe him to the rank of high-prieſt, eſtabliſh him as a prince of the country, and build him a temple on mount Garizim, equal to that at Jeruſalem: and all this ſhould be performed by permiſſion of Darius. Relying on theſe promiſes, Manaſſeh remained with his father-in-law, who now grew very old. Many prieſts and other Iſraelites having married ſtrange women, they reſorted to Manaſſeh, to ſupport whom in his views of ambition, Sanballat ſupplied them with houſes, land, ſtock, and money.

Alexander obtains a ſplendid victory over Darius.

Alexander having paſſed the Helleſpont, and obtained the victory at the Granicus, Darius aſſembled his forces, reſolved to give battle to the Macedonians, and prevent their ravaging Aſia, as they had propoſed. Having paſſed the Euphrates, he prepared to give the enemy battle on the other ſide mount Taurus, in Cilicia. Sanballat, pleaſed with this march of Darius, told Manaſſeh, that on the king's return, he would ratify all his promiſes; as he had no doubt but that the Macedonians would be routed on the firſt encounter. In this, however, he was miſtaken; for Darius was defeated, his army being chiefly cut off, his mother, wife, and children made captives, and himſelf obliged to fly to Perſia for refuge. In the interim, Alexander marched into Syria, made capture of Sidon and Damaſcus, and beſieged Tyre. He now wrote to the high-prieſt of the Jews, claiming the aſſiſtance heretofore given to Darius, and demanding that his army might be ſupplied with neceſſaries, which ſhould be paid for punctually. The high-prieſt returned a ſhort anſwer, intimating that they had ſworn never to bear arms againſt Darius. This anſwer enraged Alexander, who, however, proceeded in his attack of Tyre, but vowed that, when he had conquered it, he would chaſtiſe the high-prieſt and the people for violating their oaths. Alexander ſoon conquered Tyre, and then proceeded to reduce the Perſian garriſon at Gaza.

Sanballat undertakes to ſecure him all purpoſes, and make him prince the whole country.

Sanballat, finding that Alexander lay before Tyre, repaired to him with eight thouſand men, thus abandoning his faith to Darius. Alexander received him graciouſly, and bid him ſpeak freely; on which he ſaid that his ſon-in-law, Manaſſeh, brother to Jaddus, high-prieſt of the Jews, was following him with a great concourſe of people, who requeſted leave to erect a temple in that province. Sanballat intimated likewiſe how much Alexander's intereſt was concerned in this permiſſion, as the Jews, who were very numerous, might be as troubleſome to him, as they had heretofore been to the Syrians. The requeſt was granted, and they began to build the temple, of which Manaſſeh was to be the high-prieſt, and his deſcendants, by Sanballat's daughter, were to ſucceed to that honour. At the end of nine months, Sanballat died, and Alexander having made a conqueſt of Gaza, proceeded towards Jeruſalem. Jaddus, the high-prieſt, was now confounded to think how he ſhould behave to a prince whoſe former commands he had diſobeyed: on which he ordered prayers and ſacrifices for the general proſperity of the people. On the following night it was revealed to Jaddus in a dream, that he ſhould adorn the city with garlands and flowers, open the gates, and let the people, dreſſed in white, go to meet Alexander; himſelf and the other prieſts preceeding in their proper habits. In the morning, Jaddus, highly rejoiced, told the citizens what had been revealed, and proceeded to make the neceſſary preparations for meeting the king.

Being informed of Alexander's approach, Jaddus, with the prieſts and people, proceeded to a ſpot called Sapha, or the place of proſpect, on account of its commanding a view of the city and temple. The Chaldeans and Phœnicians entertained the deſign of putting the high-prieſt and people to death, and making booty of their poſſeſſions: but they were diſappointed. Alexander obſerving the people coming out of the city cloathed in white, and being preceded by the prieſts in ſilken robes, and the high-prieſt in purple, embroidered with gold, his mitre on his head, and a plate of gold on his forehead, inſcribed with the ſacred name of God, the magnificence of the ſpectacle ſtruck him with ſuch awe, that he advanced alone, and having paid homage to the inſcription, ſaluted the high-prieſt. Upon this the Jews loudly ſhouted the praiſes of Alexander, whoſe conduct greatly aſtoniſhed the kings of Syria, and the other ſpectators. Parmenio aſked Alexander how it happened, that he who was held in the higheſt veneration by the inhabitants of almoſt the whole earth, could condeſcend to bow to a Jewiſh prieſt. He replied, "I worſhip not this man, but his God. Some time ſince I ſaw him, habited as he now appears, at Dion, in Macedonia. I was then deliberating on the means of obtaining a conqueſt over Perſia; when he directed me to conduct my army over the river, aſſuring me that ſucceſs would attend my expedition. All the circumſtances of my dream now occur to my recollection, and I am confident that this man was repreſented to me in my viſion at Dion. Thus encouraged by the divine interpoſition, I cannot entertain a doubt of ſucceſs againſt the Perſians."

Alexander calls to mind the figure of Jaddus in a viſion he had at Dion.

After the ceremonies of the meeting, Alexander attended a ſolemn ſacrifice in the temple, where the high-prieſt ſhewed him a prophecy delivered by Daniel, purporting that a Greek ſhould conquer the Perſian empire. Suppoſing this prediction to allude to himſelf, Alexander expreſſed great ſatisfaction at the information he had received, and then diſmiſſed the Jews, directing them to aſſemble on the following day, and then explain what ſervices he could render them.

The next day, the high-prieſt ſignified to the king that the wiſh of the people was, to live under their own laws, to be exempted from the tribute formerly paid once in ſeven years, and to enjoy equal privileges with the Jews of Media and Babylon, the king promiſed that they ſhould be gratified in theſe reſpects, and further that ſuch as were diſpoſed to ſerve in his army ſhould be permitted the free exercſe of their religion. Under the aſſurance of this privilege many of the Jews engaged in the ſervice of Alexander.

From Jeruſalem, Alexander marched his army to ſeveral other places, at each of which he had an agreeable reception. The principal reſidence of the Samaritans was at Sichem, a city in the neighbourhood of Mount Garizim; and when Alexander approached that place, the people, accompanied by the troops ſent by Sanballat, advanced to meet him, and ſolicit that he would honour their city and temple with a viſit. He replied, that on his return he would comply with their deſires. They then requeſted an exemption from the ſeventh year's tribute; upon which the king enquired to what country they belonged. They replied, that they were Hebrews, though they were called Sichemites by the Sidonians. Having promiſed, that on his return, when he ſhould have acquired further information on the ſubject, he would indulge them in every reaſonable requeſt, he diſmiſſed the Sichemites, but took Sanballat's troops with him into Egypt, where he aſſigned them a portion of land. They were afterwards ſtationed in the garriſon of the city of Thebes, where lands alſo were allotted to their uſe.

Alexander dies.

Upon the deceaſe of Alexander, a partition of his kingdom was made among his ſucceſſors. The temple of Garizim remained in its former ſituation. After tranſgreſſing the laws, either by a breach of the Sabbath, eating prohibited meat, or other acts of irregularity, the Jews of Jeruſalem were accuſtomed to retreat among the Sichemites for refuge, pretending that they were unjuſtly accuſed. Jaddus the high-prieſt dying about this time, his ſon Onias ſucceeded to the pontificate.

Onias, the ſon of Jaddus, ſucceeds his father.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS,

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK XII.

From the Year of the World 3635 to 3808.

CHAPTER I.

After the death of Alexander, the Macedonian empire is divided into ſeveral principalities. Jeruſalem taken by Ptolemy.

The Perſian empire divided into principalities.

AFTER the deceaſe of Alexander, his kingdom was divided among the chiefs of his army. Antigonus had the command of Aſia; Seleuſcus that of Babylon, and the bordering countries; the Helleſpont was under Lyſimachus; Caſander ‡ reigned in Babylon; and Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus, had the government of Egypt. Theſe princes being competitors for univerſal monarchy, a long and obſtinate war enſued, in the courſe of which great numbers of lives were loſt, and many conſiderable cities were ravaged and totally deſtroyed. Theſe contentions were particularly fatal to Syria, during the reign of Ptolemy, who was called the ſaviour of his country, though he had no title to that honourable appellation. Under the pretext of devotion, Ptolemy gained admittance to Jeruſalem on the Sabbath, and made himſelf maſter of that city, without receiving any oppoſition from the inhabitants, they being prohibited from the uſe of arms on that ſacred day. In his hiſtory of the ſucceſſors of Alexander, Agatharchides, the Cnidian, ſays, "The people called Jews, inhabiting the ſtrongly fortified and populous city of Jeruſalem, ſubmitted to the intolerable oppreſſion of Ptolemy, from a ſuperſtitious regard to their Sabbath, by which they were withheld from taking up arms to repulſe the invader."

Ptolemy made captives of a conſiderable number of the Jews of Jeruſalem, Samaria, and Mount Garizim, and tranſplanted them into Egypt. Convinced by their fidelity to Darius, after he had been vanquiſhed by Alexander, that the Jews were a people who paid a ſacred regard to an oath, he after ſwearing them to obſerve allegiance to himſelf and his ſucceſſors, entruſted to them the defence of ſeveral garriſons and ſtrong holds, and appointed them to various offices of confidence, admitting them to the ſame privileges and immunities

---

‡ Spanheim ſhews the true reading to be Caſſander.

in Alexandria which were enjoyed by the Macedonians. By the liberality of Ptolemy, and the fertility of the country, great numbers of Jews were induced to reſort to Egypt. The ancient laws and cuſtoms were a ſource of perpetual diſſention between the Jews and Samaritans, the former contending, that the temple of Jeruſalem was the only holy place, and the others as reſolutely inſiſting, that the temple at Garizim was intitled to the preference. Theſe diſſentions occaſioned the loſs of a great number of lives.

CHAP. II.

Ptolemy Philadelphus reſtores to liberty one hundred and twenty thouſand Jews. He commiſſions ſeventy-two learned men to tranſlate the Jewiſh laws into the Greek language. His munificence towards the holy temple.

UPON the deceaſe of Ptolemy, the crown of Egypt deſcended to his ſon Philadelphus, whom on the following occaſion redeemed from captivity an hundred and twenty thouſand Jews. Demetrius Phalereus, who had the care of the royal library, collected all the books which were deſerving a place in the king's ſtudy. Being aſked by Philadelphus how many books he had collected, Demetrius replied, that the number amounted to two hundred thouſand volumes, which he hoped ſoon to encreaſe to five hundred thouſand, having learnt that the Jews poſſeſſed a vaſt number of manuſcripts on the ſubject of their laws, ceremonies, and cuſtoms, which would prove a valuable acquiſition. He obſerved, that though the characters and language of the Hebrews bore ſome affinity to the Greek, yet there were many niceties peculiar to each tongue, which would contribute to render the tranſlation a work of difficulty, but that it might, notwithſtanding, be accompliſhed, if the king ſhould approve of the expence that would attend the undertaking. Philadelphus commended his librarian's propoſition, and diſpatched a letter to the high-prieſt of the Jews, requeſting his aſſiſtance towards the propoſed acquiſition. Ariſtæus, a man whoſe wiſdom and modeſty had gained him a diſtinguiſhed place in the king's eſteem, had long cheriſhed the hope of reſtoring the Jews to liberty, and availing himſelf of the favourable opportunity that now offered, he entreated Soſibius, Tarantinus, and Andræus, captains of the guards, to aſſiſt in his benevolent deſign; and he obtained their ready compliance.

Ariſtæus moves the king on the behalf of the Jews.

Ariſtæus then addreſſed the king, ſaying, that he conceived, to obtain a tranſlation of the laws of the Jews would prove a work of great difficulty, while ſo great a number of thoſe people remained in captivity. He ſaid it was not on account of family alliance, that he preſumed to ſpeak in behalf of thoſe people, but that from a conſciouſneſs, that their releaſement from bondage would be at once worthy of the exalted ſtation of his majeſty, and highly acceptable to God, he was induced to ſolicit that they might be conſidered as proper objects of his ſovereign's clemency. Being informed, that the Jewiſh captives amounted to about a hundred and twenty thouſand, the king aſked Ariſtæus if he thought the requeſt he had made was a moderate one; when Soſibius and Tarantinus joined him in obſerving, that, compaſſion towards the miſerable was worthy the character of ſo great a prince, and would be conſidered as an inſtance of gratitude for his advancement to the throne. He approved the benevolent interpoſition of his officers, and ordered, that, on the enſuing day, his ſoldiers ſhould receive a hundred and twenty drachmas * in lieu of each Jew they held in captivity, promiſing to iſſue a proclamation for the emancipation of the Jews made priſoners during the reign of his father, as well as all thoſe who had fallen into captivity previous and ſubſequent to that period. The proclamation was accordingly iſſued; and in the courſe of ſeven days, the Jews were ranſomed at the expence of four hundred and ſixty talents; for though the proclamation extended only to thoſe who had been made priſoners, the maſters inſiſted on one hundred and twenty drachmas, for the emancipation of each child born in captivity.

The king ordered Demetrius to publiſh the particulars concerning the tranſlation of the books and records of the Jews. Upon a regiſter was inſerted a tranſcript of the petition of Demetrius, a liſt of the donations towards the undertaking, with the names of the ſeveral ſubſcribers, and the letters which had paſſed on the occaſion, ſo that the munificence of the king, and the liberal aſſiſtance afforded towards perfecting the work, might be apparent on the firſt view. The petition was conceived in terms to the following purport:

“ DEMETRIUS *to the* Great King.

The petition of Demetrius about Jewiſh books and records.

This is humbly to inform your majeſty that, agreeable to your royal command, I have exerted my utmoſt endeavours to obtain the moſt uſeful books and copies for enriching the royal library: and that after an unwearied attention to the ſubject, the hiſtory of the Jewiſh laws I conceive to be an acquiſition moſt to be deſired. Being written in the characters and idiom of the Hebrews, an accurate tranſlation of them muſt neceſſarily be attended with much difficulty. The tranſlation we now poſſeſs would have been free from many of the errors it contains, had it been executed under the ſanction of the royal authority. Theſe laws were the production of the Almighty himſelf, and form the only perfect legiſlative code extant; it is therefore neceſſary to obtain an authentic verſion of them. Hecatæus, the Abderite, obſerves, that the poets and hiſtorians avoid mentioning theſe inſtitutions, for being of divine origin, they were not to be prophaned. It is therefore humbly ſuggeſted to your majeſty, to write to the high-prieſt of the Jews, requeſting him to ſelect from each tribe, ſix elders qualified for interpreting and expounding the writings in queſtion, whereby your majeſty will receive the ſatisfaction required."

---

* About three pounds ten ſhillings Engliſh.

The king ordered letters on the ſubject propoſed by Demetrius be written to Eleazar, the high-prieſt, wherein the deliverance of the Jews from captivity ſhould be mentioned. He ſent preſents of fifty* talents of gold for cups and other holy veſſels, a hundred† talents of ſilver for ſacrifices and the various ſervices appertaining to divine worſhip in the temple, and precious ſtones to a great amount, which the people having the care of the coffers wherein thoſe treaſures were depoſited, were directed to permit the lapidaries to ſelect at their own diſcretion.

Onias the high-prieſt dies, and his ſon Simon ſucceeds him.

Simon dies, and Eleazar enters upon the pontificate.

Upon the deceaſe of Onias, the high-prieſt, Simon, his ſon ſucceeded to that office; and on account of his righteouſneſs and virtue he acquired the ſurame of *The Juſt*. Simon lived but a ſhort time; and his only iſſue being an infant ſon, named Onias, he was ſucceeded in the pontificate by his brother Eleazar, to whom the king wrote a letter, mentioning, that he had diſpoſed of ſome of the Jews releaſed from bondage in his armies, and appointed others to offices of truſt in his palace. The letter alſo ſtated, that from a deſire of yielding ſervice to the Jews in general, he had formed the deſign of procuring a Greek verſion of their legiſlative inſtitutions, and requeſting that Eleazar would ſelect ſix elders from each tribe for aſſiſting in the propoſed tranſlation, and that he had commiſſioned Andræus and Ariſtæus to negotiate the matter in queſtion, and alſo intruſted them with the delivery of preſents for ſacrifices, and other holy uſes of the temple. The reply of Eleazar ſignified, that the king's letter had afforded infinite ſatisfaction to a full congregation of the Jews; that he had received from Andræus and Ariſtæus twenty cups of gold, thirty of ſilver, five goblets, and a table to be conſecrated for the ſervice of the altar, together with an hundred talents of ſilver for defraying the expence of ſacrifices, and other holy uſes; that ſix elders had been ſelected from each tribe, and entruſted to deliver to his majeſty a body of the Jewiſh laws, for the return of which, after being tranſcribed, they relied on his juſtice and piety. The letter concluded with a prayer, that the intended verſion of the hiſtory of the laws and antiquities of the Jews might be executed to the entire ſatisfaction of his majeſty, and with earneſtly recommending his royal perſon and family to the peculiar care and protection of Heaven. To the high-prieſt's anſwer, was ſubjoined the names of the ſeventy elders. To particularize the preſents with which the king enriched the temple, is a tribute due to his royal munificence, and that attention which he employed to have the work executed with ſpeed and ingenuity.

Six elders of every tri ſent to atte the king w the books the Jewiſh laws.

The golden table.

The king cauſed the dimenſions of the former table to be taken, intending, if the place where it had ſtood would admit, to ſupply a larger: being informed that the ſpace would permit him to act at diſcretion, he formed a deſign of providing a table five times larger than the original one; but, upon reflection, he was of opinion, that ſo extraordinary a magnitude would render it inconvenient for daily uſe; and therefore concluded to obſerve the former ſcale, and to employ, in the ſuperiority of workmanſhip, what he ſhould ſave in weight of metal by contracting his firſt deſign. He ordered the table to be made two cubits and a half long, one cubit in breadth, and one and a half high. It was entirely compoſed of pure gold, and encompaſſed by a triangular border of the breadth of a hand, which was embelliſhed with flower-work, twiſted ſtrings and other ingenious devices; and the ſeveral parts were ſo juſtly diſpoſed, that in every point of view the beauty of the whole was equally conſpicuous. The part of the table moſt expoſed to view was decorated with a great variety of precious ſtones, ſet at equal diſtances, and looped to the border by golden buckles. Valuable ſtones of an oval form were ſet on the outſide of the table, round which twined an emboſſed repreſentation of twigs and branches. Ears of corn, bunches of grapes, pomegranates, and divers other fruits were repreſented by various kinds of ſtones correſponding with the colour of what they were meant to imitate, and wrought in the form of a crown: beneath this crown was a row of ovals, diſpoſed in ſuch a manner as preciſely to match with thoſe above. The feet of the table were received in a golden plate of four fingers in breadth, being faſtened thereto by means of ſtrings and hooks. The top of the table was decorated with rubies, emeralds, and other ſtones of moſt exquiſite luſtre, diſpoſed in a ſerpentine direction, and likewiſe with bows, and knots, rather of a lozenge form, the whole being interſperſed with chryſtal and amber. The cornices of the feet were ornamented with lily-work, the tendrils and leaves being led in a ſerpentine courſe beneath the ſlab. The baſis was the breadth of a hand, being embelliſhed with rubies, and ſurrounded with a border, the diſtance of two hands being left between the feet, which were engraven with ſurpriſing ingenuity, in repreſentation of the vine and ivy, interſperſed with grapes and berries; and the leaſt motion of the air cauſed the leaves to play, ſo that the work appeared to be the production of nature rather than art. The thickneſs of this table was half a cubit; and it was compoſed of three pieces ſo ſkillfully joined, that the moſt penetrating eye could not diſcern where the different parts united.

---

* Admitting theſe to be Jewiſh talents, fifty weighed five thouſand ſeven hundred and three pounds, one ounce, ten penny weights; and their value in gold amounted to two hundred ſeventy three thouſand, ſeven hundred, and fifty pounds; but if Egyptian, fifty muſt weigh three thouſand, eight hundred two pounds, one ounce; and their value in gold amount to one hundred eighty two thouſand, five hundred pounds Engliſh money, according to Calmet's tables,

† An hundred talents, ſuppoſing them Hebrew, weighed eleven thouſand, four hundred and ſix pounds, three ounces; and their value in ſilver amounted to thirty four thouſand, two hundred and eighteen pounds, fifteen ſhillings; but ſuppoſing them to be Egyptian, which ſeems more probable, ſeven thouſand, ſix hundred and four pounds, two ounces, and were worth twenty two thouſand, eight hundred and twelve pounds, ten ſhillings, of Engliſh money.

The golden cups.

Two large golden cups were provided, being ornamented half way up the bowls with ſcallop-work, beſides being ſet with precious ſtones, ranged in the reſemblance of a meander of one cubit in breadth, and others diſpoſed in the figures of creepers and twigs, branching to the brim in an admirable net-work; and ſome of the compartments were ornamented with lozenge figures, and various kinds of precious ſtones of high value. Round the borders of theſe veſſels, each containing about four gallons, was wrought an intermixture of vines, grapes, lillies, and other flowers. Where the ſilver appeared, it bore a poliſh of uncommon brilliancy.

The king's further bounties.

The king alſo provided thirty golden veſſels, richly adorned with precious ſtones, the intermediate parts being wrought with vine and ivy of curious ſculpture. Upon the delivery of theſe preſents to the high-prieſt, he conſecrated them to the uſe of the temple. Eleazar having entertained the commiſſioners in a manner correſponding with the diſtinguiſhed office they held, he diſmiſſed them with grateful acknowledgments to, and preſents of high value for their ſovereign.

Upon being informed, that his ambaſſadors were returned to Alexandria, accompanied, by the ſeventy elders, the king immediately ſent for Andræus and Ariſtæus, who delivered to him the high-prieſt's letters, and anſwered various queſtions that he propoſed. Being impatient for an interview with the elders, and averſe to the conference with them being interrupted, he iſſued an order, that his ſubjects ſhould not have the uſual acceſs to his preſence on any occaſion whatever; for it was his cuſtom to give a public audience once every month, and a private one in the courſe of every five days. Soon afterwards, the deputies attended the king with the preſents from Eleazar, and the manuſcripts of the Jewiſh laws, written upon parchment in letters of gold. The king expreſſed great ſurpriſe at the ingenuity with which the books were formed the ſkins being affixed together with ſuch peculiar nicety, that the places where they were joined could not be diſtinguiſhed. He told them he had a great reſpect for them, a greater for the perſon by whom they were ſent, but that his veneration towards the author of the laws then before him, was ſtill of a ſuperior quality. The deputies, by their prayers and acclamations, expreſſed ſuch affecting proofs of a zealous attachment to the king, that he wept in joyful tenderneſs. The proper officers having taken charge of the writings, the king embraced the elders, telling them the day of their arrival ſhould be annually obſerved as a feſtival during his life: this day happened alſo to be diſtinguiſhed by his naval victory over Antigonus. He appointed them apartments within his palace, ſaying they ſhould be his own immediate gueſts. It was the office of Nicanor to provide for the entertainment and convenience of ſtrangers; and he appointed Dorotheus as his deputy. As a proof of reſpect to the elders, the king commanded that they might be entertained according to the cuſtoms of their own country.

Eleazar attends the king with preſents and parchment manuſcripts of the Jewiſh laws in golden letters.

Being converſant in the cuſtoms and manners of the Jews, Dorotheus was particularly directed to attend to the accommodation of the elders. A ſeat being placed on each ſide that whereon the king ſat, the gueſts took their places, and Dorotheus was commanded to ſerve them in the manner he had, on a previous occaſion, ſerved their countrymen. The Egyptian prieſts and officers whoſe buſineſs it was to attend during the king's meals, were excuſed from their uſual duty: and the king called one of the Jewiſh prieſts, named Eliſa, to bleſs the table: he roſe, and returned thanks to the Lord for the nouriſhment they were about to receive, concluding the ſolemnity with a fervent appeal to Heaven in behalf of the king and people. The company now with great chearfulneſs partook of the entertainment. While they were at dinner, the king propoſed ſeveral ingenious queſtions in philoſophy; and the anſwers of the elders were pertinent and ſatisfactory. Twelve days were employed in feaſting and merriment. The matters which were diſcuſſed, are amply treated of in a book written expreſsly on the ſubject by Ariſtæus. The arguments enforced in the converſation were ſo convincing, as to prevail on Menedemus, the philoſopher, to acknowledge an over-ruling providence, and terminate all controverſies on that head.

In acknowledgment of the edification he had derived in the art of government from the elders, the king ordered them each a preſent of three talents*; after which they were ſhewn to their apartments. On the expiration of three days, Demetrius conducted them along a cauſeway of ſeven furlongs in length, and over a bridge communicating with the iſland and continent, and thence proceeding towards the north, he eſtabliſhed them in a commodious retreat adapted to contemplation: he requeſted they would expedite the tranſlation of the laws, and commended them to the protection of Heaven. Excluſive of a competent allowance of more ſimple fare, by the king's command Dorotheus ſupplied them with delicacies from the royal table. The elders were accuſtomed to attend the king every morning at his levee, and after waſhing their hands with ſea-water, cloſely to apply themſelves to ſtudy till dinner-time, which was three o'clock in the afternoon.

The tranſlation finiſhed in ſeventy two days;

Read over, examined and approved.

The tranſlation being compleated within the ſpace of ſeventy-two days, Demetrius aſſembled the Jews in the place where the elders had made the verſion, and having read the book in the preſence of the interpreters, it received the unanimous approbation of the people. Demetrius recommended, that the eminent men of the nation might peruſe the work: and the high-prieſt, elders, and magiſtrates propoſed, that ſince the tranſlation was ſo happily executed, it might be ratified and confirmed unalterable. This propoſition was agreed to, conditionally, that the book ſhould undergo a further examination, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining with the greater certainty, whether any emendations were neceſſary. After being ſo reviſed, it was determined that no alteration ſhould be made in the text.

Reviſed, and finally ratified.

The ſucceſs of this undertaking, and the approbation it had received from the public, were circumſtances highly ſatisfactory to the king. The book being read to him, he expreſſed himſelf in the warmeſt terms of admiration of the wiſdom of the legiſlator. He obſerved to Demetrius, that, conſidering the incomparable excellency of the Jewiſh laws, it was ſurpriſing that they were neither mentioned by poets nor hiſtorians. Demetrius replied, that being of divine inſtitution, the people preſumed not to prophane them; adding, that Theopompus ſurreptitiouſly introduced ſome texts of the ſacred writings in his publications, under the deſcription of being of his own invention, he had been puniſhed for his impious temerity by a judicial phrenzy, which continued thirty days; and that he had revelations in his ſleep, informing him of the cauſe of his affliction, which was removed upon his repentance and earneſt ſupplication for mercy from Heaven. He alſo mentioned, that Theodectes, the poet, had been ſtruck with blindneſs for introducing a part of the holy writings into a tragedy, but that he had been reſtored to ſight upon a penitential acknowledgment of his crime.

The king diſmiſſes the interpreters with variety of rich preſents.

Demetrius having delivered the books to the king, he gave orders that they ſhould be preſerved with all imaginable care. He deſired the commiſſioners to omit no opportunity of viſiting him, ſaying their compliance would contribute both to their honour and intereſt; for his acknowledgments would ever be proportioned to the dignity of a great prince, and worthy the acceptance of men of their diſtinguiſhed learning and wiſdom. Upon their taking leave of him preparatory to their return, he preſented to each three ſuits of rich apparel, two talents in gold, the value of one talent in cups, beſides couches for ſleeping, ſitting, or placing their food upon at meals. He commiſſioned them to deliver to the high-prieſt preſents conſiſting of ten beds, with ſilver feet, and ſuperb furniture, a chalice of thirty talents of ſilver, ten purple robes, a magnificent crown, and one hundred pieces of fine linen; and likewiſe cups and goblets of various kinds, and two veſſels of gold to be dedicated to the ſervice of the temple. Theſe donatives were accompanied by a letter to the high-prieſt, ſignifying, that he ſhould derive particular ſatisfaction from a future viſit from the interpreters of the book of the Jewiſh laws, for whom he had a high eſteem, conſidering them as men that had a peculiar claim upon his munificence. Philadelphus reigned thirty-nine years.

---

* Being given in Egypt, it is preſumed that thoſe were the talents of that country, and if ſo three of them weighed two hundred and twenty-eight pounds, one ounce, and ten penny weight, and in value amounted to ſix hundred and eighty-four pounds, ſeven ſhillings and ſix pence of Engliſh coin, according to the tables of Calmet.

CHAP. III.

The Jews are treated with great kindneſs by the kings of Aſia. The king of Egypt eſpouſes Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus the Great.

he Jews uch in favour with the ings of Aſia.

ON account of their courage and fidelity, and their ſkill in the art of war, the kings of Aſia behaved with great liberality towards the Jews. Seleucus, ſurnamed Nicanor, admitted them to the privileges and immunities of freemen not only of the metropolis of Antioch, but, alſo of his ſeveral cities throughout Aſia and Lower Syria, which they enjoy to this day in common with the Greeks and Macedonians. The Jews being prohibited the uſe of foreign oil, the Olympic officers had it in commiſſion from the government, to allow them, in lieu thereof, a portion of money. In the following war, the people of Antioch inſiſted upon the Jews being abridged of this privilege: but Mutianus, governor of the province of Syria, would not comply with their requiſitions. The people of Alexandria urged the disfranchiſement of the Jews, during the reign of Veſpaſian and his ſon Titus: but the Romans honourably oppoſed the meaſure, which the above-mentioned princes could not be induced to countenance. Notwithſtanding the provocation of an obſtinate war and rebellion, they nobly declined a gratification of their own paſſions, and rejected the interceſſion of two powerful nations, on the conſideration that the privileges of the Jews could not be abridged without a violation of juſtice. Their former deſerts prevailed over the preſent offences; and the princes ſaid, that, private intereſt ſhould not ſeduce them to take mean advantages. They urged, that ſuch of our people as had taken up arms againſt the Romans, had been ſufficiently puniſhed in the courſe of the war; and to abridge the ſacred rights of thoſe who had not committed offence, would be equally contrary to the principles of reaſon and juſtice.

Marcus Agrippa defends the Jews againſt the Ionians.

The generoſity of Marcus Agrippa towards the Jews, ſtands on record. The Ionians violently remonſtrated againſt that people, ſetting forth that their city being a gift from Antiochus, the ſon of Seleucus, whom the Greeks had ſuramed the god, they inſiſted on being put in poſſeſſion of the place, and themſelves to have privileges, in excluſion of all other people; and that the Jews ſhould be permitted to ſhare the immunities, only on condition of adopting idolatrous worſhip. Nicolaus of Damaſcus was counſel for the Jews; and he brought the matter to iſſue, when judgment was pronounced, that they ſhould continue in the uninterrupted exerciſe of the ſeveral inſtitutions and cuſtoms of their nation, and as a confirmation of this decree, Agrippa declared that he would permit no innovation on the rights of the Jews. The particulars of theſe tranſactions are inſerted in Nicolaus's hiſtory *lib.* 123, 124. As we had not commenced hoſtilities againſt the Romans, the conduct of Agrippa is not to be conſidered as ſo extraordinary an inſtance of generoſity and candour, as that of Veſpaſian and Titus, who never tranſgreſſed the limits of moderation, even in the utmoſt rage of war.

Aſia, Judea, and Cœle-Syria, were continually diſturbed during the wars maintained by Antiochus the Great, againſt Philopater Ptolemy, and Ptolemy, his ſon ſurnamed Epiphanes; and which ever party prevailed ſtill the Jews were ſufferers. At length, Antiochus obtained poſſeſſion of Judea.

Antiochus makes himſelf maſter of Judea.

Scopas breaks into Cœle-Syria.

Antiochus beats him out again.

Some time after the deceaſe of Philopater, his ſon diſpatched a powerful army into Cœle-Syria, under the command of Scopas, who took ſeveral cities, and ſubjugated the whole country of Judea. At length Antiochus gave battle to and vanquiſhed Scopas, near the head of the Jordan, and was thereby enabled to recover thoſe places in Cœle-Syria, and Samaria of which the invader had taken poſſeſſion. After this ſucceſs, the Jews voluntary received the army of Antiochus into their city, and after liberally entertaining the ſoldiers, and affording plenty of provinder for the elephants and horſes, joined in a vigorous attack upon the caſtle wherein Scopas had ſtationed a garriſon. In the ſixteenth book of his hiſtory, Polybius, the Megalopolitan, ſays, " In the winter ſeaſon Scopas, Ptolemy's general, invaded and entirely conquered the country of the Jews." In the ſame book it is added, " After the defeat of Scopas by Antiochus, the latter reduced Bathamea, Samaria, Gadara, and Abila, and was afterwards joined by the Jews of Jeruſalem where the holy temple was ſituated."

Antiochus wrote letters to his officers, which, after recapitulating the ſervices he had received from the Jews, expreſſed, that he conſidered himſelf as bound in gratitude to contribute towards the reſtoration of their city, and to recal their countrymen to their former places of reſidence; and that, on theſe conſiderations, it was his pleaſure to aſſign twenty thouſand pieces of ſilver, to defray the charges of wine, oil, and frankincenſe, for ſacrifices; fourteen hundred and ſixty meaſures of wheat, to be ground into fine flour, and three hundred and ſeventy-five meaſures of ſalt; that what timber might be wanted from Libanus, or other places, for the reparation of the temple ſhould be ſupplied free from duty; that the Jews be permitted to live agreeably with their own laws and cuſtoms; that the elders, prieſts, ſcribes and ſinging men, ſhould be exempted from every kind of taxation; that all people then reſiding in the city, or that ſhould become inhabitants thereof before the month of Hyperberetæus, ſhould be exempted from taxes for three years; that in conſideration of former loſſes ſuſtained by the Jews, after the expiration of the three years, an abatement ſhould be made in the third part of taxes of every denomination; and that ſuch Jews as having been made priſoners of war, and were held in bondage ſhould be forthwith reſtored to freedom, and compenſation made for their loſſes. Such as offended againſt theſe orders were to pay three thouſand drachmas * for the uſe of the prieſts.

Antiochus writes to his officers in favour of the Jews.

Antiochus publiſhed an edict prohibiting any perſon from entering the temple without having obtained the conſent of the Jews, and being purified in the manner preſcribed by their law; that the fleſh of horſes, aſſes, mules, panthers, hares, foxes, or other animals which the Jews were not allowed to touch, ſhould not be brought into the city; that no animals ſhould be fed or brought up in the city, but ſuch as, in old times, had been uſed for ſacrifice: and that all offenders againſt this order ſhould pay, for the uſe of the prieſts, three thouſand drachmas.

On another occaſion this ſovereign afforded a proof his regard to our people. An inſurrection happening in Phrygia and Lybia, he wrote to his general Zeuxes, who had the command of an army in the higher part of thoſe provinces, informing him, that being convinced of the integrity of the Jews, he was determined, in compliance with the advice of his council and friends, to tranſplant from Babylon and Meſopotamia into Phrygia, two thouſand families of thoſe people, with all their effects, for the purpoſe of committing to their care the defence of the garriſons and ſtrong holds; and therefore commanding that immediately upon their arrival, they ſhould be put into poſſeſſion of lands both for building and cultivation, without being liable to pay any taxes for ten years; and that they ſhould be provided with grain ſufficient for the maintenance of themſelves and their families, till their induſtry ſhould produce a ſupply of that article.

Antiochus marries Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy.

Sometime after the occurrences above recited, a treaty of amity was concluded between Antiochus and Ptolemy, upon occaſion of the former eſpouſing Cleopatra, the daughter of the latter, whoſe marriage portion conſiſted of one half the revenues of Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, Judea and Samaria. Theſe provinces were taken upon contract by the principal inhabitants thereof, who regularly paid into the royal treaſury their reſpective ſtipends, in order to an equal partition of the produce being made between the two ſovereigns.

Ptolemy menaces Onias for refuſing to pay tribute.

While Onias held the pontificate, the Samaritans, who were a proud and powerful people, were exceedingly vexatious to the Jews, making frequent inroads on their country, and carrying numbers of the natives into captivity. Onias was a man of ſo weak and covetous a diſpoſition, that he refuſed to follow the example of his anceſtors, in paying a tribute of twenty talents‡. This contumacy was ſo provoking to Ptolemy Euergetes, the father of Philopater, that he diſpatched an ambaſſador to declare that if the cuſtomary tribute was not diſcharged, he would quarter a numerous army upon them, and eſtabliſh a new colony of inhabitants in their country. This embaſſy was exceedingly diſtreſſing to the generality of the Jews: but ſuch was the avarice, that rather than pay the money, he determined to abide the conſequence of ſo alarming a menace.

CHAP. IV.

Joſeph intercedes with Ptolemy in favour of his uncle Onias. His conduct in regard to his uncle proves the cauſe of the advancement of his own fortune. Hyrcanus, the ſon of Joſeph promoted. Joſeph dies.

ONIAS, the high-prieſt, had a nephew named Joſeph, who was a young man remarkable for his prudence and integrity. Being at Phichola, the place of his nativity, his mother gave notice to Joſeph of the dangerous ſituation of the Jews, in conſequence of Onias having refuſed to comply with the peremtory demand of Ptolemy in regard to the tribute. Hereupon the youth repaired to the high-prieſt, and expoſtulated with him on the misfortunes that would reſult to the public, if he perſiſted in his refuſal to pay the tribute; obſerving, that, if his avarice was ſo predominant as not to permit him to yield to the demand, it would be prudent to ſolicit the king to remit a part of the ſum. Upon Onias abſolutely refuſing to make application to the king, Joſeph offered to undertake that office, in which the other acquieſed.

---

* Three thouſand drachmas, reckoning a drachma worth ſeven pence of our money, amounted to eighty ſeven pounds, ten ſhillings.

‡ Twenty Hebrew talents weighed two thouſand, two hundred and eighty one pounds, three ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to ſix thouſand, eight hundred and forty three pounds, fifteen ſhillings of our money.

Joſeph expoſtulates with Onias.

Joſeph now aſſembled the people in the temple, and informed them that he was preparing to wait upon the king, whoſe diſpleaſure againſt the high-prieſt he truſted he ſhould be able to appeaſe. The people thanked him for his propoſal, and authorized him to act in the buſineſs according to his own diſcretion. He invited the king's commiſſioner to a ſuperb entertainment, which continued ſeveral days; and having preſented to him gifts of conſiderable value, informed him, that he ſhould ſhortly follow him to the court of his ſovereign. Upon his return to Egypt, the meſſenger mentioned the ingratitude of Onias with ſeverity, but ſpoke of Joſeph in ſuch high terms of commendation, that both the king and queen expreſſed a deſire of receiving a viſit from him.

Joſeph now ſent meſſengers into Samaria to collect money among his friends in that country for defraying the expence of apparel, horſes, carriages, plate, and other neceſſaries for his equipage, which amounted nearly to twenty thouſand drachmas.*

Proceeding towards Alexandria, Joſeph joined company with ſome of the princes and nobles of Syria and Phœnicia, who were on their way to the ſame capital, for the purpoſe of treating for the purchaſe of the king's revenues, which were annually ſold to the higheſt bidder. Theſe people ridiculed the appearance of Joſeph and his retinue: but regardleſs of their ſcoffs, he continued his journey, and arriving at Alexandria, was informed, that the king was at Memphis. He therefore went forwards towards that city, and met the king ſitting in his chariot, with the queen by his ſide, and accompanied by Athenion, they being on their return to Alexandria. Athenion, the commiſſioner that Joſeph had treated ſo liberally at Jeruſalem, informed the king that this was the young man of whom he had lately ſpoken to his majeſty with ſo great a warmth of approbation. Upon this, the king invited Joſeph into his chariot, and complained to him of the ill treatment he had received from Onias. Joſeph requeſted the king would impute his conduct to the infirmities of age, ſaying, a man oppreſſed with years was to be conſidered as in a ſtate of ſecond childhood; adding that he would pledge himſelf for the faithful attachment of ſuch of his countrymen as were ſtill in the vigour of their underſtanding. This addreſs, and the manner in which it was delivered, were ſo pleaſing to the king, that he gave orders for Joſeph to be provided with apartments in his palace, and to be entertained at the royal table. The honourable diſtinction thus ſhewn to Joſeph inflamed the envy of the Syrian noblemen who were in the king's train.

The king receives Joſeph into his chariot.

Upon the arrival of the time appointed for the diſpoſal of the royal revenue, the nobles of the different provinces offered eight thouſand talents for the duties of Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, and Samaria. Upon this, Joſeph reproved them for undervaluing the produce of the duties, and propoſed to give for them double the amount that the former bidders had offered. A propoſition ſo beneficial to his income could not fail to be pleaſing to the king, who aſked Joſeph what ſecurity he could give for the due performance of his contract. He replied that the ſecurities he meant to propoſe were unexceptionable. Upon being deſired by the king to name the parties, he ſaid he had no doubt of the acquieſcence of his majeſty and his royal conſort in his humble requeſt to become jointly bound for his integrity. The king was ſo pleaſed with the ingenuity of the young man, that he immediately entruſted him with the collection of the revenues. This preference to a ſtranger was highly diſguſting to the other perſons who had intended to take the contract.

Upon the bidding for the farm, Joſeph offers double to the reſt of the contractors.

The king agrees with him without ſecurity.

Thus commiſſioned, Joſeph ſolicited a guard of two thouſand ſoldiers, to aid him in levying the duties; which being granted, he borrowed five hundred talents† in Alexandria, and proceeded towards Syria. On his arrival at Aſkalon, the people not only refuſed to pay the tribute, but inſulted him; whereupon he puniſhed twenty of the ringleaders, and raiſed a thouſand talents§

---

* About five hundred and eighty-three pounds, ſix ſhillings and four pence of Engliſh money.

† Five hundred talents weighed thirty eight thouſand and twenty pounds, ten ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to one hundred and fourteen thouſand and ſixty two pounds ten ſhillings, of our money.

§ The talents here meant we take to be the Syrifrom their forfeited eſtates, which he ſent to the king, with an account of his proceedings. This ſo pleaſed the king that he left him wholly to his own conduct; and the reſt of the Syrians, ſtruck by the above example, paid their taxes without heſitation. The people of Scythopolis following thoſe of Aſkalon in refuſing to pay the tribute, Joſeph dealt with them as with the others. In the courſe of buſineſs Joſeph received many valuable preſents both for the king and his miniſters.

Twenty-two years Joſeph lived in proſperity, during which he had ſeven ſons by one wife and one, named Hyrcanus, by the daughter of his brother Solymius, whom he married in conſequence of the following incident. Journeying to Alexandria with his brother, to find a Jew of rank proper to marry his daughter, Joſeph, being at ſupper with the king, fell in love with a maid who was dancing to entertain his majeſty. Communicating his ſecret to to his brother, he requeſted, that, ſince he could not lawfully eſpouſe the maiden of whom he had become enamoured, he would contrive to introduce them privately to each other. The brother readily promiſed compliance: but put his own daughter to bed with Joſeph, inſtead of the other virgin; and he having drank freely, the deception was not diſcovered. The ſame artifice was repeatedly practiced, till Joſeph becoming violently enamoured, he lamented to his brother the improbability of obtaining the king's conſent to his marriage with the object of his paſſion. Solymius told him he had no cauſe of uneaſineſs ſaying, he might take the woman as his lawful wife; and after explaining all the particulars of the ſtratagem he had put in force, added that he had permitted a violation of his daughter's chaſtity, rather than his brother ſhould be guily of an atrocious crime. This explanation was highly ſatisfactory to Joſeph, who in a very ſhort time married his brother's daughter, who bore to him a ſon that received the name of Hyrcanus. At thirteen years of age, this youth was ſo diſtinguiſhed by a naturally benevolent diſpoſition, and an uncommon ſhare of underſtanding, that his brothers became envious of him, on account of his remarkable ſuperiority to them in every repect, although he was the youngeſt of the family.

Joſeph marries the daughter of his brother Solymius.

Joſeph, willing to make proof of the abilities of his children, placed all of them except Hyrcanus, under experienced maſters; but they made no proficiency. He then ſent Hyrcanus on a journey of ſeven days into the deſart with three hundred pair of oxen, to plow and ſow, firſt privately taking away the lines that were to faſten the yokes to the plows. The youth, on his arrival, miſſing the lines, ſome huſbandmen adviſed him to ſend to his father for them: but, unwilling to loſe ſo much time, he gave orders for ten yoke of oxen to be killed, the fleſh of which he diſtributed among his workmen, and had the ſkins cuts into thongs, with which he faſtened the oxen to the plows; and having performed his buſineſs, returned to his father. Joſeph was enraptured at this prudence of his ſon, and embraced him in token of his approbation of ſuch conduct: but the brothers hated Hyrcanus for his ſuperior abilities.

Soon after this, Joſeph heard that the queen was brought to bed of a ſon and that the princes and great men of Syria were haſtening to court, to congratulate the king on the occaſion. Joſeph's age prevented his attendance; but he ſeverally aſked his ſons to go; one of whom ſaid he ſhould not chuſe to appear before the king; a ſecond was unacquainted with the ways of the court, and different excuſes were made by the reſt: but they united in wiſhing Hyrcanus might be ſent. Hereupon Joſeph called him, and aſked how he would conduct himſelf if employed in this buſineſs. Hyrcanus ſaid, he ſhould think it an honour to be ſo commiſſioned and would not put his father to much expence, hinting that ten thouſand drachmas would defray the charge. Joſeph pauſed, admiring this moderation, when the ſon ſaid, "I would not recommend the ſending from this place any preſents to the king: but write to your agent at Alexandria, to furniſh me with proper gifts." On conſideration, Joſeph thought that ten talents[*] might make the neceſſary purchaſes; on which he gave his ſon letters of credit to Arion, who had then three thouſand talents[†] in hand; Joſeph uſing to remit the collection of Syria to him, to be tranſmitted to the royal treaſury. Hyrcanus immediately went to Arion with his letters, while his brothers ſecretly plotted his deſtruction. Arion

Hyrcanus ſent to compliment the king on the birth of a prince.

---

an, one of which weighed fourteen pounds three ounces one penny weight and twenty one grains, and its value in ſilver amounted to forty two pounds, fifteen ſhillings, and five pence halfpenny half farthing; a thouſand muſt therefore weigh fourteen thouſand two hundred and fifty ſeven pounds, nine ounces fifteen penny weights, and amount in value to forty two thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy three pounds eighteen ſhillings and nine pence.

[*] Ten talents weighed ſeven hundred and ſixty pounds, five ounces, and in ſilver amounted to two thouſand, two hundred and eighty one pounds, five ſhillings.

[†] Three thouſand talents weighed two hundred and eighteen thouſand, one hundred and twenty five pounds, being equal in value to ſix hundred, eighty four thouſand, three hundred and ſeventy five pounds.

aſking what ſum would be ſufficient, Hyrcanus ſaid a thouſand talents.‡ Saying he ſuppoſed the money was meant to be ſquandered away in luxury, Arion refuſed to advance more than ten talents, which he would ſee expended in preſents only; and obſerving, that his father had gained his fortune by care and induſtry, recommended Hyrcanus to follow ſo worthy an example. Provoked by his refuſal, and the ſeverity of his rebukes, Hyrcanus had him committed to priſon. At this time Arion's wife, who was on good terms with the queen, carried the news to her miſtreſs, and the queen told it the king, with reflections on the young man's conduct. Hereupon the king ſent a meſſage to Hyrcanus, wondering that he did not fulfil his father's commiſſion, and ſtill more that he had impriſoned the agent: ordering him to attend immediately, and clear himſelf of the charge alledged againſt him. Hyrcanus bade the meſſenger tell the king that, by the laws of the Jews, no man was to eat the fleſh of any ſacrifice, who had not himſelf firſt offered ſacrifice in the temple; that his caſe was ſimilar, and he could not wait on the king till he had provided the preſents which his father had ordered as a teſtimony of his duty and gratitude and that with regard to puniſhing a refractory ſervant, he thought himſelf juſtified; for the ill example of an inferior might at length reach the king himſelf: as where authority is deſpiſed, the precedent is dangerous. The king was charmed when he heard of this dignity of ſentiment in ſo young a man.

Hyrcanus entertained at the royal table.

By this time Arion found he had no intereſt with the king; on which he compounded for his liberty by paying the thouſand talents to Hyrcanus, who immediately went to court, and was admitted to the royal table. Hyrcanus now privately bought of the merchants one hundred fine young men, and the ſame number of accompliſhed girls, at a tlent each. Himſelf and other perſons of diſtinction, being invited to dine with the king, the maſter of the ceremonies, on account of his youth, placed Hyrcanus at the bottom of the table. The company agreed to lay their bones on Hyrcanus's plate, and then deſired Tryphon, the king's Jeſter to ridicule him; which he attempted, by telling the king to take notice of the circumſtance, and obſerving, that ſo had the father of Hyrcanus picked the bones of all Syria. The king ſmilingly aſked the youth, how he came by ſuch a number of bones. "Sir, ſaid he, directing a ſarcaſtic look to the company, dogs eat bones as well as the meat, but men of underſtanding throw the former aſide, as you perceive. I have done" This reply not only pleaſed the king, but alſo gave the company a more ſavourable idea of the character of Hyrcanus.

On the following day Hyrcanus enquired among the domeſtics what preſents their maſter's intended to make the king, on occaſion of the birth of the prince. Some ſaid twelve talents*, ſome mentioned larger, and others ſmaller ſums: when, Hyrcanus pretended to be uneaſy becauſe it was not in his power to compliment the king with more than five talents.† What had paſſed with Hyrcanus the ſervants related to their maſters, who rejoiced in the ſuppoſition that on account of the ſmall value of his preſents, the youth would be debaſed in the king's opinion. On the day appointed for making the preſents none exceeded the value of twenty talents,‡ except that of Hyrcanus whoſe donation conſiſted of the hundred boys, and the ſame number of young virgins that he had purchaſed, together with two hundred talents§. The liberalty of this gift aſtoniſhed the king: but excluſive thereof Hyrcanus gave gratuities to the king's officers, as a means of counteracting the plots his brothers had concerted for effecting his deſtruction. The conduct of Hyrcanus ſtruck the king with ſuch admiration that he promiſed to grant any requeſt he ſhould make. He ſaid he only wiſhed for letters in juſtification of his proceeding to his father and brothers. In compliance with this requeſt, letters to his family were written, and the king diſmiſſed him with preſents of high value.

Hyrcanus aſſaulted by his brothers.

Upon being informed of the honourable reception Hyrcanus had experienced from the king and queen, his brothers engaged in a conſpiracy for meeting him on his approaching the town, and putting him to death; nor was the father who was offended with the youth on account of the expence attending his expedition, ignorant of their deſign, though in order to avoid the king's diſpleaſure he pretended to be wholly unacquainted with the conſpiracy. In ſhort, the brothers intercepted and aſſaulted Hyrcanus on his way to Jeruſalem, but an obſtinate reſiſtance being made, two of the brethren and ſeveral of their followers were ſlain upon the ſpot, the reſt eſcaping to Jeruſalem. Hyrcanus purſued his journey to that city, but finding, on his arrival, that but little reſpect was ſhewn him, for his own ſecurity, he croſſed the river Jordan, where he collected the king's duties from the Barbarians during the remainder of his life. At this time Seleucus, otherwiſe Sotor, or the Saviour, the ſon of Antiochus the great, reigned over Aſia. Soon after the departure of Hyrcanus from Jeruſalem, Joſeph, his father, died, after holding the office of receiver of the duties of Syria, Phœnicia and Samaria, two-and-twenty years. He was a man of piety, prudence and courage, and by a proper exertion of his talents materially contributed to alleviate the diſtreſſes of the Jews. About the ſame time died Onias, the uncle of Joſeph, and he was ſucceeded in the prieſthood by his ſon Simon. Upon the deceaſe of Simon, the pontificate deſcended to his ſon Onias, to whom Arius, king of the Lacedemonians ſent an ambaſſy to the purport mentioned in the ſubſequent chapter.

---

‡ A thouſand talents weighed ſeventy ſix thouſand and forty one pounds, eight ounces, amounting in value to two hundred and twenty eight thouſand, one hundred and twenty five pounds.

* 'Tis not an eaſy matter to determine here what talents are meant, but ſuppoſing them to be Egyptian, twelve weighed nine hundred and twelve pounds, three ounces, and in value amounted to two thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty ſeven pounds ten ſhillings.

† Five weighed three hundred and eighty pounds two ounces, and ten penny weigths, and in value amounted to eleven hundred and forty pounds twelve ſhillings, and ſix pence.

‡ Twenty weighed fifteen hundred and twenty pounds, ten ounces, and in value amounted to four thouſand five hundred and ſixty two pounds, ten ſhillings.

§ Two hundred talents weighed fifteen thouſand two hundred and eight pounds four ounces, and in value amounted to forty five thouſand ſix hundred and twenty five pounds of our money; but if Syrian talents are here meant, the amount of each of them reſpectively would fall ſhort above one quarter.

Joſeph dies.

Onias dies, and is ſucceeded by Simon, upon whoſe death he prieſthood goes to his ſon Onias.

CHAP. V.

Arius, king of the Lacedemonians claims kindred with the Jews. Hyrcanus builds a caſtle of great ſtrength, which is called Tyre. Hyrcanus deſtroys himſelf.

ARIUS, king of the Lacedemonians, diſpatched a letter to Onias purporting that it appearing from an ancient manuſcript he had lately peruſed, that his own anceſtors and thoſe of Onias were related, he conceived it but reaſonable that they ſhould minſter every poſſible office of friendſhip and good will to each other, and that he ſhould conſider the Jews and his own ſubjects to be mutually bound to promote their common intereſts. It was ſaid that the letter, written on one page of quarto and ſealed with the figure of an eagle graſping a dragon in her talons, would be delivered by his truſty ſubject and ſervant Demoletes.

Arius promiſes friendſhip to the Jews.

After the deceaſe of Joſeph, violent diſputes and animoſities aroſe, in conſequence of the implacable enmity which his elder ſons harboured againſt their younger brother Hyrcanus. The conſpiracy of the brethren was eſpouſed by the high-prieſt, and likewiſe by a majority of the people. Deeming it unſafe to return to Jeruſalem, Hyrcanus continued beyond the Jordan, maintaining a perpetual war againſt the Arabians, of whom he put great numbers to death, and carried others into captivity. He built a caſtle of ſurpriſing ſtrength, the walls being of white ſtone, and repreſenting the figures of a variety of animals upon a large ſcale in curious ſculpture. The caſtle was ſurrounded with a deep ditch, or moat, and paſſages leading to the building, being ſeveral furlongs in length, were hewn through an oppoſite mountain, being, for the ſake of ſecurity, only wide enough at the entrance for the admiſſion of one perſon. Within the building were commodious apartments for lodging and entertainments, ſtately buildings, ſpacious courts, and beautiful gardens and fountains. This place, to which Hyrcanus gave the appellation of Tyre, was ſituated upon the confines of Arabia and Judea beyond Jordan, being in the neighbourhood of the country of the Eſſebonites. Hyrcanus held the government of this place during the ſeven years that Seleucus reigned in Syria. Seleucus was ſucceeded by his brother Antiochus, otherwiſe called Epiphanes. About this time alſo died Ptolemy, king of Egypt, who was likewiſe called Epiphanes, leaving two ſons, the elder named Philometer, and the other Phycon, they being minors. Antiochus having now a very powerful military force, Hyrcanus dreading that he ſhould be called to an account for his inroads upon and ſeverities towards the Arabians, put an end to his own life; in conſequence of which Antiochus ſeized all his poſſeſſions.

Hyrcanus builds a caſtle called Tyre.

Ptolmey kin of Egypt dies.

Hyrcanus deſtroys him ſelf.

CHAP. IV.

Jeſus advanced to the pontificate, but is depoſed, and ſucceeded by his brother Onias. The apoſtacy of Onias and his adherents. Antiochus makes an irruption into Egypt, but abandons his conqueſts at the command of the Romans.

UPON the deceaſe of Onias, Antiochus Epiphanes promoted his brother Jeſus to the pontificate: but having incurred the king's diſpleaſure, he was depoſed, and Onias, his younger brother, appointed to ſucceed him. Theſe were the three ſons of Simon, and they enjoyed the pontifical dignity in regular ſucceſſion. Jeſus aſſumed the name of Jaſon, and Onias that of Menelaus. On account of this change of names, the people divided themſelves into factions. The cauſe of Jaſon was eſpouſed by the majority of the populace, and the ſons of Tobias attached themſelves to the in-

intereſts of Menelaus. Declaring a reſolution to renounce the Jewiſh mode of worſhip, and adopt that of the Greeks, Menelaus and his adherents, retired to Antioch, after having obtained permiſſion to erect in Jeruſalem a kind of academy for public exerciſes. In their religion, cuſtoms, and manners, they ſo exactly reſembled the Greeks, as not to be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe people.

Antiochus gains conqueſts in Egypt.

Antiochus was now reſolved to make an expedition into Egypt, knowing that the ſons of Ptolemy were not in a condition to make any conſiderable reſiſtance. Marching a powerful army to Peluſium, by a ſtroke of policy he deceived Philometer, and gained a footing in Egypt. Having reduced Memphis, and ſeveral neighbouring places, he proceeded towards Alexandria, with a view of making a conqueſt of that city. However, upon receiving a peremtory command from the Romans to draw off his army, he deemed it prudent to abandon the conqueſts he had gained.

CHAP. VII.

Jeruſalem betrayed to Antiochus. The temple and city plundered and deſtroyed. Many of the Jews become apoſtates. The temple at Garizim dedicated to Jupiter.

FROM Egypt Antiochus immediately marched his army to Jeuſalem, and having ſeduced a party of the inhabitants to his intereſts, they treacherouſly opened the gates for his admiſſion. About ten thouſand of the inhabitants were indiſcriminately put to the ſword, not even thoſe who had opened the gates being ſpared. The enemy plundered the temple of the golden candleſticks, golden altar, table of ſhew-bread, ſilk and linen embroidery, curtains, holy veſſels, and other treaſure to an immenſe value, and levelled the city with the ground. The people were prohibited from offering up daily ſacrifices, and the conquerors erected a tower in the city, commanding a view of the temple, which they fortified, ſtationing therein a great number of Macedonians and apoſtate Jews. In the temple Antiochus cauſed an altar to be erected, whereon hogs were ſacrificed, in contempt and deriſion of the Jewiſh conſtitutions; and temples and altars were built for the ſame purpoſe in different cities and towns. Antiochus laid ſevere penalties on ſuch of the Jews as circumciſed their children, keeping people conſtantly in pay for informing againſt and proſecuting them. Though the majority of the people ſubmitted to the tyrannical commands of the king, yet there were many poſſeſſed of fortitude and reſolution to brave all dangers, rather than violate the laws of their country. Thoſe who preſumed to diſobey his orders, after being whipped with great ſeverity, were crucified, together with their wives, ſuch of their children as had been circumciſed, being hung about the necks of their fathers. All the copies of the holy ſcripture that could be found were deſtroyed, and a proclamation was iſſued, denouncing death againſt all people who ſhould continue the ſacred writings in their poſſeſſion.

The Samaritans diſclaim being of the ſtock of Abraham.

When the Jews were reduced to this extremity of diſtreſs, the Samaritans diſclaimed all kindred with them, and denied that the temple at Garizim was dedicated to God, alledging, which indeed was a truth, that they were deſcended from the Medes and Perſians. To ſecure themſelves from being involved in the wretched fate of the Hebrews, theſe people diſpatched a writing to Antiochus, intitled, "The petition of the Sidonians inhabiting Sichem, to king Antiochus Epiphanes, the illuſtrious god." This paper ſtated, that, whereas they had aſſiſted the Jews in building a temple on Mount Garizim, which was dedicated to an unknown object of worſhip, it was their requeſt, that it might be conſecrated to the worſhip of Jupiter of Greece; and that they might not be moleſted on the preſumption of being of the ſame race with the iniquitous Hebrews, ſince an appeal to their records would clearly prove the contrary. The king now wrote to Apollonius, governor of Sichem, and Nicanor his deputy, ſignifying, that himſelf and his council, conſidered the Sidonians of that city as innocent of the crimes alledged againſt the Jews; and commanding, that ſince they had conformed to the cuſtoms of the Greeks, the temple of Garizim ſhould, agreeably with their requeſt, be thenceforward called the temple of Jupiter of Greece.

CHAP. VIII.

Matthias and his ſons kill the meſſenger, employed to enforce idolatrous worſhip. The dying advice of Matthias.

The zeal and reſolution of Matthias and his ſons. I Macab. ii. 1, 14.

AT this time a prieſt named Matthias lived at Modim, a village of Judea. He had the five following ſons: Joannan, ſirnamed Gaddis; Simon, otherwiſe Thaſſi; Judas, alſo called Maccabæus, Eleazar, alias Auran; and Jonathan, ſirnamed Apphus. Matthias frequently lamented to his ſons the deſtruction of the city and temple of Jeruſalem, and the miſerable ſituation to which the Hebrews were reduced; and he was accuſtomed to obſerve to them, that it would be more honourable to ſacrifice their lives in defence of their country, their laws, and religion, than to live in a ſtate of ſuch degrading ſervility.

Upon the arrival of meſſengers at Modim, they applied to Matthias as a man whoſe example would have a powerful influence upon others, commanding him to worſhip in the manner ordained by the king. This he refuſed, ſaying, that if every other perſon ſubmitted, he would not, and would adviſe his ſons never to abandon their ancient religion. While Matthias was thus ſpeaking, a Jew came forward, to ſacrifice according to the new edict: which ſo enraged Matthias and his ſons, that they killed not only the Jew, but Apelles, the king's officer, with his guard, who were endeavouring to enforce the new worſhip. The altar was overturned in the conteſt: while Matthias exclaimed, "Follow me, you that regard your honour or religion!" Hereupon Matthias and his ſons retired to the wilderneſs, leaving their property behind them; and were ſoon followed by numbers of people, who reſided in caves a conſiderable time. News hereof being brought to the king's officers, they drew the troops from the caſtle of Jeruſalem, and advancing to the wilderneſs, adviſed the Jews to ſubmiſſion, to prevent the neceſſity of deſtroying them. To this the Jews turned a deaf ear; on which their opponents fixed on the ſabbath for deſtroying them, which they did by burning them in their caves, no reſiſtance being made; for ſuch was the reverence that the Jews had for the day, that, rather than profane it, they would periſh. About a thouſand men, women and children were thus ſuffocated under ground; but numbers eſcaped, and united themſelves under Matthias. This venerable man now inſtructed them that, in caſe of neceſſity, they ought to defend themſelves on the ſabbath, as well as at other times; or their enemies would always take the advantage, and attack them when no reſiſtance was to be dreaded. They were hereby convinced of the propriety of uſing arms on the ſabbath on urgent occaſions; and the practice has continued to this day. Matthias now drew together all the people who had diſperſed themſelves, and lurked about in dread of the enemy; and finding himſelf at the head of a conſiderable army deſtroyed the idol altars put to the ſword ſuch apoſtates as could be found, ordered the circumciſion of children, and drove off ſuch of the king's officers as were appointed to reſtrain that practice.

A thouſand of the Jews ſuffocated under ground. 31, 38.

The dying advice of Matthias to his ſons. 49, ·6

After a year had elapſed from the time of his retreat from Modim, Matthias was convinced that the period of his diſſolution was approaching, and therefore addreſſed himſelf to his ſons to the following effect: "My life is drawing to the cloſe; but ere I leave you, I charge you to be firm in the cauſe I have aſſerted. Remember my advice, and follow it. Maintain the laws and rights of your country, and, if poſſible reſtore order to a nation almoſt buried in confuſion; nor aſſociate with thoſe who have betrayed it. Diſgrace not your father; but, deſpiſing all dangers, reſolutely defend your country at the hazard of your lives, aſſured that God will reward you with a reſtoration of your liberties. It is true, that our bodies are mortal; but great actions immortalize our memories; and to ſuch actions I moſt earneſtly adviſe you to concord with each other, and to conſider how the abilities of each may beſt promote the intereſt of you all. For inſtance; Simon has a depth of judgment; let him be your counſellor in all affairs of importance. Maccabæus is diſtinguiſhed by his valour and military ſkill; appoint him your general. While you endeavour to preſerve the purity of your religion and to promote the welfare of your country be aſſured, that you will receive the ſupport and aſſiſtance of all men of honour and virtue."

CHAP. IX.

The death of Matthias, who is ſucceeded by his ſon Judas.

Matthias ſucceeded by Judas Maccabæus. I. Mac. iii. 1.

MATTHIAS concluded his addreſs to his ſons with a fervent prayer, that the Almighty would render them ſucceſsful in their endeavours to reſtore the ancient rights and privileges of the country; and dying ſoon after, his remains were interred at Modim. Matthias was ſucceeded in the adminiſtration, by his ſon Judas, otherwiſe called Maccabæus, in the hundred and forty-ſixth year from the time of Seleucus the firſt. Judas was ſo zealouſly ſupported by his brothers, that, in a ſhort time, ſuch of the apoſtates as eſcaped the ſword were diſperſed, and the country was cleared from their abominable defilements.

CHAP. X.

Judas Maccabæus defeats Apollonius, who falls in the battle. He ſubdues the Aſſyrian army, and kills Seron.

Judas kills Apollonius, and routs his army. 10, 11.

INtelligence that the command of the Jews had devolved upon Judas Maccabæus being communicated to Apollonius, governor of Samaria, he advanced againſt him. The armies meeting, Judas Maccabæus ſlew Apollonius, and carried off his ſword in triumph. Great numbers of the followers of Apollonius were killed, and the reſt were either made priſoners, or put to flight. The conquerors plundered the camp of treaſure to a vaſt amount.

Being informed of the defeat of Apollonius, and that Judas Maccabæus was continually obtaining reinforcements to his army, Seron, the governor of Cœle-Syria, determined to give him battle. After his army had been joined by a conſiderable number of fugitive Jews, Seron encamped at a village of Judea named Bethron. Judas alſo made preparations for battle; and obſerving that, through fatigue and the want of refreſhment, his ſoldiers were diſpirited, he addreſſed them in the following manner: "Recollect, brother warriors, that ſucceſs in battle is not to be aſcribed to human power, but that God is the author of victory; and be aſſured, that a confidence in the Almighty will give you advantages that multitudes of armed men cannot command. The truth of this is confirmed in the hiſtory of our anceſtors, who on various occaſions, while fighting in defence of their religion, laws, wives, and children, with ſmall numbers overpowered thouſands of their enemies. Truth will ever prevail, and innocence be invincible." Having thus encouraged and animated his troops, he led them to the encounter, which they ſuſtained with ſurpriſing bravery and fortitude. In ſhort, the Aſſyrian army was totally routed, Seron, the general, and eight hundred of his men being ſlain in the field of battle, and the ſurvivors purſued towards the ſea.

he Aſſyrian
rmy routed
nd Seron
illed, 13, 24.

CHAP XI.

Judas Maccabæus defeats Lyſias, the general of Antiochus. He repairs to Jeruſalem and purifies the temple.

ntiochus
repares to
ngage Judas.
7, &c.

THE repeated misfortunes that Antiochus had ſuſtained, induced him to raiſe a powerful army of his own people, joined with Greek forces, with which he propoſed to invade Judea in the ſpring; but his natural benevolence, ſupperadded to the late troubles, had cauſed ſuch a deficiency in the ſupplies, that he found the expence of the war would be more than proportioned to the revenue. Hereupon he reſolved to go firſt to Perſia, to collect caſh; and, during his abſence, left the command of the country between Egypt and Euphrates, with the care of ſome of his troops and elephants, to Lyſias, a man of tried integrity; to whom he alſo committed the care of his ſon Antiochus, till he ſhould return: and he determined that when he had reduced Judea, and ſold the inhabitants for ſlaves, that the whole country ſhould be deſtroyed. On iſſuing theſe orders he paſſed the Euphrates, in the year one hundred and forty-ſeven.

In order to execute this commiſſion, Lyſias placed Ptolemy, ſon of Dorymenes, with Gorgias and Nicanor, at the head of forty thouſand foot, and ſeven thouſand horſe, commanding them to march into Judea. Having encamped on the plain of Emmaus, they were joined by numbers of Syrians, and thoſe of other countries together with fugitive Jews, and merchants and traders, who brought fetters to ſecure their priſoners. Judas was provided with an army of force; but commanding his people not to ſuppoſe that their own ſtrength would enſure them ſucceſs, he directed them to obſerve a ſolemn faſt, and, being cloathed in ſackcloth to implore the protection and aſſiſtance of Heaven. The people acted according to his orders; and he then divided them into regiments, troops, and companies, diſmiſſing ſuch men as had lately contracted matrimony, or made purchaſes, leſt private and perſonal conſiderations ſhould detatch their minds from a vigorous proſecution of the war, and their example prove infectious to others. "Fellow ſoldiers, ſaid he, it is impoſſible that a ſuperior opportunity to the preſent can arrive, for acting in defence of our country, and ſhewing contempt of danger. Our liberty depends on the iſſue of to-morrow; our religion, too is equally concerned, and they muſt ſtand or fall together. Conſider what you contend for; no leſs than the peaceable poſſeſſion of all your privileges. The queſtion now is, whether you will baſely periſh, and involve your countrymen in your own ruin or make one noble effort for your preſervation. The man of courage and the coward are equally liable to die in battle; but great is the difference in fame between him who falls a ſacrifice to his country's rights, and him who abandons them through fear of death. Reflect ſeriouſly on theſe things; and remember that you truſt in the providence of God to ſecond your valour, and that you are certain of obtaining glory while you contend for victory."

Judas had no ſooner finiſhed this ſpeech than he was informed that Gorgias, with five thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, conducted by ſome apoſtate Jews intended to attack him that night by ſurpriſe. He formed a plan for counteracting the enemy, by making an attempt upon their camp during the abſence of part of the troops. Having ordered ſeveral fires to be made in his own camp, he marched in the night towards Emmaus, where the enemy were ſtationed. In the mean time, Gorgias, finding the Jews had abandoned their quarters, imagined that they had fled to the mountains, where they might be purſued, and with little difficulty put to death. At break of day Judas arrived at the enemy's encampment, where he found they were well-armed, and in all other reſpects prepared for immediate battle; but notwithſtanding his followers were only three thouſand in number, and they in-

Judas attacks
the enemy by
ſurpriſe at
Emmaus.
I Mac. iv.

indifferently equipped, he told them, that even if they were wholly deſtitute of weapons of defence, they might engage the foe with an infallible confidence of ſucceſs; for they were under the immediate protection of divine providence. He than ordered a charge to be ſounded, and leading his troops to a furious attack, committed a great ſlauhter upon the enemy, and purſued thoſe who eſcaped the ſword to Gadara, and from thence to the plains of Idumea, Azotus and Jamnia. The number of ſlain was about three thouſand. Judas would not permit his troops to plunder the field till the army under the command of Gorgias ſhould be ſubdued, after which, he ſaid, they ſhould have permiſſion to ſeize the ſpoil. Judas had ſcarcely iſſued the above order when ſome of the people under Gorgias perceived from an eminence the havoc made in the tents of their aſſociates, the field covered with dead bodies, and a ſmoak iſſuing from the camp; and upon this diſcovery they diſperſed. Judas now gave his ſoldiers liberty to ſeize the ſpoil, which conſiſted of gold, ſilver, ſcarlet and purple veſtments, and various other articles to a great amount. The conquerors carried off the plunder in triumph, chaunting forth the praiſes of God, and returning him thanks for their late victory.

Judas defeats Lyſias.

With a deſign of reſcuing himſelf from the diſgrace of this defeat, the following year Lyſias led into Judea an army of ſixty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, and formed his encampment at Bethſura. Judas had only ten thouſand men under his command: but notwithſtanding ſo great a diſparity of numbers, he reſolutely advanced to battle, and after offering up a ſhort prayer for ſucceſs, he ſo furiouſly attacked the enemy, that on the firſt ſhock their lines were broken, and purſuing the advantage given by their confuſion, five thouſand of their men were ſlain. This diſcomfiture had ſuch an effect upon the people under Lyſias, that they declared a reſolution to renew the conflict, and either to conquer or die. Obſerving that his followers were driven to a ſtate of deſperation, Lyſias withdrew them to Antioch, where he remained collecting reinforcements, reſolving to avail himſelf of a future opportunity of wreaking vengeance upon the Jews.

The temple purified and God's holy worſhip re-eſtabliſhed. 1 Maccab. iv. 38, 51.

Animated by his ſucceſſes againſt Antiochus, Judas encouraged his followers to march to Jeruſalem, for the purpoſe of purifying the temple, and offering up ſacrifices. On their arrival, they found the gates of the city had been burnt, the temple wholly abandoned, and thet the ſeveral courts were overſpread with weeds. The deplorable ſituation of the placed prove the ſource of great affliction to Judas and his followers. Judas gave orders to a body of his people to attack the citadel, and while they were employed on that duty, he ſuperintended the buſineſs of purifying the temple. The building being carefully cleanſed from its impurities, he ſupplied it with a candleſtick, a table, an altar of incenſe, and other holy utenſils all of pure gold. He likewiſe put up new doors, and veils and hanging on the walls. The altar that had been prophaned by ſacrifices and burnt offerings to idols, was removed, and another of unhewn ſtone‡, ſubſtituted in its place. Upon the twenty-fifth day of the month Caſleu, called Apellæus by the Macedonians, being preciſely three years from the prophanation of the temple by Antiochus, lighted tapers were placed in the candleſtick, incenſe was offered upon the altar, and oblations of burnt-offerings were made. The ceremony of the purification was repeated on the ſame day in the one hundred and forty-eighth year of the olympiad, according to the prediction pronounced by the prophet Daniel four hundred and eight years previous to the prophanation by the Macedonians.

The feſtival of lights. 52, 59.

Judas continued the feſtival for the ſpace of eight days, during which time divers ſacrifices were made, while the prople returned thanks to and ſung the praiſes of the Almighty. The public joy was ſo great on this reſtoration of religion and law, that an anniverſary of eight days celebration was appointed to be held for ever, and which is ſtill called the "Feaſt of Lights;" which I preſume, alludes to that light which on this occaſion deſcended from Heaven in a very peculiar manner. Judas cauſed the walls of the city to be repaired, and fortified with towers; he alſo ſtationed a garriſon at Bethſura, and effectually fortified the place.

The encreaſing power of the Jews irritated the neighbouring nations to do them every poſſible injury; and many of them were deſtroyed by force or artifice, while Judas did his utmoſt to defeat their machinations. At this period he attacked Acrabatan, where he got a great booty, after deſtroying the Edomites, blocking up the ſons of Baan, their commander, in fortified places, where they lay to attack the Jews; but theſe places were taken, and laid in aſhes, thoſe who protected them being deſtroyed. When Judas had routed theſe people, he attacked the Ammonites, commanded by Timotheus; conquered them, and took the city of Jazar, ſet it on fire, made captives of the

---

* This was agreeable to Moſaical precept. "And if thou wilt make me an altar of ſtone, thou ſhalt not build it of hewen ſtone: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou haſt polluted it." Ex. xx. 29.

women, and children, and returned in triumph. As ſoon as he was gone, the people aſſembled at Galaad, and attempted to ſurpriſe the Jews in that diſtrict; but taking refuge in the fortreſs of Dametha, they informed Judas that Timotheus meant to attack them, and begged his aſſiſtance. At this inſtant meſſengers fromGalilee brought complaint to Judas, that a conſpiracy was formed againſt them by the inhabitants of Ptolemais, Tyre, Sidon, and other neighbouring nations.

CHAP. XII.

Galilee relieved by Simon, the brother of Judas. Judas and Jonathan defeat the Ammonites. The Jews inhabiting Galaad removed into Judea. Ephron deſtroyed, and the male inhabitants put to death. Gorgias defeats Joſeph and Azarias

JUDAS diſpatched his brother Simon with three thouſand choſen men to yield ſuccour to the Jews in Galilee, while himſelf and another brother named Jonathan marched at the head of an army of eight thouſand troops to Galaad, the reſt of his forces being left under the care of Joſeph and Azarias, with orders not to fight during his abſence. When Simon arrived at Galilee, he attacked the enemy, and deſtroyed three thouſand, purſuing them to the gates of Ptolemais. Having ſtripped the vanquiſhed, they redeemed the priſoners taken by the enemy with the ſpoil, and returned to Jeruſalem with them.

Judas and his brother Jonathan having marched three days into the wilderneſs beyond Jordan, the Nabathites received them amicably, and informed them of the diſtreſs of their countrymen confined in Galaad, adviſing them to haſten to relieve them, by the way of the deſart. During this expedition they reduced and burnt the town of Baraſa, and put to the ſword all who were capable of bearing arms. Night now advanced, but Judas proceeded to a caſtle wherein he had received intelligence that ſome Jews were beſieged. On his arrival there early in the morning, he found the aſſailants provided with ſcaling ladders and other machines for taking poſſeſſion of the place. He now divided his army into three bodies, exhorting them to exert every poſſible effort of courage in affording relief to their countrymen. Upon the ſecond ſound of the trumpet, the enemy were attacked with great ſpirit in the rear: but they no ſooner underſtood that the adverſe army was under the command of Judas, than the rememberance of all the ſplendid exploits he had atchieved ruſhed upon their imagination, and compelled them to fly in the utmoſt terror and conſternation. The Jews purſued, and put eight thouſand of them to death. Immediately after the purſuit, Judas attacked a town belonging to the barbarians called Mallam which place he deſtroyed by fire, putting all the male inhabitants to the ſword. The ſame fate alſo attended Caſphan, Boſor, and other places that were taken in the enemy's country.

Judas and Jonathan relieve a caſtle juſt as the enemy was about to ſcale it. 1 Maccab. v. 24, 34.

A ſhort time after, Timotheus collected a numerous army, in which was a band of of Arabians and other foreign auxiliaries; and paſſing the river, encamped near Raphan, where he addreſſed his troops, requeſting, that they would courageouſly oppoſe the paſſage of the Jews, ſince the iſſue of the war would, in a great meaſure, depend on the ſucceſs of their attempting that paſs.

Upon receiving intelligence that Timotheus was prepared for battle Judas immediately croſſed the river, and gained a compleat victory over him, committing a great ſlaughter upon his troops, part of whom fled for protection to the temple of Carnaim; butJudas purſued them, and after putting the inhabitants to death, deſtroyed the temple by fire.

Judas conquers Timotheus. 43.

Judas now aſſembled all theJews inhabiting the country of Galaad, and conducted them into Judea. To avoid the inconvenence of acircuitous paſſage. Judas diſpatched meſſengers to the people of Ephron, requeſting permiſſion to paſs through their town, which they abſolutely refuſed. Upon this he aſſaulted, and in one day and night conquered and deſtroyed the place, after which he put all the male inhabitants that he found to the ſword, and marched his army over the bodies of the ſlain. Having paſſed the river Jordan, he proceeded through the plain of Bethſan, called Scythopolis by the Greeks, to Judea. On their way the people joined in ſinging hymns to the honour God, and triumphal ſongs on occaſion of the good fortune attending them; for in this expedition not a ſingle Jew was loſt.

He reduces Ephron, and puts the inhabitants to death. 50, 52

While Judas and Jonathan were conducting the war againſt the people of Galaad, and Simon was employed in an expedition into Galilee againſt the inhabitants of Ptolemais, Joſeph and Azarias were left to protect Judea; but not contented with confining themſelves within the limits of their commiſſion, they reſolved to diſtinguiſh themſelves by ſome capital at chievement. In purſuance of this deſign, they marched to Jamnia, where Gorgias the governor of that place, defeated them, and put two thouſand of their followers to death, purſuing the reſt to the borders of Judea. This misfortune was the conſequence of their diſregard to the expreſs command of Judas, that they ſhould avoid engaging in battle during his abſence.

Judas and Jonathan with unremitting vigour proſecuted the war againſt the Edomites: they laid Hebron and Mariſſa in ruins, and plundered Azotus. Having obtained great celebrity by their martial exploits, and inriched themſelves with the ſpoil of the conquered places they returned in triumph to Jeruſalem.

Hebron, Mariſſa and Azotus ſubmit to Judas.

CHAP. XIII.

Antiochus Epiphanes beſieges Elymais, but is repulſed. He acknowledges his guilt.

Antiochus beſieges Elymais, but is repulſed. 1 Mac. vi. 1, 4.

WHILE in a progreſs through his upper provinces, Antiochus Epiphanes received information that a city in Perſia, named Elymais, where a magnificent temple was dedicated to Diana, contained immenſe treaſure among which were the ſhields and breaſt-plates of Alexander the Great; and he reſolved to attempt the conqueſt of the place. He accordingly beſieged the city: but he was reſolutely oppoſed and put to flight by the inhabitants who put a great number of his troops to the ſword in the purſuit. After this defeat, he retired to Babylon; where he ſoon received intelligence that another body of of his army which he had diſpatched againſt the Jews, had been conquered by thoſe people, whoſe numbers, the meſſengers reported, were rapidly increaſing. The preſſure of repeated misfortunes occaſioned him to fall ſick, and finding his death approaching, he ſummoned his friends into his preſence, and informed them of the cauſe of his illneſs, ſaying that he was deſervedly puniſhed for having ſacrilegiouſly rifled the temple of the Jews, and treated the God of Heaven with contempt and diſhonour. It is ſupriſing that Polybius who upon the whole is deemed a writer deſerving credit, ſhould attribute the Judgment that befel Antiochus to his deſign of rifling the temple of Diana, ſince it ſurely is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe that his death was the conſequence of a crime actually committed in the prophanation of the temple of Jeruſalem.

CHAP. XIV.

Antiochus Epiphanes dies, and his ſon Antochus Eupator aſcends the throne. Judas aſſails the citadel of Jeruſalem. Bethſura beſieged by Antochus. Eleazar dies. Juads returns to the ſiege of Jeruſalem.

CONvinced that his death was approaching, Antiochus ſent for a confidential friend named Philip, and committed to his care the crown, royal robes and ſignet, in truſt for his ſon Antiochus, who was then in his minority. Upon the death of Antiochus, which event took place in the year one hundred and forty-nine, Lyſias proclaimed his ſon king, by the name of Eupator.

Lyſias pro claims An chus king.

In the mean time, the Macedonians, who with a number of revolted Jews, were ſtationed in the citadel of Jeruſalem, made repeated ſallies upon the people as they were paſſing to the temple, in order to perform divine worſhip. They were enabled to make theſe vexatious aſſaults with the greater eaſe, on account of the temple being commanded by the caſtle. Reſolving to attack the fort, Judas ordered battering engines to be prepared with all poſſible expedition. Several of the people now ſecretly quitted the garriſon, and repaired to Antiochus, repreſenting, that, on account of having obeyed his command, they were in imminent danger of being made captives by Judas. Upon this, the young prince collected his troops, and ordered recruits to be enliſted, ſo that in a ſhort time he had an army of twenty thouſand horſe, one hundred thouſand foot, and thirty two elephants. Thus provided, he marched from Antioch to Idumea, and thence to Bethſura, a place fortified by art and nature. This place he aſſaulted in vain; for all his efforts were fruſtrated. In the interim, Judas, hearing of his approach, raiſed the ſiege, marched to meet him, and pitched his tents about ſeventy furlongs* from him, in the ſtreights of Bethzachariah. Antiochus leaving the Bethſurites, encamped near Judas, directing his army to march and arrange themſelves in order by day-light; but the narrowneſs of the place obliged them to go in defiles, one elephant preceding a thouſand foot and five hundred horſe; the elephants having on their backs caſtles filled with archers; while the other troops aſcended the hills, under the command of officers of experienced valour. They made the attack from this height, with the loudeſt acclamations, ſo that the vallies re-choed with the noiſe: but Judas received them undauntedly, and killed ſix hundred on the firſt attack. During the engagement Eleazar, brother of Judas, obſerving an elephant more gaily compariſoned than the reſt, and preſuming that the king rode this beaſt, forced through the guards, killed ſeveral of his opponents, got under the elephant's belly, and wounded him mortally; but was himſelf cruſhed to death by the weight of the beaſt in falling.

Antiochus and Judas engage, 1 Mac. VI. 33—38.

---

* Seventy Jewiſh furlongs, amounted to near nine Engliſh miles.

At length Judas, finding the number of the enemy too great for him, returned to the ſiege of Jeruſalem, while part of the army of Antiochus went to the ſame place, and the reſt to Bethſura. The number of troops, ſuperadded to the want of proviſions, ſo diſcouraged the people of Bethſura, that they agreed to deliver the place, on condition that no violence ſhould be offered to them. As fat as preſerving their lives Antiochus kept his engagement, but drove the inhabitanss naked from the town, and placed his own people in their ſtead. The temple, however, was obſtinately defended, every attack of the enemy being counter-worked; but the people were diſtreſſed for want of bread; for this happening when the ſtores of the laſt year were eaten, and in the ſeventh year, when the Jews, by their laws, could neither plow nor ſow, many of them abandoned the place in want of proviſions; ſo that very few were left to defend it.

Antiochus now received information that Philip had uſurped the government, and was marching out of Perſia to attack him. He conſulted Lyſias, his general, and they came to a reſolution to abandon the ſiege, and give battle to Philip, but to conceal their deſign from the army.

CHAP. XV.

The temple ſurrendered to Antiochus, who breaks his covenant. Onias put to death. Antiochus conquers Philip. Onias, the ſon of the late high-prieſt, retires to Egypt, and builds a temple in Heliopolis, after the model of that at Jeruſalem.

ANtiochus now diſpatched a herald with offers of peace to the beſieged, promiſing to allow them the liberty of conſcience, and to protect them in the exerciſe of their laws and religion. Upon receiving this meſſage, they ſurrendered the temple: but Antiochus had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the place, than, finding it much ſtronger than he expected, in violation of his engagements, he cauſed the walls to be levelled with the ground. Antiochus took with him to Antioch the high-prieſt Onias, otherwiſe called Menelaus, in conformity with the advice of Lyſias, who repreſented, that it would be impoſſible to keep the Jews in peace and ſubjection while Onias was living; for he had inſtigated his father to compel the Jews to practice a religion that was contrary to their ſentiments. From Antioch Onias, was ſent to Berrhea, in Syria, where he was put to death by the king's command, after enjoying the pontificate ten years. Onias was a wicked man; for, in order to ſecure to himſelf the dignity of the prieſthood, he promoted a general defection among the Jews from the laws and religion of their country. He was ſucceeded by Alcimus, otherwiſe called Jacimas.

Onias put to death.

Antiochus now gave battle to Philip, whom he ſubdued and cauſed to be put to death. Onias, the ſon of the deceaſed high-prieſt, finding the king, by the advice of Lyſias, had conferred the pontificate upon Alcimus, who was not of the ſacerdotal race, fled into Egypt, where he experienced a gracious reception from Ptolemy and his queen Cleopatra, who appointed him to an office of truſt in Heliopolis, where he built a temple upon the model of that at Jeruſalem.

The ſon of Onias builds a temple in Heliopolis.

CHAP. XVI.

Demetrius takes poſſeſſion of Tripolis. He puts Antiochus and Lyſias to death. Demetrius diſpatches an army againſt Judas. The barbarities of Alcimus.

AFTER flying from Rome, Demetrius, the ſon of Seleucus, uſurped the government of Tripolis, in Syria, where the people not only readily ſubmitted to him, but to ingratiate his favour, ſeized and brought into his preſence Antiochus and Lyſias, who were by his orders immediately put to death. Antiochus reigned two years. Among the adherents to Demetrius were a great number of apoſtate and profligate Jews, who had been baniſhed for various offences. Theſe turbulent people were headed by Alcimus, the high-prieſt, and joined in exclaiming with great acrimony againſt the Jews in general, and particularly againſt Judas and his brethren, accuſing them of having put great numbers of the king's friends to death, and compelled others to abandon the country. They therefore requeſted that Demetrius would diſpatch ſome perſon to Judea, who might examine and make a report to him of the havoc and devaſtation that Judas had committed.

Demetrius diſpatched Bacchides and Alcimus at the head of an army to attack Judas. Marching from Antioch to Judea, they invited Judas to enter into a treaty of friendſhip, their real deſign, however being to inſnare him. But Judas being ſuſpicious of their ſincerity, acted with caution. A number of the people under Judas joined the adverſe party, and notwithſtanding Bacchides and Alcimus had ſolemnly ſworn to afford them protection, they cauſed ſixty of them to be immediately put to death. This act of perfidy prevented others joining them. Bacchides now led the army from Jeruſalem to Bethſeth, where he cauſed a number of deſerters and other diſaffected and ſuſpected perſons to be put to death; after which he left a party of the troops to protect the province, and having iſſued an order that in his abſence

Alcimus ſhould be implicitly obeyed, he returned to Demetrius at Antioch.

To ſecure himſelf in the poſſeſſion of power, Alcimus ſought to ingratiate the favour of the people, by affecting a condeſcending and affable deportment, and ſuch was his addreſs, that in a ſhort time he doubled the number of forces left under his command by Bacchides; but the additions he made to his forces chiefly conſiſted of abandoned and impious fugitives. He put to death all people attached to Judas Maccabæus who were ſo unfortunate as to fall into his power. Judas now determined to retaliate upon the faction under Alcimus, who finding that his adverſary was too powerful for him to contend with, proceeded in haſte to Demetrius, whom he endeavoured, by every means he could ſuggeſt, to exaſperate againſt Judas, repreſenting him as a moſt dangerous enemy, and adviſing a powerful army to be employed againſt him.

C H A P XVII.

Nicanor marches againſt Judas, who proves victorious. The judgment of Heaven falls upon Nicanor. Judas ſucceeds to the pontificate, and concludes a treaty with the Romans.

Nicanor endeavours by treachery to inveigle Judas V. 28, 29.

JEALOUS of the growing power of Judas, and fearful of its conſequences, Demetrius commiſſioned Nicanor to lead a formidable army againſt him, and to give no quarter to his troops. Nicanor now concerted a deſign for effecting the deſtruction of Judas by treachery; and therefore he ſent a meſſage to him, purporting, that the negociation of a treaty of peace was the whole object he had in view, as he then pledged himſelf under a ſolemn oath; and it was added, that Demetrius was warmly diſpoſed to live on terms of amity with the Jews, being ſtrongly attached to the whole race of that people. Deceived by this ſtratagem, Judas and his brother agreed to give Nicanor and his army a friendly reception: but after the uſual ſalutations, Nicanor made a ſignal for Judas to be ſeized, when the latter had the good fortune to diſcover the plot, and retreated in time to his own people. This detection of treachery put an end to all thoughts of a treaty, and a battle was fought near Capharſalama, in which Judas being routed, he retired to the caſtle of Jeruſalem for refuge.

Nicanor happening to paſs near the temple, a number of prieſts and elders, met him and ſhewed him the ſacrifices they were going to offer for the happineſs of Demetrius. On this Nicanor profanely ſwore, that if Judas was not delivered up to him, he would ſoon return and deſtroy the temple, and leave it in ruins. The prieſts, in great dejection, prayed that God would protect his temple and its minſters from the fury of the foe. Nicanor now left Jeruſalem, and encamped at Bethoron, where a great force from Syria joined him. In the interim, Judas pitched his tents at Adaſi, about thirty furlongs from the enemy, having only a thouſand men under his command. He encouraged his troops by ſaying, that though the number of the enemy was great, they themſelves acted in the cauſe of God, whoſe power could cruſh multitudes; and adviſed them rather to think on their own valour, than the numbers they were to encounter. "Attack them courageouſly, ſaid he, and leave the reſt to Heaven." A battle enſued, at firſt vigorous on both ſides; but Nicanor after performing wonders of valour, being killed, and many of his forces, his people threw away their arms, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation. In the interim, Judas purſued the fugitives, to whom he gave no quarter; proclaiming his victory by ſound of trumpet in all the cities and towns he paſſed through. This brought together the country people, who attacked the fugitives with ſuch fury, that not a man eſcaped of the whole army which had conſiſted of nine thouſand. This happened on the thirteenth of the month Adar, in the memory of which we to this day celebrate an annual thankſgiving.

Nicanor ki led and his army routed

The high-prieſt, Alcimus, now gave orders for pulling down the old wall of the ſanctuary, and demoliſhing the whole works of the ancient prophets: but had no ſooner ſpoken than he dropped ſpeechleſs to the ground, languiſhed awhile, and then died, after having been high-prieſt four years. On his death, the people unanimouſly choſe Judas to ſucceed him. The new high-prieſt was diſpoſed to enter into a league with the Romans, from their fame in conquering the Gauls, Spaniards, Carthaginians, Grecians and and other warlike people. Hereupon he diſpatched his friends Eupolemus, the ſon of John, and Jaſon the of Eleazar, as ambaſſadors to Rome, requeſting that they might be received as allies, and that Demetrius might be applyed to, not to trouble the Jews any farther. This propoſal proved agreeable to the ſenate, who conſented to the league, cauſed this conſent to be engraved on tables of braſs, depoſited the originaal in the capitol, and ſent a copy of it to Jeruſalem. The ſubſtance of the articles was, that no people ſubject to the Romans ſhould thence forward make war againſt the Jews, nor ſupply their enemies with money, ſhipping, arms, corn, and other articles therein mentioned; that the Jews ſhould fulfil the ſame conditions in caſe of the Romans being attacked; and that if the Jews demanded any alteration in the treaty, the conſent of the whole people would be neceſſary to its ratification. The reſolution of the ſenate was regiſtered by Eupolemus, the ſon of John; Jaſon the ſon of Eleazar; Judas, the high-prieſt, and his brother Simon, who had the command of the army. This was the firſt alliance between the Jews and the Romans.

CHAP. XVIII.

Bacchides leads a powerful army into Judea. Judas determines to give him battle.

UPON receiving news of the death of Nicanor, and the defeat of the army under his command, Demetrius diſpatched Bacchides again into Judea with a powerful army, which he encamped at Arbela, a town in Galilee, where he compelled numbers of the Jews to quit the caves wherein they had concealed themſelves.

Proceeding to Jeruſalem, he there learnt that Judas was at Bethſeth, to which place he led his army, compoſed of twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe. Judas had at this time only a thouſand *men under his command, and the dread of being overpowered occaſioned two hundred of that number to deſert. Thus diſtreſſed for men, and having no opportunity of recruiting his forces, yet Judas reſolved to hazard a battle, and encouraged his people to ſtand by him in all extremities. They repreſented to him how vain and impotent an attempt it would be, to engage againſt ſuch numbers; and adviſed him rather to retreat with caution, and recruit his forces. To this Judas replied, "It ſhall never be ſaid of me that I turn my back to an enemy. If it be the will of God that we now fall, let his will be done; but let us not, by an ignominious death, deſtroy all the credit of a life of glory." The drooping ſpirits of his followers were ſo animated by this ſpeech, that they heroically reſolved to abide the iſſue of a battle.

The courage
nd fortitude
f Judas.
Mac. ix. 8,
0.

CHAP. XIX.

An engagement between Judas and Bacchides. Judas falls.

THE front of the army of Bacchides was compoſed of light armed men and archers, being ſupported by a Macedonian Phalanx; and he had two wings of cavalry, of the right of which he took the command. In this diſpoſition they advanced towards the enemy, ſounded a charge, gave a loud ſhout, and began the attack. The forces of Judas ſuſtained the ſhock bravely. The battle continued from morning till near ſun-ſet, when Judas ſeeing Bacchides with his right wing preſſing hard on his men, relieved them with a band of courageous youths, who broke their line, and purſued them as far as Aza. The left wing of the enemy now purſued Judas ſo cloſely, that, ſeeing no chance of eſcape, he and his adhereents determined to ſell their lives dearly, and fought their enemies till they were overcome through mere fatigue. Judas being killed in the conflict, his troops were ſo ſhocked at that circumſtance, that they immediately fled. Simon and Jonathan prevailed with the enemy to deliver them the body of their deceaſed brother Judas, which they conveyed to Modim, where it was depoſited with great pomp and magnificence in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors. On occaſion of the death of Judas a public mourning was obſerved for ſeveral days. Judas Maccabæus was a pious, brave and benevolent man. In compliance with the dying injunction of his father Matthias to be deterred by no dangers or difficulties from rendering ſervice to his country. He obtained immortal honour by reſcuing his friends out of the power of the Macedonians and by his excellent conduct during the three years of his adminiſtration in the pontifical office.

The bravery and death of Judas. v. 18.

Simon and Jonathan treat for their brother's body, v. 19.

---

‡ Maccab. ix. 5, 6. his army is ſaid to have conſiſted of three thouſand, who all deſerted him but eight hundred.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS,

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK XIII.

From the Year of the World 3808 to 3898.

CHAPTER I.

The malice of the revolted Jews towards their Countrymen. Jonathan ſucceeds Judas. Bacchides purſues Jonathan and Simon into the wilderneſs. John and his aſſociates cut off by the ſons of Amaræus. Jonathan deſtroys two thouſand of the troops under Bacchides. Bacchides fortifies Jeruſalem. The death of John revenged upon the ſons of Amaræus. Fifty Jewiſh deſerters put to death by Bacchides. Bacchides beſieges Jonathan and Simon in Bethalaga, but is repulſed.

IMmediately after the deceaſe of Judas, the apoſtate Jews reſumed their enmity againſt their countrymen, and continued to perſecute them with greater malice than before. To add to their afflictions, the land was now viſited by a dreadful famine; ſo that through the diſtreſs of a ſcarcity of proviſions on one hand, and the difficulty of defending themſelves on the other, many of the Jews were in a manner compelled to join the faction of the Macedonians.

A dreadful famine in Judea. 24.

Bacchides now entruſted a principal ſhare of the government to the apoſtate Jews, who ſeized the former friends of Judas, and delivered them to Bacchides, who tortured them to death. The Jews were never ſo deplorably miſerable ſince the Babyloniſh captivity as at this period; ſo that the late adherents of Judas entreated Jonathan to follow his brother's example, in riſking his life for the liberties of his country; and beſought him to aſſume the command, for without a leader they muſt be all loſt. Jonathan replied, that he was ready to do or ſuffer any thing for the public welfare; on which he was elected general by common conſent

Bacchides hearing of this election, and conſidering that Jonathan was not leſs likely to give trouble to the Macedonians than his brother Judas, concerted how he might deſtroy him: but upon gaining intelligence of the enemy's deſign, the brothers collected as many forces as they could, and retiring to a neighbouring deſart, pitched their tents near the pool of Aſphar. Bacchides conſidering this retreat as a flight, marched his army after them, and encamcamped beyond Jordan. Jonathan being informed hereof, ſent his brother John to the Arabian Nabathites, requeſting permiſſion to leave his baggage with them, till he had fought Bacchides; but the ſons of Amaræus having notice of this embaſſy, ſallied from Medaba, took the baggage and carriages, and killed John and all his people; but this outrage was afterwards properly revenged.

Intelligence being given to Bacchides where Jonathan was encamped, he fixed on the ſabbath to attack him, preſuming that his people would not fight on that day: but Jonathan repreſenting, that as the enemy was before, and the river behind them, they had no chance of eſcape without fighting, they appealed to Heaven for the ſucceſs of their cauſe, and inſtantly attacked the enemy, of whom they killed great numbers. In the interim Bacchides aſſailed Jonathan, and made a furious ſtroke at him, which he parried, and retreated with his people to the other ſide of the river, whither the enemy durſt not follow them. Bacchides having loſt near two thouſand men, retired to Jeruſalem, which he fortified in the ſtrongeſt manner, and kept in it as hoſtages the ſons of the principal men of the country. He likewiſe fortified Jericho, Emmaus, Bethoron, Bethel, Thamnatha, Pharathon, Techoa, and Gazara; which places were ſupplied with garriſons for making incurſions on the Jews.

Two thouſand of the followers of Bacchides ſlain, 43, 49

About this time, Jonathan was infomed that preparations were making for celebrating a wedding between one of the ſons of Amaræus and the daughter of an Arabian of diſtinction; and that on this occaſion an uncommon diſplay of pomp and magnificence was intended. The ſons of Amaræus were to attend the ceremony, and the bride was to be conducted in great ſplendor from the city of Gabatha. This opportunity was ſeized to revenge the death of John; and the brothers, having placed an ambuſh in the mountains, hurried towards Medaba, to attack the poeple who were to attend the wedding. The bride and bridegroom, with four hundred friends, including women and children, making their appearance, the party ruſhed out, deſtroyed them all, and carried off the whole booty; after which they returned to their former ſtation.

Bacchides, having left garriſons in Judea, returned home, and the Jews remained in ſome ſort of peace for two years; a circumſtance that gave great diſturbance to the Apoſtates, who ſolicited Demetrius to deſtroy Jonathan and his people, which they ſaid might be effected by ſurprize in a ſingle night. This propoſition being acceded to by the king, he ſent Bacchides into Judea, who, on his arrival, diſpatched letters to the king's officers and friends in the country, to aſſiſt in making Jonathan captive. Hereupon, they contrived how they might get him into their hands; but Jonathan having been forewarned, acted cautiouſly, ſo that ſeveral repeated trials failed; which ſo exaſperated Bacchides, that he attributed the ill ſucceſs of the undertaking to the treachery of the apoſtate Jews, who, he ſaid, trifled with the royal orders; and he put fifty of their principal men to death, in the firſt tranſports of his rage. At length Jonathan and his brother, finding Bacchides too powerful for them, retired into the wilderneſs, and raiſed walls round the village of Bethalaga, to ſerve them for a retreat on an emergency. Bacchides being informed hereof, marched towards them with all his forces, and being joined by a body of Jews, began the attack of Bethalaga, which he continued for ſeveral days; during which it was obſtinately defended. Matters being thus ſituated, Jonathan, having committed the defence of the place to his brother Simon, collected a number of forces in the neighbourhood, and marching privately in the night, attacked Bacchides in his encampment, killing great numbers of his people. Simon ſoon diſcovered that this havock was made by his brother; on which he ſallied forth, burnt the enemy's works, deſtroyed many of their forces, and returned to his entrenchments. This double attack, and the failure of an attempt in which he thought himſelf ſure of ſucceeding, almoſt diſtracted Bacchides; but he laid all the blame on the apoſtate Jews, who adviſed the king in this buſineſs. His only concern now was how to draw off his army without diſgrace either to himſelf or his ſovereign.

CHAP II.

A league between Jonathan and Bacchides. The latter leads his army out of Judea.

UPON receiving information that Bacchides was at a loſs to determine on what meaſures he ſhould purſue, Jonathan diſpatched a meſſenger to him, with propoſals for a league of friendſhip, on the condition of a mutual exchange of priſoners. Bacchides ſaw in this propoſal ſo fair an opportunity of his abandoning the ſiege without diſgrace, that he immediately acceded thereto: on which the priſoners were exchanged on both ſides, and the reſpective commanders bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath that no farther hoſtilities ſhould be committed. This agreement being ratified, Bacchides returned to Antioch to the king, and never more attempted to give diſturbance to Judea.

The peace and ſecurity that now enſued were highly acceptable to Jonathan, who retired to Machmas, where he employed himſelf in a due adminiſtration of juſtice, and other cares of government.

CHAP. III.

Ptolemais ſurrendered to Alexander. Demetrius advances to give him battle.

IN the year one hundred and ſixty, Alexander, otherwiſe called Ballez, the ſon of Antiochus Epiphanes, took poſſeſſion of Ptolemais in Syria, in conſequence of the aſſiſtance afforded him by a confederacy of ſoldiers in the garriſon, who entertained a mortal enmity againſt Demetrius. Imperious, vain, and tyrannical in the extreme, Demetrius refuſed his ſubjects acceſs to his preſence, and immured himſelf in a fortified caſtle near Antioch, where he paſſed his time in luxury and indolence, wholly regardleſs of the adminiſtration of government. This conduct rendered him very unpopular. However, upon receiving intelligence that Alexander had taken poſſeſſion of Ptolemais, he aſſembled his forces, and marched to give him battle.

CHAP. IV.

An alliance contracted between Jonathan and Demetrius. Jonathan puts Jeruſalem into a poſture of defence. The Macedonians retreat to Antioch.

TO prevent a ſimilar application from Alexander, Demetrius diſpatched meſſengers to Jonathan, with letters propoſing the negotiation of a treaty of alliance. The letters intimated that Jonathan ſhould raiſe forces, provide them with arms, and reſtore to liberty the hoſtages impriſoned in the caſtle by Bacchides. Hereupon, Jonathan repaired to Jeruſalem, and read the propoſitions from Demetrius to the people. The fugitive and apoſtate Jews in the citadel were ſurpriſed and diſconcerted at ſo ſudden a change in favour of Jonathan, who however diſcharged the hoſtages, and continued to inliſt recruits. Jonathan repairs and fortifies Jeruſalem. 11. Jonathan now eſtabliſhed his reſidence in Jeruſalem, where he made conſiderable alterations and improvements, ſtrongly fortifying the place, and rebuilding the walls with ſtones of great magnitude. Upon this change of affairs, the Macedonians ſtationed in different garriſons through the country, retired to Antioch; but the Jewiſh deſerters and others at Bethſura, and in the tower at Jeruſalem, did not venture to quit thoſe places of refuge.

CHAP. V.

To ingratiate the friendſhip of Jonathan, Alexander declares him the ſucceſſor of his brother Judas in the office of high-prieſt. An engagement between Alexander and Demetrius. Demetrius is killed after falling from his horſe.

KNowing Jonathan to be a man of great valour and powerful influence, and alſo that Demetrius was anxious to gain his friendſhip, Alexander conſidered, that it would be a wiſe and prudent meaſure to attach him to his intereſts; and his council being of the ſame opinion, he diſpatched an embaſſy to Jonathan to propoſe a treaty of alliance, and to conſtitute him the ſucceſſor of his deceaſed brother Judas Maccabæus in the pontifical dignity; the commiſſioners being authoriſed to preſent him a crown of gold, and a purple robe.

Alexander appoints Jonathan high prieſt. The embaſſy arrived on the day of the feaſt of the tabernacles, being preciſely at the end of four years from the deceaſe of Judas, during which interval, the office of high prieſt had remained vacant. Immediately after receiving it, Jonathan cloathed himſelf in the ſacerdotal veſtment; and from that time he applied himſelf with unremitting aſſiduity to increaſe the number of his troops, and provide a large ſtore of arms.

Regretting that he had ſuffered himſelf to be anticipated by Alexander, Demetrius was ſtill deſirous to accompliſh the project he had conceived; and for that purpoſe diſpatched the following letter to Jonathan:

"*Demetrius, the king, to Jonathan, and the Jewiſh nation, greeting.*

"Having ever found you true and loyal, in deſpite of the machinations of our enemies to ſeduce you from your fidelity, we deem it incumbent on us to afford you an unqueſtionable proof our eſteem. It is therefore our pleaſure that your tributes be remitted; and we hereby revoke all taxes paid either to our predeceſſors or ourſelf. We hence forward give up the crown and ſalt duties, the thirds of your corn and fruits, and likewiſe the poll tax on the inhabitants of Judea, and the three governments of Galilee, Samaria, and Perea. It is our pleaſure that Jeruſalem and its dependencies be exempted from all tenths and tributes, be deemed holy, and have the privileges of a ſanctuary. Let the citadel be delivered to Jonathan the high-prieſt, with permiſſion to place in it a garriſon of ſuch of his friends as he may think proper. We farther command that, immediately on the receipt hereof, liberty be given to all Jewiſh priſoners in every part of our dominions, without any fees impoſed, even on their cattle; that their ſabbaths and ſolemn feſtivals, and three days preceeding each, ſhall be deemed days of freedom to the Jews throughout our dominions, and that they may live at peace and unmoleſted. That thirty thouſand Jews, if ſo many ſhall be willing, may bear arms in our ſervice, and receive the ſame pay as our own troops; that they be entruſted in garriſons, and near our perſon, and that our royal family receive the better ſort of them as domeſtics. In Jeruſalem, and the three dependent provinces, the Jews ſhall freely exerciſe their own laws; but the high-prieſt muſt take care that the temple of Jeruſalem be the only one in which the Jews worſhip. Fifteen thouſand[*] ſhekels of ſilver we alſo grant annually, towards the expence of their ſacrifices; and we remit the ten thouſand[‡] drachmas formerly paid to our predeceſſors, by the prieſts and officers attending the ſervice of the temple. We farther order, that all debtors repairing to the temple of Jeruſalem, or the liberties thereof, on account of debt, ſhall remain unmoleſted, both in perſon and property. We alſo permit and require that the temple be repaired; that ſtrong fortifications be made round it; and that ſuch ſtrong places as the Jews chooſe to fortify ſhall have garriſons ſtationed in them: and all this ſhall be done at our expence."

At this time Alexander aſſembled a numerous army, partly compoſed of his own people, and partly of thoſe who had deſerted from Demetrius; and with this force he advanced to give the enemy battle. The armies meeting, ſoon after the engagement had commenced, the right wing of Alexander's forces was preſſed hard by the left of Demetrius, who puſhed their advantage even to the plundering of the camp; but Alexander's troops forced the oppoſite column, where Demetrius fought in perſon, till it was totally routed. Demetrius acted wonders, killing and purſuing his enemies, and defending himſelf; till at length his horſe plunged into a bog, and being oppreſſed by multitudes, he was obliged to yield; which, however, he diſdained for ſome time to do, fighting on foot till his body was covered with darts and arrows. Thus died Demetrius after a reign of eleven years.

The death of Demetrius.

CHAP. VI.

Onias propoſes to erect a temple in Egypt like that of Jeruſalem. A contention between the Jews and Samaritans reſpecting the temples of Jeruſalem and Garizim. The caſe referred to the king, who decides in favour of the Jews.

ONIAS, the ſon of the deceaſed high-prieſt of the ſame name, reſided at this time in a kind of exile with Ptolemy Philometer at Alexandria. Wiſhing to promote his own fame, he reſolved to make an effort for procuring the king's conſent for erecting a temple in Egypt, upon the plan and model of that of Jeruſalem, intending that the prieſts and Levites to officiate at the altar in the propoſed edifice ſhould be ſelected from his own family. He was induced to engage in this undertaking by reflecting upon a prophecy of Iſaiah, delivered ſix hundred years before, whereby it was intimated, that, in a future age, a Jew ſhould erect a temple in Egypt to the honour of Almighty God. Onias diſpatched a letter to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, ſtating, that when he had the honour of ſerving their majeſties in the field, in paſſing through Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, Leontopolis, in Heliopolis, and other places, he had obſerved that the Jews were continually at variance, on account of their temples, in conſequence of their being no uniformity in thoſe ſtructures; and that the ſame was the caſe of the Egyptians, on account of a diverſity of religions, and a variety of temples. That near the caſtle of Bubaſtes, on the plain, he had diſcovered a place abounding with materials for building, and alſo with beaſts proper for ſacrifice: wherefore his humble petition was, that he might deſtroy a ruinous temple on the ſpot, it never having been conſecrated to the worſhip of any deity, and in its place erect another, after the model of that of Jeruſalem, on condition that prayers ſhould be therein offered up for the proſperity of their majeſties and the royal family. A compliance with this requeſt, it was ſaid, would tend to render the Jewiſh inhabitants of the dominions of their majeſties more unanimous, and give them greater opportunities of contributing to the ſervice of the ſtate.

The petition of Onias to Ptolemy and Cleopatra.

An anſwer was given, in the name of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, purporting that they had taken the letter from Onias into

The king and queen grants his requeſt.

---

[*] Fifteen thouſand ſhekels of ſilver, according to Calmet's tables, amounted to ſeventeen hundred and ten pounds, eighteen ſhillings, and nine pence.

[‡] Ten thouſand drachmas amounted to about two hundred and eighty pounds of our money.

conſideration: but could ſcarcely imagine a temple upon the ſpot he had propoſed could prove acceptable to God, ſince the place was infeſted with noxious animals: but as he had appealed to a prophecy of Iſaiah, they would comply with his requeſt, conditionally, that he ſhould be careful not to violate the law of God in purſuing the propoſed undertaking.

Having ſucceeded thus far, Onias made preparations for conſtructing a temple of a form ſimilar to that of Jeruſalem, though upon a leſs extenſive ſcale. When the building was finiſhed, Onias found a number of prieſts and Levites of his own ſentiments, to perform the ſeveral parts of divine worſhip.

A quarrel at Alexandria betwixt the Jews and Samaritans, about their temple and worſhip.

About this period a violent diſpute happened at Alexandria, between the Jews and Samaritans, the latter of whom had built a temple at Garizim, in the time of Alexander the Great. This diſpute, which regarded the temple, and the mode of worſhipping, ſtood as follows: the Jews inſiſted that there was no temple authoriſed by the law of Moſes, but that at Jeruſalem; while the Samaritans were equally ſanguine for the temple at Garizim. Both parties agreed to refer the diſpute to the deciſion of the king and his miniſters, with allowance that counſel might be heard on each ſide, and that the party in the wrong ſhould ſuffer death. Andronicus, the ſon of Meſſalan, was appointed to plead for the Jews, and Sabbæus and Theodoſius for the Samaritans. Both parties were bound on oath before God and the king, to offer nothing contrary to law. The Jews of Alexandria were uneaſy for their advocate, and grieved to think that any doubt ſhould be made of the ſacred authority of the temple of Jeruſalem, the nobleſt ſtructure in the univerſe. The king having ſummoned his counſellors to try the iſſue, a debate aroſe who ſhould ſpeak firſt; when Sabbæus and Theodoſius yielding that point to Andronicus, he began, by ſtating the antiquity and ſanctity of the temple of Jeruſalem; proved the legality of its original foundation; diſplayed the regular order of the prieſthood through a ſucceſſion of ages; adverted to the ſplendor and dignity of the place, as it had been at all times celebrated, and ſpoke of the magnificent bounty of the kings of Aſia towards it; whereas the temple of Garizim had been little more noticed than if no ſuch place had ever been built. The pleadings being concluded, the king pronounced a deciſion in favour of the Jews, and adjudged Sabbæus and Thodoſius, the advocates in behalf of the pretenſions of the Samaritans, to ſuffer death.

CHAP VII.

Alexander eſpouſes Cleopatra, daughter to the king of Egypt. Jonathan, the high-prieſt, is greatly honoured in Jeruſalem.

Alexander marries Cleopatra the daughter of Ptolemy, at Ptolemais. I Mac. x. 58.

AFTER the death of Demetrius, Alexander, as we have already obſerved, aſſumed the government of Syria, ſoon after which, he wrote to Ptolemy Philometer, requeſting his daughter Cleopatra, in marriage, and intimating, that the king would not be diſgraced by an alliance with a man who had ſubdued Demetrius, and gained poſſeſſion of a throne to which he had a legal claim in right of his father. This propoſal was highly ſatisfactory to Ptolemy, who ſent a letter to Alexander, congratulating him on his late ſucceſs, and promiſing to beſtow his daughter on him in marriage. He further promiſed to meet him at Ptolemais with his daughter, where the wedding ſhould be celebrated. Soon after writing this letter Ptolemy accompanied his daughter to the appointed place, and ſhe was eſpouſed to Alexander, who received her with a large ſum in gold and ſilver, as a marriage portion. Jonathan, the high-prieſt, was invited by Alexander to the wedding, on which occaſion both monarchs received him in a moſt gracious manner, and made him liberal preſents. Alexander directed the high-prieſt to change the garment in which he came to the entertainment for a purple robe, and ſeated him next to himſelf on the throne; and in addition to this honour, he commanded his principal officers to accompany Jonathan into the city, and make proclamation, that no man ſhould inſult or calumniate him. Some of the enemies of Jonathan had come to the place with a deſign of defaming him: but finding how diſtinguiſhed a place he had gained in the king's favour, they retired.

CHAP. VIII.

Demetrius Nicanor leads an army into Cilicia. Apollonius appointed Alexander's general. Jonathan defeats him, takes Azotus, and ſets fire to the temple of Dagon. Alexander meditates the death of Ptolemy, who thereupon takes Cleopatra from him, and gives her to Demetrius. Ptolemy and Demetrius vanquiſh Alexander. Ptolemy is dangerouſly wounded, and dies after receiving the head of Alexander as a preſent. Jonathan beſieges the tower of Jeruſalem, and obtains from Demetrius various privileges in behalf of the Jews. Demetrius loſes the affections of his army.

DEMETRIUS, the younger, the ſon of the prince of the ſame name, in the year one hundred and ſixty-five, embarked with a body of troops that Laſthenes had hired on his account, and ſailed from the iſle of Crete into Cilicia. Alarmed by this movement, Alexander after committing Cœle-Syria to the care of Apollonius, haſtened from Phœnicia to Antioch, in order to regulate his affairs, previous to the arrival of Demetrius at that city; and in the mean time, Apollonius marched an army to Jamnia, from whence he diſpatched a meſſage to Jonathan, the high-prieſt, upbraiding him with inactivity, and challenging him to ſingle combat: boaſting that he had under his command an army of the braveſt troops in the empire, whoſe proweſs had often compelled the anceſtors of Jonathan to yield.

pollonius, he governor f Syria, ſends onathan a ontemptuus challenge. . 69, 73.

Upon receiving this inſolent defiance, Jonathan, accompanied by his brother Simon, led ten thouſand choſen men from Jeruſalem, and encamped at Joppa, the gates of which place were ſhut by the garriſon ſtationed there by Apollonius: but upon Jonathan making preparations for an aſſault, the inhabitants ſurrendered the town to him.

Upon receiving intelligence that Jonathan had gained poſſeſſion of Joppa, Apollonius marched with an army of three thouſand horſe and eight thouſand foot to give him battle, and retiring as the enemy advanced, when they came into a level part of the country, he faced about, having ſtationed an ambuſh for making an attack upon the rear: but being apprized of this meaſure, Jonathan had recourſe to the manœuvre of drawing up his troops in a ſquare figure, ſo that they were equally prepared for defence or aſſault in front, flank, and rear. Jonathan commanded his troops to act only upon the defenſive, ranging them ſo cloſe together, that the darts and arrows diſcharged by the enemy were received upon their bucklers without doing any execution. The enemy being at length fatigued with fighting in this manner from morning till afternoon, Simon bravely attacked and put their main body to the rout, when the cavalry perceiving the hopeleſs condition of the foot, fled in the utmoſt confuſion. Jonathan purſued them to Azotus, killed numbers of the fugitives, and drove the reſt into the temple of Dagon, which he burnt to the ground: nor did he ſtop here; for he ſet fire to the city, and to ſeveral adjacent villages. It was reckoned that about eight thouſand men were either ſlain or burnt. Jonathan having defeated this army, advanced to Aſkalon, and encamped near that city, the inhabitants of which brought him preſents, as a teſtimony of their eſteem, which he gratefully received, and then went back in triumph to Jeruſalem laden with ſpoils. Alexander pretended to be greatly pleaſed with this defeat of Apollonius, who, he ſaid, had undertaken the expedition againſt a friend and ally, without his conſent; and in token of his approbation of Jonathan's conduct, he made him governor of Accaron, and preſented him with a golden buckle, a gift heretofore peculiar to the royal family.

onathan deeats Apolnius. 84.

About this period Ptolemy Philometer arrived in Syria, with land and ſea-forces, to aſſiſt Alexander, his ſon-in-law. Agreeable to the king's order, he was received with univerſal reſpect, except at Azotus, where the people complained of the burning of the temple of Dagon, and reviled Jonathan, who had ravaged the country with fire and ſword. Jonathan met Ptolemy at Joppa, where he was received in a gracious and honourable manner by the king, whom he conducted to the river Eleutherus, and then returned to Jeruſalem.

Alexander meditates the death of Ptolemy. I Mac. xi. 10.

Ptolemy, on his arrival at the city of Ptolemais, narrowly eſcaped falling a ſacrifice to the treachery of Alexander, according to a plan concerted by Ammonius, who had engaged to carry it into effect. The plot being diſcovered, Ptolemy wrote to Alexander, demanding that juſtice might be executed upon the delinquent; but his ſon-in-law abſolutely refuſed to comply with this requiſition, at the ſame time avowing, that he was himſelf a party in the conſpiracy for effecting his deſtruction. Ammonius, through whoſe means Alexander had forfeited the good-will of the people of Antioch, loſt his life while ſeeking for ſafety under the diſguiſe of a woman's dreſs.

Ptolemy calls away his daughter from Alexander, and marries her to Demetrius, v. 12. I Mac. xi.

In conſequence of the treachery of Alexander, Ptolemy took his daughter from him, and made overtures of friendſhip to Demetrius, propoſing to give him Cleopatra in marriage, and to put him in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of his deceaſed father. Theſe offers were highly acceptable to Demetrius: but the people of Antioch, being violently prejudiced againſt him, on account of his father, Ptolemy had great difficulty in prevailing upon them to acknowledge him as their ſovereign.

Making his public entry into Antioch, the citizens and ſoldiers proclaimed Ptolemy king of Aſia and Egypt. This prince conducted his affairs ſo prudently as to yield the moſt perfect ſatisfaction to his ſubjects, at the ſame time cautiouſly avoiding to give any cauſe of diſguſt to the Romans. Aſſembling a general meeting of the Antiochans, Ptolemy informed them, that the kingdom of Egypt being ſufficient to gratify his deſires, he was willing to relinquiſh the government of Aſia in favour of Demetrius, whom he earneſtly recommended them to receive as their king, pledging himſelf that he would diſcharge the truſt repoſed in him, with fidelity and honour. In compliance with the perſuaſions of Ptolemy, the Antiochans at length conſented to inveſt Demetrius with the powers of ſovereignty.

At this time Alexander had marched a powerful army out of Cilicia, and was committing great devaſtation in Syria, and particularly in the country ſurrounding Antioch. Hereupon Ptolemy and Demetrius advanced againſt, and having defeated him, compelled him to fly into Arabia. During the engagement, Ptolemy being thrown from his horſe, in conſequence of the animal taking fright at the braying of an elephant, while he lay on the ground, he received from the enemy ſeveral grievous wounds on the head, and he muſt have loſt his life on the ſpot, had not ſome of his guards have come to his reſcue. He remained ſpeechleſs and inſenſible four days; but on the fifth ſymptoms of recovery appeared, when the head of Alexander, which had been cut off by Zabelus, an Arabian prince, was preſented to him. He expreſſed himſelf highly gratified by this ſight, but in a ſhort time after, he died. Alexander reigned about five years; and he was ſucceeded by Demetrius, who was a man of an ungracious and cruel diſpoſition. Ptolemy's ſoldiers were ſo diſguſted by the ſeverities exerciſed upon them by Alexander, about the time of his marriage with Cleopatra, that they abandoned him, and repaired to Alexandria, leaving their elephants behind them.

Alexander's head ſent to Ptolemy, 17.

Jonathan lays ſiege to the citadel of Jeruſalem. ver. 20.

Having raiſed an army in Judea, Jonathan laid ſiege to the citadal of Jeruſalem, with a determination to diſlodge the Macedonian garriſon, and the apoſtate Jews that had taken refuge there. They were ſo confident of the ſtrength of the place, that they at firſt gave him an inſolent defiance: but at length they deemed it prudent to ſend ſecretly to Demetrius for aſſiſtance. Upon ſuccour being demanded of him, Demetrius marched from Antioch to Ptolemais, from whence he diſpatched a meſſage requiring Jonathan to attend him which he accordingly did and accompanied by the prieſts and elders, preſented to him gold, ſilver, ſplendid garments, and other articles of great value: but in the mean time, the operations of the ſiege were not ſuſpended. The generous and reſpectful behaviour of Jonathan was ſo pleaſing to the king, that he confirmed him in the office of high-prieſt, and at his requeſt alone, reduced the tribute of Judea and the dependences of Samaria, Joppa and Galilee, to the ſum of three hundred talents. On this occaſion he cauſed the following letters to be immediately ſent away.

By the addre of Jonathan Demetrius i induced to favour the Jews. 22, 2

King Demetrius to his brother Jonathan, and to the whole Jewiſh nation, joy and greeting,

"This is to let you underſtand that we have here ſent you the copy of a letter lately written to Laſthenes, our truſty and well beloved couſin.

King Demetrius to his father Laſthenes greeting,

"We are ſo ſenſible of the dutiful and affectionate return we have from time to time received from our friends the Jews, in acknowledgement of the good will we bear them, it is our good pleaſure to give them ſome ſignal mark of the eſteem we have for them: wherefore we do by theſe preſents aſſign the three governments of Apherima, Lydda, and Ramatha, that were taken from the Samaritans, together with all the land thereunto belonging, to the uſe and advantage of Judea; diſcharging likewiſe the prieſts at Jeruſalem of all the duties by them formerly allowed to our forefathers, as well upon corn and fruits, as upon ſalt-pits and crown-taxes. Be ſure to ſend the copy of this letter to Jonathan and to have it hung up in the moſt conſpicuous place of the holy temple."

Tranquillity being thus re-eſtabliſhed, Demetrius diſbanded the troops that had ſerved his father, without their full pay, retaining only a body of mercenaries that he had inliſted in Crete, and other neighbouring iſlands. His anceſtors were ever accuſtomed to allow their ſoldiers the ſame ſtipend in peace as in war: but Demetrius entirely loſt their affections in conſequence of ungenerouſly diſmiſſing them without the pay that was due for their ſervices.

CHAP. IX.

Tryphon propoſes to advance Antiochus to his father's throne. Jonathan ſends a reinforcement to Demetrius, who returns that ſervice with ingratitude. Antiochus declared king. Demetrius vanquiſhed. Gaza ſurrenders. Demetrius leads his army to Cedaſa. Jonathan obtains a victory, and renews a league with the Romans, and Lacedemonians. Account of the three Sects of the Phariſees, Sadducees and Eſſenes. Simon fortifies Aſkalon and Joppa. Jonathan and Simon un-

undertake to fortify Jeruſalem. Demetrius taken priſoner.

TRYPHON, otherwiſe called Diodotus, a native of Apamia, and formerly an officer in Alexander's army, obſerving the diſſatisfaction prevailing among the troops of Demetrius, he applied to Malchus, an Arabian, at that time preceptor to Antiochus, the ſon of Alexander, propoſing to advance the youth to the throne of his deceaſed father. Malchus he heſitated: but he was at length prevailed upon to comply, and committed Antiochus to the care of Tryphon.

Tryphon ats with Malchus for eadvancing Antiochus, the of Alexander, to the throne. 1 Mac. 39, 40.

Jonathan was at this time vigorouſly proſecuting the ſiege of the citadel of Jeruſalem, being determined to expel the fugitive Jews from that place, and other fortreſſes in different parts of the country. On this occaſion he ſent meſſengers with farther preſents to Demetrius, requeſting him to withdraw his men from the fortreſſes. Demetrius anſwered, that he was willing to oblige him in that, and more important concerns, as ſoon as the war ſhould be ended; and entreated him, by the rites of friendſhip, to ſend him a ſupply of forces, as his own people had fled to the enemy. Jonathan ſent him three thouſand men, in conſequence of this requeſt.

Demetrius, both on his father's account and his own, was now become entremely obnoxious to the people of Antioch; inſomuch, that, on hearing of the aid from Jonathan, they aſſembled in arms, and ſurrounded the palace, as if with a view to attack it: but their intention was to ſeize him on his coming out. Hereupon Demetrius drew up his hired troops, and thoſe ſent by Jonathan, and attacked the citizens, who repelled the aſſault with ſo much bravery, that he was obliged to retreat into the palace, from the battlements of which his people annoyed the adverſe party with darts and arrows, and compelled them to ſeek for refuge in the neighbouring buildings. The Jews now ſet fire to the houſes, which being chiefly of wood, and ſtanding cloſe to each other, the flames raged with great fury. Thus diſtreſſed, the preſervation of their wives and children occupied the whole attention of the inhabitants: but in obedience to the orders of the king, the Jews availed themſelves of the advantage of the conſternation into which the people were thrown, and committed great ſlaughter upon them, compelling the ſurvivors to lay down their arms, and ſurrender at diſcretion. This victory terminated the war. The rebels were pardoned, and the booty obtained on this occaſion was given to the Jews, whom Demetrius ſent back to Jonathan, with acknowledgments that he was indebted to their valour for his late ſucceſs.

However, Demetrius in a ſhort time threatened to make war againſt Jonathan, if he any longer omitted to pay the tribute which his anceſtors had been accuſtomed to receive from the Jews. This threat would have been carried into execution, but that he was diverted from his purpoſe by the arrival of Tryphon, who having proclaimed young Antiochus king, with the aſſiſtance of the troops that had been defrauded of their pay, defeated Demetrius in a pitched battle, and having ſeized his elephants, compelled him to retreat into Cilicia.

Tryphon makes war upon Demetrius, in favour of young Antiochus, ver. 54.

In conſequence of this revolution, Antiochus ſent an expreſs to Jonathan, confirming him in the office of high-prieſt, conferring upon him the four governments annexed to Judea, and appointing his brother Simon to the command of his troops from Tyre to the borders of Sidon. He likewiſe cauſed to be preſented to Jonathan ſeveral drinking cups of gold, purple veſtments, and a golden buckle. Being thus honourably diſtinguiſhed, Jonathan diſpatched a meſſage to Antiochus and Tryphon, intimating that he was ready to act in conjunction with them in oppoſing Demetrius.

Jonathan attempted to raiſe forces in Syria, Phœnicia, and different cities and towns, where, though the people received him with great reſpect, he procured no recruits. Proceeding to Aſkalon, the inhabitants complimented him with conſiderable preſents. He repreſented to them, as he had done to the people of Cœle-Syria, that their intereſts called upon them to aſſiſt Antiochus againſt Demetrius, from whom they had received great and repeated injuries. In compliance with his perſuaſions, they agreed to take up arms in behalf of Antiochus. Continuing his journey to Gaza, the inhabitants ſhut the gates againſt him, declaring their reſolution to ſupport the cauſe of Demetrius. This affront ſo highly incenſed Jonathan, that he immediately divided his army, and aſſaulted the town with one part, while the other was employed in ravaging and laying waſte the circumjacent country. Deſpairing of relief from Demetrius, and having only a proſpect of ſpeedy deſtruction before them, the inhabitants diſpatched meſſengers with a ſubmiſſive application to Jonathan, who accepted their propoſals, and after ſending their hoſtages to Jeruſalem, proceeded towards Damaſcus.

In the mean time, Demetrius had encamped a powerful army before Cadaſa, ſituated

Simon attacks Bethſura, 65, 66.

ſituated upon the borders of Tyre and Galilee, with a deſign of enticing Jonathan out of Syria, preſuming, that his firſt care would be directed towards the preſervation of his own country: but the latter, committing the care of Judea to his brother Simon, purſued his original deſign. Simon laid ſiege to Bethſura, ſuppoſed to be the ſtrongeſt and moſt defenſible place in all Judea, which was then in poſſeſſion of the partizans of Demetrius. Dreading that they ſhould be put to the ſword, the people compoſing the garriſon, requeſted that Simon would be permit them to march unmoleſted to Demetrius. He complied, and, upon their departure, appointed a body of his own people to take poſſeſſion of the poſt.

Jonathan falls into an ambuſh, and his troops forſake him. 1 Mac. ix. ver. 69.

By this time Jonathan was advanced into the plain of Aſor, where he had no idea of any oppoſition: but one of Demetrius's parties, having notice of his march, ſtationed an ambuſh behind a mountain, while the main body advanced to attack him on the plain. Jonathan gave the beſt orders the ſhortneſs of the time would permit: but the Jews, ſeeing the ambuſh, were afraid of being ſurrounded by two parties, and precipitately fled. So general was the terror, that only fifty gallant fellows remained with Jonathan, and the two captains, Matthias, the ſon of Abſalom, and Judas, the ſon of Chapſeus. Theſe charged the enemy in front, in ſo deſperate a manner, that the forces of Demetrius heſitated; on which thoſe who had deſerted from Jonathan returned, attacked them, killed near two thouſand, and followed the reſt even to their tents at Cadaſa.

This victory being obtained, Jonathan returned to Jeruſalem, whence he diſpatched ambaſſadors to Rome, to renew former alliances, with directions to come back by way of Lacedemon, on buſineſs of a ſimilar nature. The Romans received the ambaſſadors with high reſpect, and diſmiſſed them with letters, recommending that ſafe paſſage might be granted them by the kings of Europe and Aſia. From Rome the meſſengers proceeded to Lacedemon, where they delivered the following letter:

The high-prieſt Jonathan, *the elders of the nation, the prieſts, and the reſt of the Jews, ſend greeting to the Ephori,*[*] *ſenate, and people of* Lacedemon.

"By a letter of ancient date, from your king Arius, to our high prieſt, Onias, which was delivered to him by Demoteles, (a copy of which we encloſe we find that we are near allied to you in blood. By the teſtimony we then gave to Arius, by the hands of the ſaid Demoteles, it appears how happy we were in the notification of ſuch an alliance: not that the matter was new to us, for it is mentioned in holy writ. Now we would inform you, that we ſhould ere this time, have claimed your friendſhip, but we left the honour of giving the example to you. From the firſt notification of your friendſhip to the preſent time, we have conſtantly prayed to God that you might live in health and proſperity, and prove victorious over your foes. In all our diſtreſſes and misfortunes from the malice of ambitious neighbours, we have been cautious not to trouble you, or other allies: but Divine Providence having put an end to our wars, and our affairs being more at eaſe, Numenius, the ſon of Antimachus, and Antipater, the ſon of Jaſon, men of honour, and ſenators, have been diſpatched with letters to the Romans, and to yourſelves, for renewing and ſtrengthening the league of friendſhip between us. Return what anſwer you think proper: but let us know how we may ſerve you, aſſured that we will teſtify our affectionate regard by every means in our power."

The Lacedemonians not only gave the Jewiſh ambaſſadors a courteous and honourable reception, but alſo charged them with a memorial, acknowledging and confirming the alliance formerly contracted between the two ſtates.

At this time the Jews were divided into three ſects, or factions; namely, the Phariſees, Sadducees, and Eſſenes.[†] The doctrine of the Phariſees was, that in ſome caſes, men were allowed the privilege of regulating the conduct of life according to the dictates of their own free will, and in others were overruled by a particular fate. The Sadducees utterly rejected the idea of fatality, contending that the condition of men was the natural effect of their proſecuting the ſuggeſtions of their free-will. The opinion of the Eſſenes was, that mankind was in all inſtances ſubject to an irreſiſtible deſtiny.

Receiving intelligence that Demetrius had augmented his army, and was advancing to give him battle, Jonathan haſtened to Amathis, with a determination to oppoſe his entrance into Judea; and having pitched his tents about fifty furlongs from the enemy, diſpatched ſpies for diſcovering their deſigns; and ſome priſoners taken by the ſcouts acknowledged that the intention of Demetrius was to attack Jonathan by ſurpriſe in his encampment. Upon this information, Jonathan ſtationed centinels at the out-poſts, kept his men conſtantly under arms during the night, and made other neceſſary diſpoſitions for defence. Learning that their deſign was diſcovered, the commanders of the army of Demetrius were thrown into great confuſion, and at length formed the reſolution of decamping in the night, which they accordingly did, covering their retreat by leaving a number of fires burning on the ſpot of their encampment.

---

[*] The Ephori, of whom there were commonly five in number, were magiſtrates of the Lacedemonians, who were ſo great a curb to their kings by their power of interceding, or negative voice, that at laſt they became as formidable to them, as the Roman tribunes were to the nobility. See Nep. Panſan.

[†] Of the principles and practices of theſe three ſects, the reader will find a particular explanation in the ſecond book of the wars of the Jews.

On the dawn of the next morning, Jonathan advanced in order to force the enemy to battle; when finding they had abandoned their poſt, he purſued them by forced marches, though in vain; for they had croſſed the river Eleutherus, and gained a ſecure ſtation. Upon this diſappointment, Jonathan, directing his rout to Arabia, and ravaging the country of the Nabatheans, took the priſoners and cattle obtained in theſe expeditions to Damaſcus, and there ſold them.

In the mean time, Simon made a progreſs through Judea and Paleſtine, as far as Aſkalon, and having fortified all the defenſible places, he proceeded to Joppa, where he ſtationed a ſtrong garriſon, for the purpoſe of reſtraining the people from ſurrendering the town to Demetrius.

Jonathan, accompanied by his brother Simon, now repaired to Jeruſalem, and having aſſembled the people in the temple, he directed them to repair the walls of the city, to provide for the better defence of the place, by building high and ſubſtantial towers, and alſo to erect a wall for the purpoſe of cutting off all communication between the caſtle and the city; and he further recommended, that garriſons might be appointed to occupy every convenient ſtation, for the greater ſecurity of the country. The people unanimouſly approved the propoſition made by Jonathan, who undertook to ſuperintend what improvements were to be made to the city, committing the care of the other departments to his brother Simon.

Jonathan and Simon fortify he city and emple. 1 Mac. xii. 35, 38.

At this time Demetrius had paſſed the river, and marched into Meſopotamia, with a deſign of reducing the capital, and laying the whole country in a ſtate of deſolation. His intention was to carry the war into the upper provinces, the Greek and Macedonian inhabitants thereof having invited him thither with promiſes of obedience to him, and yielding him aſiſtance againſt Arſaces, king of Parthia. Thus encouraged, Demetrius advanced, imagining that, after obtaining a conqueſt over the Parthians, he ſhould have but little difficulty in compelling Tryphon to evacuate Syria. Demetrius was chearfully received by the people, and putting himſelf at the head of a numerous army, he prepared for battle. The armies meeting an obſtinate conflict enſued: but at length Demetrius was routed, the greateſt part of his army deſtroyed, and himſelf made a priſoner by Arſaces.

Demetrius makes war upon Arſaces loſes his army, and is taken priſoner, 1 Mac. xiv. 1, 3.

CHAP. X.

Tryphon aſpires to the ſovereignty. He betrays Jonathan, makes him a priſoner, and cuts off a thouſand of his followers.

THE late miſcarriage of Demetrius determined Tryphon no longer to make a parade of a pretended friendſhip to Antiochus, but to effect the deſtruction of his maſter, as a preliminary meaſure to his own advancement to the throne. But, knowing Jonathan to be a ſteady friend to Antiochus, he judged that by removing him he ſhould greatly facilitate the accompliſhment of his treacherous deſign.

Repairing to Bethſan, Tryphon there found Jonathan, with forty thouſand men under his command. Foreſeeing that an engagement with an army of ſuch ſuperior ſtength would be attended but with a very unpromiſing proſpect of ſucceſs, Tryphon determined to have recourſe to the arts of treachery and ſeduction. He directed his officers to obey Jonathan as himſelf; and proceeded, with great artifice, from one ſubtlety to another. At length he inſinuated that, as the war was over, Jonathan might diſband his army, keeping only a proper body guard, and attend him to Ptolemais, which place, and all the adjacent fortreſſes, he was reſolved to put into his poſſeſſion. Seduced by theſe arguments and promiſes, Jonathan diſmiſſed all his army, except three thouſand men, two of which he left in Galilee, and went with Tryphon to Ptolemais, with the other thouſand. The inhabitants having been previouſly inſtructed, ſhut the gates on his firſt entering the town, killed all his thouſand men, and took him priſoner. Tryphon diſpatched a part of his army to Galilee, with a view to deſtroy Jonathan's two thouſand men left there; but theſe having information of the manner in which Jonathan had been treated, ſeized their arms and effected their eſcape. Knowing theſe troops to be of ſuch undaunted reſolution, that they would fight to the laſt extremity, Tryphon attempted not to purſue them.

Tryphon betrays Jonathan under a maſk of friendſhip, 46, 48.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Simon aſſumes the command of the army, and compels the inhabitants to evacuate Joppa. Tryphon offers liberty to Jonathan, upon receiving a ſum of money and hoſtages. Tryphon treacherouſly puts Jonathan to death. Simon ſucceeds his deceaſed brother. He deſtroys Gaza, Joppa, Jamnia, and the citadel of Jeruſalem.

UPON receiving intelligence of the captivity of Jonathan, and the maſſacre of his thouſand men, the inhabitants of Jeruſalem were extremely afflicted. Their grief was the more poignant ſince they conſidered, that the loſs of a commander ſo diſtinguiſhed by his valour and prudence would expoſe them to the ravages of thoſe enemies, of whoſe power they had before entertained no apprehenſions. They were not miſtaken in their conjecture; for upon the news of Jonathan's death, (of which we ſhall ſpeak more particularly hereafter) the neighbouring nations entered into a confederacy againſt them, conſidering them as being in deſperate and irretrievable circumſtances, ſince they were deprived of the aſſiſtance of the chief to whoſe valour and prudence they were indebted for all their ſucceſſes. Even Tryphon aſſembled an army with a deſign of invading Judea. Simon obſerving the alarms that prevailed among the people, addreſſed them to the following effect:

Tryphon prepares for an incurſion into Judea 1 Mac. xiii. 1 2.

" It is needleſs, my friends and countrymen, to particularize the various inſtances in which my father, my brethren and myſelf have ſhewn a readineſs to exert ourſelves in the defence of our country. The preſervation of our religion, laws and liberties, have ever been the objects to which the attention of our family has been principally directed; and be aſſured, that I will never forfeit my honour from a regard to my perſonal ſafety. Be not diſpirited, becauſe you have no commander, ſince I here declare myſelf ready to lead you wherever great and glorious actions ſhall call us. Never ſhall it be ſaid, that I have degraded the dignity of my family. I truſt, that the Almighty will, by my means, deliver you and your wives and children from the power of your oppreſſors, avenge your cauſe upon your enemies, and vindicate the holy temple from the abominations and defilements of your impious and malicious perſecutors."

Upon the concluſion of this addreſs, the multitude unanimouſly declared Simon alone worthy to ſucceed to the command of his excellent brothers Judas Maccabæus and Jonathan, ſolemnly pledging themſelves to act in rigid obedience to his directions. Immediately after his appointment, the new general employed a great number of the people under his command in repairing the walls of the city, and fortifying them with ſtrong and ſtately towers. The fortifications being compleated, he diſpatched his friend Jonathan, the ſon of Abſalom, to Joppa, with orders to compel the inhabitants to evacuate the city, leſt they ſhould ſurrender it to Tryphon.

Simon choſen to the command of the Jews 8.

At this time Tryphon was marching his army from Ptolemais towards Judea, bringing Jonathan with him in bonds. Simon met him on a mountain overlooking the plain near the city of Addida. Learning that the Jews had elected Simon for their general, Tryphon diſpatched a meſſage to him, importing, that if he was deſirous of procuring his brother's enlargement, he muſt ſend a hundred talents of ſilver*, and alſo two of Jonathan's ſons as hoſtages, that after being reſtored to liberty he ſhould not ſeduce the people of Judea from their allegiance. Though he conſidered the offer of Tryphon as a deception, Simon deemed it not prudent to decline ſending the ranſom and hoſtages, leſt his brother's death ſhould be imputed to his neglect. However, he ſummoned a council and communicated to them his ſuſpicions, obſerving, that he was deſirous of complying with the demands of the enemy, leſt he ſhould incur the reproach of being indifferent with regard to the preſervation of his brother's life. The hoſtages and money were accordingly ſent to Tryphon, who, notwithſtanding, treacherouſly refuſed to give Jonathan his liberty, and continued to ravage the country till his arrival at Dora, a city in Idumea, from whence he intended to lead his army to Jeruſalem. In the mean time Simon was attentive to all his movements.

While on his march, Tryphon received a meſſage from the garriſon at Jeruſalem, informing him that the people were in great diſtreſs through a ſcarcity of proviſions, and requeſting that he would haſten to their relief. Upon this, he ordered his cavalry to be in readineſs to proceed to Jeruſalem: but ſo deep a ſnow falling in the night as to render a march thither impracticable, he directed his courſe towards Cœle-Syria, and in paſſing though the country of Galaad, cauſed Jonathan to be put to death near the city of Baſca, and then marched towards Antioch.

---

* An hundred Jewiſh talents weighed eleven thouſand four hundred and ſix pounds three ounces; and were equivalent in value to thirty-four thouſand two, hundred and eighteen pounds, fifteen ſhillings, Engliſh.

Simon cauſed the remains of his brother Jonathan, which had been buried by Tryphon near Baſca, to be removed to the family ſepulchre at Modim, public mourning being obſerved on the occaſion, and a ſuperb monument of poliſhed white marble erected to the family. This was on an eminence, and encompaſſed with arched works, and reſting on pillars each of an entire ſtone. Simon cauſed ſeven pyramids to be erected, to his father, mother, four brothers, and himſelf; and theſe were ſo extraordinary, that they are ſtill celebrated for their beauty and magnificence.

Jonathan had now governed, as prince and high-prieſt, four * years, and was ſucceeded by his brother, Simon, as abovementioned. Simon, in his firſt year, relieved the people from the tribute before paid to the Macedonians; and he ſtood ſo high in their opinion, that they dated their writings, both public and private, from the years of his government, with the addition of "moſt worthy patron of the nation." Every public buſineſs flouriſhed in his hands. He obtained a victory over the common enemy; deſtroyed the cities of Gazara, Joppa, and Jamnia; levelled the citadel of Jeruſalem with the ground, and ſo ordered, that it could neither afford a refuge for rebels and fugitives, nor be in a condition to annoy the city. To effect this, he adviſed the digging the mountain on which the caſtle ſtood, ſo that the temple ſhould be left on the higher ground. He aſſembled the people on this buſineſs, to whom he repreſented the miſchiefs already ſuſtained by this caſtle, and the probable conſequences, if an enemy ſhould get poſſeſſion of it. This argument had ſuch an effect, that they univerſally agreed to deſtroy the mountain; and the people worked on it for three years, and by the force of indefatigable labour, they ſo lowered the ground that the temple commanded the ſpot where the citadal had formerly ſtood.

He lays Gazara, Joppa, Jamnia, and the tower of Jeruſalem all in rubbiſh. ver. 43, &c.

CHAP. XII.

Tryphon murders Antiochus, and ſucceeds to the ſovereignty. His ſoldiers revolt. After eſpouſing Cleopatra, Antiochus Soter gains a victory over Tryphon. Tryphon put to death.

SOON after Demetrius Nicanor had been made a priſoner, Tryphon privately murdered Antiochus, the ſon of Alexander, and propagated a report that he loſt his life by an accident, which happened in his exerciſes. While the public were intent on this report, Tryphon exerted his utmoſt influence, and employed both money and friends, to induce them to chuſe him king. The friends of Tryphon urged that Demetrius, was a captive with the Parthians; and that Antiochus would never forgive thoſe who had deſerted his brother. By theſe inſinuations Tryphon paved his way to the throne: but there did not need much artifice in the caſe; for the people readily combined towards his elevation, from an idea that thoſe who voted for making him king, would be in a fair way to advance their own fortunes; ſo that there was no difficulty in his advancement.

Tryphon no ſooner had gained poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty, than he fully diſplayed that malignity of temper which he had artfully concealed while in a private ſtation. His turbulent conduct ſo diſguſted the troops, that they deſerted, and fled to Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius, who had retired with his children to Seleucia, while Antiochus Soter, the brother of Demetrius, was travelling from place to place, all perſons declining to yield him aſſiſtance, leſt they ſhould thereby expoſe themſelves to the vengeance of Tryphon. Encouraged by the advice of her friends, and urged by her fears that the people would ſurrender up Seleucia to the uſurper, Cleopatra offered herſelf in marriage to Antiochus. This alliance being contracted, great numbers of troops reſorted to the ſtandard of Antiochus, who in a ſhort time, was at the head of a powerful army, with which he attacked and defeated Tryphon, driving him out of Syria into Phœnicia, and beſieging him in the ſtrong fortreſs of Dora. Antiochus now made overtures to Simon, the high-prieſt, for concluding a treaty of friendſhip, which he accepted, ſending him proviſions and money for enabling him to proſecute the ſiege. Tryphon at length eſcaped from Dora to Apamia, where he was killed in defending the town, which was taken by Antiochus.

Tryphon taken and ſlain.

CHAP. XIII.

The ingratitude of Antiochus to Simon. The latter renews his league with the Romans.

ANtiochus, who was naturally of a covetous and ungrateful diſpoſition, ſo far from acknowledging the ſervices he had received from Simon, diſpatched an army under the command of Cendebeus to ravage Judea, and endeavour to make him a priſoner. This perfidy and ingratitude ſo enraged Simon, that, in deſpite of the infirmities of his advanced time of life, he determined to go in perſon to chaſtize him. Diſpatching his ſon with a body of choſen men, he immediately afterwards marched by a different rout, ſtationing part of his troops in ambuſh in all convenient and advantageous ſituations. Having proved victorious over Antiochus in ſeveral encounters, Simon renewed his league of friendſhip with the Romans, and paſſed the remainder of his life in happineſs and tranquillity.

---

* Scaliger in his notes upon Euſebius, ſuſpects this paſſage to be corrupted, and alters it ſo as to repreſent the death of Jonathan to have happened in the fourteenth year of his pontificate, when he had governed the Jewiſh nation eighteen years.

CHAP. XIV.

Simon murdered by Ptolemy, and his wife and two ſons made priſoner. His other ſon eſcapes to Jeruſalem.

WHEN Simon had held the government of Judea for eight years, he was invited to an entertainment by Ptolemy his ſon-in-law, and there cruelly murdered by him‡. Ptolemy made priſoners of the wife and two of the ſons of Simon, and employed ruffians to ſurprize and take away the life of John, the third ſon, who was called Hyrcanus: but receiving timely information of the treachery, he fled to Jeruſalem, where he experienced the moſt friendly behaviour from the people, who entertained a great veneration for the memory of Simon, and a deadly abhorrence of Ptolemy, whom they courageouſly repulſed upon his attempting to enter at one gate of the city, after Hyrcanus had gained admittance at another.

Simon conquers Cendebeus. 1 Mac. xvi. 8, 10.

CONCLUSION OF THE HISTORY OF THE BIBLE.

CHAP. XV.

Hyrcanus ſucceeds to the pontificate, and beſieges Ptolemy in the caſtle of Dagon. The mother and brothers of Hyrcanus expoſed upon the battlements, and threatened to be caſt down, unleſs the army is drawn off. The fortitude of the mother. She and her ſons are put to death. Ptolemy flies to Zeno.

Simon murdered by Ptolemy, 11, 17.

PTOLEMY retired to the caſtle of Dagon, which was ſituated in the neighbourhood of Jericho. As the ſucceſſor of his father, Hyrcanus aſſumed the pontifical dignity. He marched to attack the caſtle to which Ptolemy had retreated. In the proſecution of this enterprize, the great difficulty he had to ſurmount, was a natural tenderneſs towards his mother and brethren, whom Ptolemy cauſed to be whipped and otherwiſe publicly tormented upon the battlements, threatening to caſt them down, unleſs Hyrcanus immediately raiſed the ſiege. This terrible menace abated the reſolution of Hyrcanus, who judged, that if he proceeded in his firſt deſign, the conſequence would be an aggravation of cruelty to his relations. His mother obſerving his embarraſſment, called to him aloud, urging him, without conſidering the ſufferings of herſelf and her ſons, to avenge the injuries his family had received, and expreſſing a willingneſs to expire under the moſt excruciating torments, on condition that the barbarous and unnatural tyrant Ptolemy ſhould meet a puniſhment proportioned to the enormity of his guilt. This inſtance of generoſity and fortitude animated Hyrcanus to a vigorous aſſault; but he obſerved, that in proportion to the force he exerted for reducing the fort, additional cruelty was exerciſed upon his mother; and his deſire of revenge yielding to filial tenderneſs, the ſiege was protracted, till the arrival of the ſabbatical year, which put a period to the war. Every ſeventh year, as well as every ſeventh day, is obſerved by the Jews as a time of reſt. The war being concluded, Ptolemy put the mother and brothers of Hyrcanus to death, and then fled for refuge to Philadelphia, the government of which place had been uſurped by the tyrant Zeno, who was ſurnamed Cotyla.

The ſabbatical year, or the year of reſt.

CHAP. XVI.

Antiochus beſieges Jeruſalem. He grants a truce for ſeven days. Hyrcanus and Antiochus contract an alliance. Antiochus dies, and is ſucceeded by Demetrius.

STimulated by the diſgraces he had been ſubjected to by Simon, the father of Hyrcanus, Antiochus in the fourth year of his reign, in the firſt of that of Hyrcanus, and in the one hundred and ſecond olympiad*, made an incurſion into Judea; and having committed great devaſtation in that country, compelled Hyrcanus to take refuge within the city, which he ſurrounded with his army divided into ſeven bodies. The great ſtrength of the walls, and the bravery with which the place was defended,

Antiochus beſieges Je ſalem.

---

‡ This fact is recorded ſomewhat differently 1 Mac. xvi. where it is ſaid, Simon and his two ſons Matthias and Judas were all three ſlain by Ptolemy at a banquet, without making any mention of his wife.

* In the ſecond of the one hundred and ſixty-firſt Olympiad, according to the reading of Petitus in his Eclog. Chronolog. l. ii. c. 6. and Scaliger's notes upon Euſeb. p. 135.

tiochus eaks into dea, forces yrcanusinto ufalem. d beſieges in it.

ed, for ſome time prevented any conſiderable advantages being gained by the aſſailants. Antiochus directed his force againſt the northern quarter of the city, which was the leaſt capable of defence. He cauſed to be erected an hundred turrets, each conſiſting of three ſtories, ſtationing in them a great number of troops, who maintained the aſſault with great vigour. To cut off all communication with the country he formed a double line of circumvallation of conſiderable extent. But notwithſtanding theſe operations, the troops made frequent ſallies from the fort to annoy the enemy, when they appeared to be the leaſt prepared for defence. Such of the inhabitants as did not bear arms in ſupport of the common cauſe, Hyrcanus compelled to depart from the city; but the retreat of theſe unfortunate people being intercepted by Antiochus, great numbers of them periſhed under the walls of the city through want of food.

Upon the arrival of the feaſt of the tabernacles, the ſurvivors of thoſe who had been expelled the town, were permitted to return. On occaſion of this feſtival, the inhabitants requeſted Antiochus to grant a truce for ſeven days, and he readily complied, and in addition ſent them a number of bulls with gilded horns, and other beaſts for ſacrifice together with gold and ſilver veſſels containing a variety of the moſt eſteemed perfumes and ſpices, beſides a large ſupply of proviſions. His conduct in every inſtance was contrary to that of Antiochus Epiphanes, who, upon conquering the city, proved his contempt of the inſtitutions and ceremonies of the Jews, by ſacrificing hogs upon the altar, and polluting the holy place with liquor in which the fleſh of thoſe animals had been boiled. This affront produced an irreconcilable animoſity. The piety of the preſent Antiochus obtained him the ſurname of the pious, and he was held in the higheſt eſtimation by all ranks of people.

The generoſity of Antiochus encouraged Hyrcanus to diſpatch an embaſſy requeſting that he would permit the Jews to live agreeable to the eſtabliſhed laws and cuſtoms of their nation. Antiochus, in oppoſition to the court-faction, complied, on the condition that the Jews ſhould lay down their arms, ſecure to him the tribute of Joppa and other cities, and admit a garriſon into Jeruſalem. The garriſon was objected to, on the plea of the neceſſary inconvenience of mixing with ſtrangers; and to compound this matter, an offer was made of five hundred talents* and hoſtages for a due performance of the treaty. Three hundred talents being paid in part, and the hoſtages, one of which was the brother of Hyrcanus, being delivered, the ſiege was raiſed.

Hyrcanus takes three thouſand talents out of David's tomb

The ſepulchre of David, the richeſt ſovereign who had been known, Hyrcanus cauſed to be opened; and thence he took three thouſand talents† whereby he was enabled to hire reinforcements to his army: he was the firſt among the Jews who entertained foreign troops. He now formed an alliance with Antiochus, and invited that king and his army into the city, where he received and entertained them with the utmoſt magnificence. As it is recorded by Nicolaus Damaſcenus, he accompanied Antiochus to the Parthian war. This hiſtorian ſays, "After Antiochus had ſubdued the Parthian army under the command of Indates, he conſtructed a triumphal arch upon the banks of the river Lycus; and that at the interceſſion of Hyrcanus, a Jew, he remained at this place two days: the Jews being forbid by their laws to travel on the feſtival, which happened to occur at that time." This feſtival was the feaſt of the pentecoſt, which immediately followed the ſabbath; and on neither of thoſe days were the people of our nation allowed to travel.

Antiochus gave battle to Arſaces, king of the Parthians, and in this encounter he loſt his life and his army. Upon his kingdom being invaded, Arſaces gave liberty to his captive Demetrius, who ſucceeded his brother Antiochus in the government of Syria.

CHAP. XVII.

Hyrcanus ſubjugates the country of Idumea, and contracts a freſh alliance with the Romans. Demetrius is conquered, and flies to Ptolemais for ſhelter. He is put to death. Alexander is ſlain in battle. Account of the wars between Antiochus Gryphus and his brother Antiochus Cyricenus.

---

* Five hundred Hebrew talents weighed fifty ſeven thouſand, thirty one pounds, three ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to an hundred ſeventy one thouſand ninety three pounds, fifteen ſhillings, Engliſh money. Three hundred talents weighed thirty four thouſand two hundred and eighteen pounds, nine ounces; the value in ſilver amounted to one hundred two thouſand ſix hundred and fifty ſix pounds, five ſhillings.

† Three thouſand talents weighed three hundred forty thouſand one hundred ſixty ſeven pounds, ſix ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to one million, twenty-ſix thouſand, five hundred ſixty-two pounds, ten ſhillings, of our money. A ſtory ſo very improbable to be true, that Joſephus has incurred the cenſure of ſeveral learned men for taking notice of it.

Upon the death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus marches immediately into Syria.

UPON receiving information of the death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus led his army into Syria, expecting to find that country greatly depopulated; and this conjecture proved to be juſtly founded. After a ſiege of ſix months he ſubdued Medaba; and he ſoon after made himſelf maſter of Samega, and other places in that neighbourhood; he then proceeded to the conqueſt of Sichem, Garizim, and the land of the Chuthites, where one of the governors, named Sanballat, in compliment to his ſon-in-law Manaſſeh, the brother of Jaddas, the high-prieſt, having obtained the permiſſion of Alexander, conſtructed a temple on the model of that at Jeruſalem, as we have before related; this temple was deſtroyed about two hundred years after it had been built. He reduced Adora, Mariſſa, and other places of ſtrength in Idumea, and proſecuted his ſucceſſes till he had ſubdued the whole province. He then iſſued a proclamation, enjoining the departure of thoſe who would not ſubmit to circumciſion. Rather than abandon the land, the people acquieſced in this and every other Jewiſh inſtitution: and ſince that period they have been numbered among the people denominated Jews.

Hyrcanus, the high-prieſt, now diſpatched an embaſſy to the ſenate of Rome, with letters. Fanius, ſon of Marcus Præter, aſſembled a ſenate in the field of Mars, on the eighth of the Ides of March, Lucius Manlius, ſon of Lucius Mentina, and Caius Sempronius, ſon of Caius Falerna, being preſent to deliberate on the propoſed treaty and other public buſineſs which Simon, the ſon of Doſitheus, Apollonius ſon of Alexander, and Didorus, ſon of Jaſon, were commiſſioned to negotiate with the ſenate. It was ſtipulated that reſtoration ſhould be made of the cities and ports of Joppa, Gazara, the fountains, and other places, which, in violation of a decree of the ſenate, had been uſurped by Antiochus; that the king's troops ſhould not paſs through that or any other part of the Roman territories without permiſſion: and that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed for eſtimating the loſſes conſequent on his devaſtations, for which full reparation ſhould be made. On theſe conditions the propoſed treaty was accepted by the ſenate, who aſſured the honourable deputies on the part of the Jews, that on the firſt opportunity an anſwer in form ſhould be returned, and that no injury ſhould in future be offered to them. Fanius was commiſſioned to ſupply the ambaſſadors with money from the public treaſury, for defraying the charge of their return; and they were likewiſe furniſhed with letters of recommendation to the governors and officers of the ſeveral places through which they were to paſs.

During theſe tranſactions, Demetrius was heartily diſpoſed to commence hoſtilities againſt Hyrcanus: but he was not in a condition to effect this deſign, being generally deteſted by the Syrians and his own ſoldiers, who uniting in a confederacy againſt him, requeſted Ptolemy, otherwiſe Phyſcon, king of Egypt, to ſend to them a deſcendant of the houſe of Seleucus, whom they would inveſt with the ſovereignty. Ptolemy ſent Alexander ſurnamed Zebina, attended by a numerous army. An engagement enſued, and Demetrius being defeated, fled to Ptolemais, where Cleopatra, his wife, then reſided; but being denied entrance into the city, he repaired to Tyre, where he was ſeized by his enemies, who after keeping him ſome time in a miſerable exiſtence, deprived him of life.

The kingdom of Syria being now under the ſovereignty of Alexander Zebina, a league was formed between this new king and Hyrcanus, the high-prieſt, who ſoon after was engaged in hoſtilities with Antiochus Gryphus, ſon of Demetrius. Alexander ſupported his ally in this war; and when the armies joined battle, it was his fortune to be ſlain. Upon the death of Alexander, Antiochus ſucceeded to the throne of Syria; but he checked his deſire of proceeding againſt the Jews, in conſequence of intelligence being communicated to him that his brother, and name-ſake Antiochus, who was ſurnamed Cyzicenus, was raiſing an army at the town of Cyzicus, for the purpoſe of oppoſing his operations. We have before obſerved that Cleopatra was married to two brothers. Upon the arrival of Cyricenus in Syria, an engagement enſued between him and his brother; and, indeed they lived in a perpetual ſtate of animoſity and warfare. In the mean time Hyrcanus enjoyed an uninterrupted tranquillity: for, upon the deceaſe of Antiochus Soter, he no longer acknowledged himſelf to be either a ſubject or ally of the Macedonians. The affairs of Hyrcanus were in a flouriſhing ſtate during the time of Alexander Zebina, but ſtill more ſo in the ſovereignty of the brothers; for while they were harraſſing each other to deſtruction, Cyricenus committing devaſtation in the country, and the other having no aſſiſtance from Egypt, he enjoyed perfect eaſe and ſafety in Judea, where he amaſſed immenſe wealth.

Alexander ſlain in a b tle with A tioch.

CHAP. XVIII.

Hyrcanus beſieges Samaria. Antiochus Cyricenus is repulſed by Ariſtobulas. The deſtruction

ſtruction of Samaria. Hyrcanus diſavows the principles of the Phariſees, and adopts thoſe of the Sadducees. The death of Hyrcanus.

NOtwithſtanding the inhabitants of the city reſided in a part of Judea, they were ſubjects to the king of Syria. The indignities he had received from the Samaritans ſo highly incenſed Hyrcanus, that he determined to direct the whole force of his arms againſt the ſtrongly fortified city of Samaria, which was rebuilt and called Sebaſte by Herod, of which we ſhall ſpeak more particularly hereafter. He begirt the town with a ditch of conſiderable width, and a double wall of great ſtrength, appointing his ſons Antigonus and Ariſtobulus to proſecute the ſiege; which was conducted with ſuch vigour, that in a ſhort time a terrible famine raged in the city, the inhabitants being reduced to the neceſſity of ſupporting themſelves on carrion. In this extremity they ſolicited relief from Antiochus Cyzicenus, who directly marched to their aſſiſtance; but was repulſed by Ariſtobulus, who being joined by Antigonus, they purſued him to Sythopolis.

The brothers returned to Samaria, and renewed the ſiege; in conſequence of which, the people again requeſted aſſiſtance from Cyzicenus; and he prevailed upon Ptolemy, ſurnamed Lathurus to ſupply him with ſix thouſand men. The grant of theſe troops ſo greatly offended the mother of Ptolemy, that he was in the moſt imminent danger of loſing his kingdom. With theſe Egyptian forces Antiochus ravaged part of the country of Hyrcanus; his motive being to entice the troops from the ſiege by a diverſion, as he was not in a condition to oppoſe the whole force of his antagoniſt. But from deſertions, many of his troops falling into ambuſhes, and other accidents, he deſpaired of ſucceſs; and appointing Callimander and Epicrates to the conduct of the war, he retired to Tripoli.

Callimander ſlain, and his army routed.

Callimander engaged in a raſh expedition, wherein his army was deſtroyed and himſelf ſlain. The Jews bribed Epicrates to ſurrender Sythopolis and other places. After a ſiege which continued a year, Hyrcanus became maſter of Samaria, which he utterly deſtroyed, and by forming water-courſes, and other meaſures, the appearance of the ſpot was entirely changed, and no veſtige remained of the buildings. There is a ſurpriſing, and perhaps an incredible, tradition reſpecting Hyrcanus. It is related that being alone offering incenſe in the temple, a voice from Heaven informed him, that his ſons had obtained a victory over Antiochus Cyzicenus; and that he immediately went forth to the people, and communicated to them the revelation, which was ſoon after confirmed. This extraordinary incident is ſaid to have happened at the preciſe time in which Cyzicenus was defeated.

Not only the Jews of Jeruſalem, and Alexandria, but thoſe of Egypt, Cyprus, and other places were now in a flouriſhing ſituation: for in conſequence of a diſagreement between Cleopatra and her ſon Ptolemy Lathurus, the queen had committed the command of her army to Chelcias, and Ananias, the ſon of Onias, by whom a temple, after the model of that of Jeruſalem, had been built in the territory of Heliopolis. The queen was wholly influenced by the advice of theſe men. Strabo, the Cappadocian, ſays, "Great numbers of thoſe who came with us to Cyrus, as well as thoſe who were afterwards ſent thither by Cleopatra, abandoned the queen, and attached themſelves to the intereſt of Ptolemy; but the Jews of Onias's party continued in allegiance to her, in gratitude for the diſtinction ſhe had beſtowed upon their friends and countrymen Chelcias and Ananias."

Hyrcanus envied by the Jews and Phariſees.

The ſucceſs of Hyrcanus attracted the envy of the Jews, and particularly of that ſect called Phariſees. The influence of this faction was ſo great, as conſtantly to prevail over the multitude, even in oppoſition to the ſentiments of the king and the high-prieſt. Hyrcanus, who had been educated among the Phariſees, invited them to an entertainment; and when his hoſpitality had cauſed a circulation of good humour, he addreſſed them to the following effect: "Since I profeſs your own principles, it is ſcarcely neceſſary te obſerve, my friends, that my moſt ſanguine wiſh is to render myſelf acceptable to the Almighty, and to obſerve a ſtrict juſtice to my neighbour. If I have violated my duty, it is your buſineſs to admoniſh me, and it ſhall be mine to effect a reformation of my conduct." This ſpeech was received with great applauſe, which afforded Hyrcanus conſiderable pleaſure.

One of the gueſts named Eleazar, a man of a malignant diſpoſition, anſwered him thus: "Having declared yourſelf an advocate for truth and plain dealing, you cannot be offended if I recommend a reſignation of the pontificate, and that you apply yourſelf only to the diſcharge of your civil authority." Being aſked by Hyrcanus the reaſon for making the propoſal, he ſaid, "Becauſe our elders have related that your mother was a ſlave in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes." The Phariſees and Hyrcanus were the more offended at this charge

Jonathan, a Sadducee, irritates Hyrcanus againſt the Phariſees, who renounces them and turns Sadducee.

charge, as it had no foundation in truth. A particular friend to Hyrcanus, named Jonathan, inſiſted that the ſlander of Eleazar had been previouſly concerted by the Phariſees, againſt whom he bore a violent enmity being, himſelf a Sadducee. He ſaid to Hyrcanus, that the truth of his obſervation would be confirmed, upon demanding what puniſhment was due to the man who had uttered ſo vile a calumny. The queſtion being propoſed, the anſwer was, that being a people diſpoſed to mercy, they did not adjudge defamation to be an offence deſerving death, and that they were of opinion impriſonment and whipping would be ſufficient puniſhment. This reply induced Hyrcanus to believe, that the Phariſees in general were concerned in the calumniation of his family; and he was ſo violently inflamed againſt them by Jonathan, that he abrogated their laws, ſubjected thoſe who ſhould obſerve them to ſevere penalties, and attached himſelf to the Sadducees. It will appear, in the proper place, that this conduct rendered himſelf and his ſons extremely unpopular. The Phariſees had many traditions which were not included in the laws of Moſes. The authority of theſe traditions was denied by the Sadducees, who conſidered themſelves bound in obedience only to the written laws In the contentions between theſe ſects, the Sadducees were ſupported by the people of quality and wealth, and the Phariſees by the multitude. The particulars reſpcting theſe ſects, and the Eſſenes, will be found in the hiſtory of the wars of the Jews.

Having quelled this diſſenſion, Hyrcanus enjoyed the remaining part of his life in uninterrupted peace and happineſs. He died in the thirty-firſt year of his government leaving five ſons. The Almighty was pleaſed to beſtow upon him three eminent diſtinctions, viz. the civil government, the high-prieſthood, and the ſpirit of prophecy. He predicted by a divine revelation, that his two eldeſt ſons would not long enjoy the government; and the prophecy was verified, as will appear in the following chapter.

CHAP. XIX.

Ariſtobulus prcoures himſelf to be declared king. His cruelty towards his mother and brethern. Antigonus put to death in the manner foretold by the prophet Judas. The death of Ariſtobulus.

ARISTOBULUS, the eldeſt ſon of the deceaſed Hyrcanus, aboliſhed the ariſtocracy, and transformed the government into a monarchy, 481 years after the return of the Jews from their captivity in Babylon. Having aſſumed the ſovereignty, he admitted his next brother, whoſe name was Antigonus, to ſome ſhare in the government: but his other three brothers and his mother, he ordered into cloſe confinement. Conſidering his mother as his rival, in conſequence of Hyrcanus having bequeathed her all that was in his power to leave, this monſter of barbarity actually ſtarved her to death in her confinement.

At the time of ſolemnizing the feaſt of the tabernacles, Ariſtobulus was confined to his bed by ſickneſs, when Antigonus in great martial pomp repaired to the temple, in order to offer up prayers for his brother's recovery; and his enemies availed themſelves of this occaſion to inſinuate to the king, that the ſtate he aſſumed was an evidence that he aſpired to the throne. Though he did not give that credit to all the malevolent ſuggeſtions againſt his brother, he imagined they might have ſome foundation in truth, and therefore reſolved upon his deſtruction. The king ſtationed a party of ſoldiers in a ſubterraneous paſſage of the tower, which has ſince received the name of Antonia, with orders that if Antigonus ſhould come that way unarmed, they ſhould not moleſt him, but that if he ſhould be prepared for defence, to put him to death. He now diſpatched a meſſenger to deſire Antigonus would attend him in his apartment, and ſtrictly to enjoin him to come unarmed. However, the queen and the other enemies of Antigonus prevailed upon the meſſenger to ſay that the king was deſirous of ſeeing him equipped in a fine ſuit of armour that had lately come into his poſſeſſion. Unſuſpicious of the treachery, Antigonus immediately went forth compleatly armed, and was ſlain by the guards ſtationed in the dark paſſage of the tower.

Antigonus murdered in Straton's tower.

Judas, a prophet of high reputation, obſerving Antigonus go towards the temple, told his diſciples that he was weary of his exiſtence, ſince his credit as a prophet was entirely loſt; for Antigonus, whoſe death he had predicted would take place that day in Straton's tower, was living, at the diſtance of ſix hundred furlongs * from the place, and more than half the day had elapſed. Soon afterwards, news was brought to Judas, that Antigonus had been ſlain under the tower, according to his prediction. This building was called Straton's tower, as well as that on the coaſt, afterwards named Ceſarea, to which the prophet alluded, as being at the diſtance of ſix hundred furlongs. The ſe-

---

* Six hundred furlongs were nearly equal to ſeventy-ſix Engliſh miles.

vere

iſtobulus ack with a morſe of nſcience.

s laſt agony, and conſion of his ickedneſs.

vere upbraidings of his conſcience for the barbarous murder of his brother, greatly increaſed the diſtemper of Ariſtobulus, and a vomiting of blood enſued: as an attendant was conveying ſome of it away in a veſſel, he ſpilt a part, ſeemingly by the direction of Providence, on the ſpot where Antigonus's blood were yet to be ſeen. This event, which was ſuppoſed to have happened from deſign, produced ſome diſorder, the cauſe of which the king anxiouſly enquired; and having extorted it from his attendants by entreaties and threats, he ſaid, "The all-ſeeing Power hath detected my iniquity, and my brother's murder hath called down the vengeance of Heaven upon me. How long ſhall I hold that life which is forfeited to the blood of a mother and brother? Rather, why do I not expire on a ſudden, than thus yield my life drop by drop, as if the ſevereſt puniſhment was inadequate to my guilt?" Upon uttering theſe words, Ariſtobulus, who was ſurnamed Philellen, ſignifying a lover of the Greeks, inſtantly died, having reigned only one year. He ſubdued and annexed a conſiderable part of Iturea to the territory of Judea, and compelled the people to ſubmit to circumciſion and other Jewiſh inſtitutions, on the penalty of baniſhment, and he performed other important ſervices to his country. Excepting in reſpect to the matters already urged againſt him, he was conſidered as a man of modeſty and juſtice. On the authority of Timagenes, Strabo ſpeaks of Ariſtobulus in the following manner: "He had ſome good qualities, and in many inſtances proved himſelf a friend to the Jews, whoſe juriſdiction he extended over a great part of Iturea, and united the people in the common bond of circumciſion.

CHAP. XX.

Salome, the widow of Ariſtobulus, gives liberty to the three brothers of her deceaſed huſband, and advances Janneus Alexander to the throne. He puts one of his brothers to death. He beſieges Ptolmais. Ptolemy takes Aſochis by aſſault.

SALOME, called Alexandra by the Greeks, reſtored the three brothers of her deceaſed huſband to liberty, and advanced Janneus, otherwiſe Alexander, to the throne.

It was the fortune of Alexander to incur his father's averſion ſoon after his birth, and this is ſaid to be the reaſon of his diſpleaſure: Hyrcanus had a dream that the Almighty appeared to him, and that upon aſking who ſhould be his ſucceſſor, the reſemblance of Alexander was immediately repreſented to him. This circumſtance prejudiced him ſo much againſt Alexander that he ſent him to be brought up in Galilee. Alexander cauſed one of his brothers to be put to death, for having attempted to ſupplant him in the government: but he made a liberal proviſion for the other brother, who contented himſelf with living in a private ſtation.

Alexander beſieges Ptolemais

Having regulated the affairs of his government, Alexander marched an army to Ptolemais, and encountering the enemy, obliged them to retreat into the town, which he ſurrounded with his troops. Gaza, another ſea-coaſt town, at this time remained unſubdued, as did Dora and the tower of Straton, they being in poſſeſſion of Zoilus. The power of Antiochus Philometer and his brother Antiochus Cyzicenus was ſo exhauſted by the wars they had maintained againſt each other, that the people of Ptolemais could not hope for aſſiſtance from them. Hoping the diviſions prevailing between the brothers would operate to his own advantage, Zoilus ſent ſome troops to the relief of Ptolemais, but their number was not ſufficient to be of conſiderable ſervice. Having no proſpect of aſſiſtance from Egypt, the people of Ptolemais diſpatched an embaſſy to ſolicit ſuccour from Ptolemy Lathurus, who having been compelled to evacuate his kingdom by his mother Cleopatra, had retired to Cyprus. The ambaſſadors were authorized to inform him, that there was no reaſon to doubt of the people of Gaza and Ptolemais declaring in his favour immediately upon his entering Syria, and that he would be ſupported by Zoilus, the Sidonians, and other neighbouring people. Hereupon, Ptolemy ordered a fleet to be equipped for the expedition with all poſſible ſpeed.

In the mean time, Demenetus, a man of great reputation and influence, repreſented to the people of Ptolemais, that by putting themſelves under the protection of Ptolemy their ſituation would be rendered ſtill more calamitous, ſince they ſhould thereby provoke the diſpleaſure of Cleopatra, who it could not be ſuppoſed would remain inactive while he was ſtrengthening his intereſt with the neighbouring provinces. The arguments of Demenetus deſtroyed all the hopes the people had entertained of the ſucceſs of their embaſſy; and of this Ptolemy received information during his paſſage: but he, notwithſtanding, determined to proceed.

Diſembarking at Sycamin, Ptolemy with an army of about thirty thouſand horſe and foot, marched towards Ptolemais. On his arrival before the city, he diſpatched an embaſſy to the inhabitants;

but they refuſed to receive his meſſage, declining all intercourſe both with the king and his agents. Thus diſappointed, Ptolemy was extremely embarraſſed as to what meaſure he ſhould purſue. While in this perplexity, Zoilus and ſome deputies from Gaza applied to Ptolemy, informing him that the Jews and Alexander were committing great devaſtation in their territories, and requeſting his aſſiſtance to repulſe them.

Being informed that Ptolemy was preparing to march agaiſt him, Alexander deemed it a meaſure of prudence to raiſe the ſiege. He engaged in a ſecret treaty with Cleopatra to ſubdue Ptolemy whom he, at the ſame time, treated as a friend and ally offering him four hundred talents of ſilver, on condition of ſurrendering to him the uſurper Zoilus, and reſtoring to the Jews the lands which he poſſeſſed, and had formerly belonged to them. Ptolemy readily embraced the propoſal, and ſeized Zoilus, but upon diſcovering that Alexander had privately made propoſals to Cleopatra, he conſidered the treaty to be violated, and therefore laid ſiege to Ptolemais. He appointed one partof his army to proſecute the ſiege, and led the other to ravage the country of Judea. Alexander aſſembled an army, which ſome aſſert was compoſed of fifty, and others of eighty thouſand troops, to oppoſe the operations of Ptolemy, who, taking advantage of the ſabbath-day, ſubdued Aſochis, a city in Galilee, by aſſault, acquired an immenſe booty, and made about ten thouſand of the people priſoners.

Aſochis taken by Ptolemy.

CHAP. XXI.

Ptolemy Lathurus conquers Alexander, and takes Ptolemais by aſſault. Cleopatra joins the Jews in oppoſing Ptolemy, who is driven out of Egypt and ſlain. Alexander reduces Gadara and Amathon. Gaza beſieged. After murdering Lyſimachus, Apollodotus treacherouſly ſurrenders the city. A dreadful maſſacre. Antiochus Gryphus ſlain, Antiochus Cyzicenus taken priſoner, and put to death by Seleucus, Demetrius Eucerus made king of Damaſcus. Antiochus killed by the Parthians. Philip and Demetrius ſucceed him. Alexander puts ſix thouſand of his ſubjects to death. A rebellion in which fifty thouſand Jews are killed.

AFTER the reduction of Aſochis, Ptolemy aſſaulted Sepphoris; but he was defeated with conſiderable loſs. He then led his army againſt Alexander, whom he met with in the neighbourhood of Aſſophus, adjacent to the river of Jordan, and pitched his camp oppoſite to that of the enemy. The van of Alexander's army was compoſed of eight thouſand of the ſoldiers called Hecatontomachi, who were provided with brazen bucklers. In the front of his forces Ptolemy had ſome warriors equipped in the ſame manner, but his followers were not in general ſo well armed as their adverſaries, and they were therefore the leſs anxious for an engagement. Philoſtephanus, an officer of great ſkill and experience, encouraged them to expect ſucceſs. They croſſed the river; and to this movement Alexander, who was ſtationed on the oppoſite ſhore, made no oppoſition, judging that he ſhould with leſs difficulty obtain a conqueſt if he could attack the enemy while they were in a ſituation from which the river behind them would render a retreat impracticable. The battle was ſuſtained with great bravery on both ſides: upon a body of Ptolemy's troops giving way victory ſeemed to favour Alexander: but Philoſtephanus arriving with a reinforcement, the Jews was compleatly routed, and they were purſued till Ptolemy's ſoldiers were greatly fatigued, and their ſwords blunted by the ſlaughter they made. Thirty thouſand are recorded to have been ſlain on this occaſion. Timagenes ſays, in his hiſtory, that the number was fifty thouſand.

Alexander put to the rout, with the loſs of 3000 men.

After this terrible carnage, Ptolemy went to ſome villages belonging to the Jews, and commanded his ſoldiers to murder all the women and children, and after cutting their bodies into pieces to boil them in pots over different fires. He had recourſe to this horrid ſtratagem, in order to ſtrike terror into thoſe that had eſcaped by flight, by inducing them to believe that his people were addicted to feed upon human fleſh. This ſhocking act of barbarity is mentioned both by Strabo and Nicolaus. Ptolemy alſo attacked and ſubdued the city of Ptolemais.

A barbarous butchery of Ptolemy.

Judea being ravaged, and Gaza ſubdued Cleopatra, deemed it expedient to check the inſatiable ambition of her ſon Ptolemy; and to this ſhe was further induced by his approach to Egypt with a deſign of uſurping the government. Collecting her ſea and land forces with all poſſible expedition, ſhe appointed two Jews, named Chelcias and Ananias, her generals, and tranſported her grand children, her laſt will and teſtament, and her moſt valuable treaſure to the iſland of Coas. After diſpatching her ſon Alexander with a powerful navy to Phœnicia, for the purpoſe of preſerving that province in tranquillity, the queen repaired to Ptolemais, where being refuſed admittance, ſhe ordered the city to be aſſailed. Hereupon, Ptolemy led his army from Syria into Egypt, expecting to find that country in a defenceleſs ſtate:

but in this conjecture he was miſtaken; for he was defeated by the queen's army. Chelcias, one of Cleopatra's generals, was killed, while in purſuit of Ptolemy in Cœle-Syria.

After his miſcarriage in the above attempt, Cleopatra diſpatched a ſtrong detachment in purſuit of Ptolemy, and they driving him again out of his own country, he was under the neceſſity of taking up his winter quarters at Gaza. In the mean time, the queen's army took the city of Ptolemais by aſſault. Cleopatra received divers valuable preſents from Alexander, towards whom ſhe conducted herſelf in the moſt gracious and reſpectful manner, conſidering him as a prince violently perſecuted, and as having no reſource for relief but in herſelf. Some of the queen's confidents endeavoured to perſuade her to ſeizemlexander and make herſelf miſtreſs of his kingdom: but this advice was oppoſed by Ananias, who urged that ſo flagrant a breach of faith would excite the indignation of all the honeſt part of the Jewiſh nation. The conduct of Ananias in this buſineſs was highly approved by the queen, who now renewed her league of amity with Alexander at the city of Scythopolis in Cœle-Syria.

Being no longer in dread of the power Ptolemy, Alexander undertook an expedition againſt Gadara, in Cœle-Syria, and after a ſiege of ten months reduced that place. He then proceeded to Amathon, by much the ſtrongeſt fort on he river Jordan, where Theodotus, the ſon of Zeno had depoſited his treaſure; and this place he alſo conquered.

Theodotus, in revenge for the injury he had received, attacked the Jews by ſurprize, deſtroyed ten thouſand of them, and made booty of Alexander's baggage. Notwithſtanding this misfortune, the king attacked and ſubdued the ſea-coaſt towns called Raphia, and Anthedon, to which Herod afterwards gave the name of Agrippiades. Cleopatra had now returned to Egypt, as had Ptolemy from Gaza to Cyprus. Alexander availed himſelf of this opportunity to lay ſiege to the city of Gaza and ravage the country, in order to revenge himſelf upon the people for having formerly ſolicited Ptolemy to join in repulſing him. Apollodotus, attended by ten thouſand citizens and two thouſand mercenaries, made an intrepid ſally one night upon the camp of the enemy, who ſuppoſing Ptolemy had come to the relief of the beſieged were greatly diſconcerted: but when day light diſcovered their miſtake, they rallied, and charged Apollodotus with ſo much fury as to kill ten thouſand of his party. Notwithſtanding this defeat, and being threatened by famine, the people of Gaza determined to encounter all difficulties rather than ſubmit to the enemy; and they were encouraged to perſiſt in this reſolution by Aretas, the Arabian king: but he did not afford the timely aſſiſtance he had promiſed them.

Lyſimachus being envious of his brother Apollodotus for the great reputation he had acquired, barbarouſly murdered him; and then with the concurrence of his adherents, treacherouſly ſurrendered the city to Alexander. Upon entering the town, he ſeemed inclined to moderation: but he ſoon gave his troops unlimited liberty for deſtruction, and a terrible carnage enſued, in which, however, as many of the Jews as of the people of Gaza were ſlain. Some of the inhabitants fired their own houſes that they might not be plundered by the enemy; and ſome killed their wives and children, preferring that they ſhould die in freedom rather than live in bondage. The ſenators were in council when Alexander entered the city, and five hundred of them fled to the temple of Apollo for ſanctuary, but they were all ſlain, and the city was pillaged, and entirely deſtroyed. Alexander now returned to Jeruſalem, after having employed a year in the expedition againſt Gaza.

Nearly at this period Antiochus Gryphus fell a ſacrifice to the treachery of Heraclean in the nine-and-twentieth year of his ſovereignty, and in the forty-fifth year of his age. He was ſucceeded in the government by his ſon Seleucus, who commenced war againſt his uncle Antiochus Cyzicenus whom he ſubdued in an engagement, and afterwards put to death.

Some time after the deceaſe of Cyzicenus his ſon Antiochus, ſurnamed Euſebes, was crowned at Arad. He declared war againſt Seleucus, whom he defeated and drove out of Syria. Seleucus fled to Cilicia; and notwithſtanding he was received in a moſt friendly manner, he impoſed upon the Mopſeates the moſt oppreſſive taxes, which ſo greatly incenſed them, that they ſet fire to the palace, wherein Seleucus and his attendants were conſumed.

During the government of Antiochus Cyzicenus in Syria, a brother of Seleucus, who was alſo named Antiochus, declared war againſt him, in which Cyzicenus loſt his life. He was ſucceeded in the ſovereignty by his brother Philip, who reigned over a part of Syria. Hereupon, Ptolemy Lathurus advanced Demetrus Eucerus his fourth brother to the throne of Damaſcus. Antiochus defended himſelf with great bravery againſt his brother; but eſpouſing the cauſe of Loadice, queen of the Galadenes, in the war with the Parthians, he was ſlain in battle, after performing great exploits of valour. He was ſucceeded in the government by his brothers Philip and Demetrius.

About this time Alexander was groſsly inſulted by his ſubjects. In celebrating the feaſt of the tabernacles, the Jews were accuſtomed to march in proceſſion, carrying boughs of palm and citron. While Alexander was preparing to aſſiſt in this ceremony, the people threw citrons at him, calling him ſlave, and applying to him other opprobrious epithets. Highly enraged at theſe proceedings, he cauſed ſix thouſand of the people who had affronted him to be put to death. In conſequence of the above mentioned diſturbance, Alexander cauſed a partition of wood to be placed in the temple, for the purpoſe of preventing any perſons except the prieſts from approaching the altar. He diſliked and placed no confidence in the Syrians: but he engaged as mercenaries for the proſecution of his ſchemes the Piſidians and the Cilicians. He ſubdued the Arabians, laid the Moabites and the Galaadites under contribution, and deſtroyed Amathus, without receiving any oppoſition from Thodorus. He declared war againſt Obed, king of Arabia, and the armies meeting, he was ſurpriſed by an ambuſh and driven into a narrow and craggy paſſage, from whence, with infinite difficulty he retreated to Jeruſalem. This diſappointment was ſucceeded by a rebellion of ſix years, in courſe of which the lives of no leſs than fifty thouſand Jews were loſt. Alexander was extremely deſirous of reſtoring tranquillity: but the more anxiety he expreſſed on this account, the more the multitude were averſe to a reconciliation. At length he demanded by what means he could ſatisfy them, when they replied, that he would give them perfect content by cutting his throat. The people now ſolicited the aſſiſtance of Demetrius Eucerus in oppoſing Alexander.

CHAP. XXII.

Demetrius Eucerus defeats Alexander. Six thouſand Jews join Alexander in the mountains. He takes Bathama, and makes priſoners of the people. Eight hundred Jews with their wives and children maſſacred as a ſpectacle. Philip beſieged in Berea by his brother Demetrius. After being taken priſoner, Demetrius dies. Philip aſcends the throne of Syria.

WITH an army of three thouſand cavalry, and forty thouſand infantry, including auxiliaries, Demetrius Eucerus encamped in the neighbourhood of Sichem. Alexander marched againſt him at the head of twenty thouſand of his own adherents, and about ſix thouſand Greek mercenaries; and he employed every ſtratagem his imagination could ſuggeſt, to ſeduce the troops of his adverſary to join him; and a like conduct was purſued by Demetrius towards the Greek mercenaries: but neither of them was able to ſucceed. The armies joined battle, and Demetrius proved victorious. Great havock was made on both ſides: and the auxiliaries of Alexander fought with aſtoniſhing bravery, every man of them yielding his life ſword in hand.

Alexander fled to the mountains, and compaſſion for his misfortunes ſoon after induced ſix thouſand Jews to join him. This reinforcement proved ſo alarming a circumſtance to Demetrius, that he retired. The reſt of the Jews continued the war againſt Alexander, notwithſtanding they were vanquiſhed, and great ſlaughter was made among them in every engagement. At length they were compelled to ſeek refuge, and moſt of the Jews, and among them the principal men, fled to Bathama, where they were beſieged by Alexander, who, after he had ſubdued the town, carried them priſoners to Jeruſalem, where he exerciſed upon them ſhocking cruelties. He gave a treat to his concubines in a turret which commanded a large proſpect, and ford the entertainment of his company he cauſed eight hundred Jews to be crucified, and the throats of their wives and children to be cut at the ſame time. Thus were the tortures of theſe unhappy victims aggravated, by being witneſſes to the barbarity executed upon thoſe to whom they were connected by the tendereſt bonds. They had revolted againſt their lawful ſovereign, invited foreign powers to ſupport them in rebellion, put his crown and life to the moſt imminent danger, and drove him to the neceſſity of relinquiſhing the poſſeſſions he had obtained in the wars againſt the Moabites and Galaadites, as a gratuity to the king of Arabia, for declining to eſpouſe the cauſe of his refractory ſubjects: theſe, not to mention other circumſtances of a ſimilar kind, were certainly an high provocation to ſeverity of puniſhment: but yet by no means ſufficient to juſtify his unnatural rigour. The above inſtance of cruelty rendered Alexander ſo obnoxious to the Jews, that they diſtinguiſhed him by the appellation of * Thracidas. About eight thouſand of the ſoldiers who had taken up arms againſt the king, eſcaped by night, and lived in retirement during the remaining part of Alex-

Eight hundred Jews crucified for a ſpectacle.

---

* The Thracians being remarkable for a cruelty of diſpoſition, according as Thucydides, and other hiſtorical writers.

ander's reign, which he enjoyed peaceably after the inſurrection above-mentioned had been quelled.

With an army of ten thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe, Demetrius marched from Judea, with a determination to beſiege his brother Philip in the town of Berea.

Straton, the friend of Philip, who held the government of the place, applied to Zizus, a prince of Arabia, and Mithridates Sinaces, king of Parthia, for aſſiſtance. They ſupplied a formidable army to repulſe Demetrius, whoſe people being greatly diſtreſſed for water, and perpetually annoyed by the darts and arrows of the confederate powers, at length ſurrendered. Demetrius being taken priſoner, and ſent as a preſent to Mithridates, king of Parthia. The Antochians who were found in the camp were allowed to return to Antioch. Mithridates behaved to his priſoner with a degree of liberality and reſpect that acquired him great honour: but being ſeized with illneſs, Demetrius died in a ſhort time. Immediately after his victory over his brother, Philip repaired to Antioch, and aſſumed the government of Syria.

Demetrius taken priſoner in his trenches, and ſent to the king of Parthia.

CHAP. XXIII.

Antiochus, otherwiſe Dionyſius declared king of Damaſcus. He is depoſed by Philip. Mileſius excludes Philip from the city, and admits Antiochus. Alexander fortifies the paſſes from Caparſaba. to Joppa. Alexander and Antiochus engage when the latter is routed and ſlain. Aretus choſen king of Cœle-Syria. He defeats Alexander, and afterwards contracts an alliance with him. Alexander takes ſeveral places by aſſault, and after depoſing Demetrius, returns to Jeruſalem. Pella deſtroyed. Alexander dies.

WHILE Philip was engaged in an expedition againſt the Parthians, his brother Antiochus, otherwiſe Dionyſius, procured himſelf to be declared king of Damaſcus. Hereupon, Philip repaired to that city, and having obtained admiſſion, through the means of Mileſius, who had the command of the fort, depoſed Antiochus. Leſt he ſhould be reproached with having gained admittance into the town by bribery, rather than by the authority of his name and character, he offered no gratuity to Mileſius, who on that account determined to ſeek an opportunity of revenge. While Philip was engaged in his uſual exerciſes and diverſions at the circus, Mileſius ſhut the gates of the city againſt him, determining again to receive Antiochus, who was no ſooner informed of what had happened, than marching out of Arabia, he entered Judea with an army of eight thouſand foot, and eight hundred horſe. In conſequence of this incurſion, Alexander cauſed a ditch of conſiderable depth to be cut extending from Caparſaba, now called Antipatris, to the ſea of Joppa, which was the only paſſage whereby acceſs could be gained to the town. He alſo erected a wall running to the length of an hundred and fifty furlongs‡, with wooden towers at proper intervals. By ſetting fire to theſe wooden fortifications, Antiochus gained a paſſage into Arabia, where a battle taking place, the enemy gave way on the firſt attack: but they ſoon after rallied, and advanced with ten thouſand horſe, when an obſtinate and bloody conteſt enſued. Antiochus had ſo greatly the advantage in the combat, that he appeared to be ſecure of victory: but perceiving that one of the wings of his army was in danger of being overpowered, he preſſed to its relief, and in that attempt he was ſlain. The fall of their general ſo diſpirited the ſoldiers, that they fled in confuſion to Cana, where the greateſt part of them periſhed by famine.

Antiochus killed, and his army routed.

Merely from a principle of oppoſition to Ptolemy, the ſon of Menneus, the people of Damaſcus elected Aretus to ſucceed Antiochus Dionyſius in the government of Cœle-Syria. He led an army into Judæa, vanquiſhed Alexander in the neighbourhood of Addida, and after having concluded a treaty with him, returned to Damaſcus.

Alexander ſubdued the city of Dion by aſſault. After this enterprize he proceeded to Eſſa, where Zeno had depoſited all his valuable treaſure: he environed the place with three walls, after which he reduced it by aſſault. He then marched againſt Gaulana, Seleucia, the Vale of Antiochus, and the fortreſs of Gamala, which places he alſo conquered by ſtorm. Many accuſations of mal-adminiſtration, having been exhibited againſt Demetrius, Alexander deprived him of the regal authority. After having employed three years in the above expeditions, Alexander conducted his army back to Jeruſalem; and the Jews received him with the warmeſt congratulations, expreſſing a perfect ſatisfaction in his conduct, which had brought their affairs into ſo proſperous a train.

The Jews were at this time in poſſeſſion of many conſiderable places in Syria, Idumea, and Phœnicia, namely, Apollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Azotus, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, Roinocura, and the tower of Straton, on the ſea-coaſt. In the inland part of Idumea, they had Adora, Mariſſa, Samaria, and the mountains of Carmel and Itabyr, Scythopolis, Gadara, Gaulanitis, Seleucia, and[*] Gabala: in the country of the Moabites, Eſſebon, Medaba, Lemba, Oron, Thelithon, and Zara: and in Cilicia, they were maſters of Aulon, and Pella. The laſt mentioned city was deſtroyed, in conſequence of the inhabitants having refuſed to adopt the laws and cuſtoms of the Jews, who poſſeſſed many places in Syria, which we have not particularized.

---

‡ About nineteen Engliſh miles.

Towards the concluſion of his reign, Alexander became violently addicted to intemperance, the conſequence of which was a quartan ague. He was afflicted with this diſtemper for three years, during which ſpace he ſtill continued his attention to the affairs of government and the army: but his exceſſes and the cares annexed to his ſtation, at length produced his death, which happened on the frontiers of the Geraſens, during the ſiege of the caſtle of Ragaba, ſituated on the other ſide of the Jordan.

The queen Alexandra judging her conſort beyond the poſſibility of recovery, gave way to the violence of grief, and lamented the miſerable ſituation to which herſelf and children would be reduced by his death. "My beloved huſband, ſaid ſhe, what will be the fate of your wife and children if we are deprived of your protection, and left to the mercy of your moſt inveterate foes!" To this Alexander replied, "I particularly requeſt that you follow the advice I am about to give: as the only effectual means to ſecure a peaceable ſucceſſion to yourſelf and children, keep my deceaſe profoundly ſecret from the army, till the caſtle ſhall be ſubdued: then repair in triumph to Jeruſalem with the news of victory; and let your principal care be to ingratiate yourſelf into the eſteem of the Phariſees; for your character will receive its colour from the intereſt you form with that ſect, to whoſe opinions thoſe of the multitude are entirely ſubſervient. The popular clamour againſt me has been raiſed by my oppoſition to them. On your arrival at Jeruſalem, aſſemble the principal men of the Phariſees, expoſe my corps before them, and ſay that from a veneration of their piety and juſtice, you ſurrender the body, either to be allowed the ceremony of interment, or to be treated with contempt and indignity proportioned to my unworthy conduct, as their diſcretion ſhall dictate, aſſuring them, at the ſame time, that in all other matters of a public nature, you will obſerve an implicit obedience to the authority of their advice. Purſue this counſel, and reſt aſſured that my remains will receive the honours of a magnificent funeral, and that yourſelf and your offspring will be confirmed in the dignities of royalty." Having concluded this ſpeech, Alexander expired, being then in the twenty-ſeventh year of his ſovereignty, and the forty-ninth of his age.

Alexander betwixt debauch and fatigue, dies of a quartan ague bfeore Ragaba.

CHAP. XXIV.

Alexandra acts according to the advice of her deceaſed huſband, and the Phariſees conduct the adminiſtration in her name. Hyrcanus, the eldeſt ſon of Alexander, advanced to the pontificate. Ariſtobulus leads an army againſt Ptolemy. Ptolemais beſieged by Tygranes, king of Armenia. Lucullus defeats Mithridates. The forts in poſſeſſion of Alexandra ſubmit to Ariſtobulus, whoſe wife and children ſhe impriſons. The death of Alexandra.

AFTER the caſtle had been ſubdued, the queen agreeably with the advice of her deceaſed huſband, delivered the body to the Phariſees to be diſpoſed of as they ſhould judge expedient, and ſubmitted the adminiſtration of public affairs entirely to their management. Thus Alexandra acquired the friendſhip of the Phariſees, who had before been her moſt inveterate enemies: they addreſſed the multitude, highly extolling the merits of Alexander, and deploring the death of ſo excellent a ſovereign. Such an effect had their diſcourſe upon the minds of the people that they ſolemnized the funeral of Alexander with greater magnificence than had been known on any former occaſion.

Alexander left two ſons, the elder named Hyrcanus, and the other Ariſtobulus; but he bequeathed the regal power to his queen Alexandra. Hyrcanus was but little qualified for the management of ſtate affairs, being naturally diſpoſed to a life of eaſe; but Ariſtobulus on the contrary, was of an active and enterpriſing temper. The diſapprobation which the queen expreſſed of the meaſures of government during the life of her huſband gained her the favour of the people. Through her interpoſition Hyrcanus was advanced to the pontifical dignity. He was not appointed to this office on account of his ſeniority, but becauſe he was of a more tractable diſpoſition than Ariſtobulus.

Though the government was conducted under the authority of the queen's name, ſhe was a mere inſtrument to the Phariſees, to whoſe will ſhe exacted a ſtrict obedience in her ſubjects. The traditions and ordinances of the Phariſees which had been ſuppreſſed by her father-in-law, ſhe cauſed to be revived at the inſtance of this ſect, who alſo obtained her concurrence to the return of exiles, and ſuch other meaſures as they were inclined to effect. She conſiderably augmented her own troops, and had a mercenary army in conſtant pay. In this laſt, and ſome other inſtances, ſhe acted independently of the Phariſees.

---

[*] Card. Norris, in his book de Epocha Syramaced. reads Gamala.

The great power of Alexandra rendered her ſo formidable to the neighbouring ſtates, that they ſent her hoſtages as a ſecurity for not committing acts of hoſtility. The Phariſees were perpetually urging the queen to acts which fomented diſorders in the government. They became exceedingly importunate for vengeance to be executed upon thoſe who had adviſed taking away the lives of the eight hundred Jews, of whom we have already ſpoken. In compliance with their requeſt, Diogenes was put to death, and after him many others. At length, the leading men among thoſe who were perſecuted by the Phariſees repaired to the queen, Ariſtobulus being at their head; and his countenance manifeſted the abhorrence he entertained of the public meaſures. The adherents of Ariſtobulus repreſented to the queen, that in the utmoſt extremity of danger they had preſerved a uniform loyalty to their late ſovereign, who had generouſly rewarded their ſervices; and they ſupplicated, that ſince they had eſcaped the perils of war, they might not be ſacrificed to the malevolence and treachery of their domeſtic enemies.

They added that if their proſecutors would proceed no further in their ſanguinary purpoſe, from a reſpect to their ſuperiors, they would ſuppreſs future complaints on what had been already perpetrated. They requeſted, that if their adverſaries were permitted to continue their cruelties, the queen would allow them to withdraw, ſaying they would rather yield their lives in the palace, than retire from her juriſdiction without her conſent. They obſerved, that to countenance the declared enemies of her deceaſed conſort, at the expence of his approved friends, would be a ſevere reproach upon her majeſty's honour; and Aretas, the Arabian king, and other hoſtile powers, would enjoy a peculiar pleaſure, upon learning that ſhe had driven from her court the men who had been ſo formidable, that their very names had ſtruck them with terror. They ſaid, that if ſhe was determined to yield every conſideration to the ambition of the Phariſees, they had only to ſolicit her majeſty to grant them permiſſion to retire into caſtles and garriſons, where they would terminate a miſerable exiſtence, honourably ſharing the common calamities which ſeemed to await the friends of the deceaſed king.

Theſe expoſtulations drew tears from the auditors, who invoked the ghoſt of Alexander to compaſſionate thoſe who had been ſlain, and thoſe whom it was apprehended would experience a ſimilar fate. Ariſtobulus ſpoke with the moſt freedom on the public cauſe, and he was the leaſt reſerved in uttering reproaches upon his mother. The people who were ſo heavily oppreſſed were themſelves the cauſe of the calamities they experienced, by veſting the government in the hands of an impetuous and vindictive woman, notwithſtanding the empire might have been legally conſigned to a ſucceſſor of the male line.

Being greatly embarraſſed by the conduct of the malecontents, the queen judged ſhe could not adopt a more expedient meaſure, than that of appointing them to retire to ſeveral garriſons and places of ſtrength; but it was ſtipulated that they ſhould not enter Hyrcania, Alexandrias, or Machæras, in which places ſhe had depoſited her jewels and other valuable treaſure. Soon after this ſhe ſent Ariſtobulus at the head of an army to oppoſe Ptolemy, ſurnamed Menneus, near Damaſcus, he being a turbulent prince, and exceedingly vexatious to his neighbours; but he returned without effecting any conſiderable enterprize.

While affairs remained in this ſituation, Alexandra, received intelligence that Tigranes, king of Armenia, had marched an immenſe army into Syria, and that his deſign was to penetrate into Judea. In conſequence of this alarming intelligence, the queen diſpatched an embaſſy, charged to make compliments and preſent gifts to Tigranes; who was then encamped before Ptolemais. The queen Selene, otherwiſe named Cleopatra, who held the government of Syria, animated her ſubjects to oppoſe the operations of Tigranes. The ambaſſadors ſent by Alexandra on the part of the whole Jewiſh people, were favourably received, and Tigranes aſſured them of a friendly diſpoſition, acknowledging that he conſidered himſelf highly honoured by the queen's ſending an embaſſy to him at ſo great a diſtance. Tigranes ſubdued Ptolemais, and immediately after that enterprize, received information that Mithridates having been routed and purſued by Lucullus, had fled into Siberia; and that Lucullus being unable to overtake him, had marched into Armenia, where he was then committing great devaſtation. Hereupon Tygranes drew off his army, and repaired

Ptolemais conquered by Tigranes.

to provide for the ſafety of his own dominions.

Alexandra being ſeized with a dangerous illneſs, Ariſtobulus judged that he ſhould not meet a more favourable opportunity for executing the deſigns he had formed. Accompanied only by one attendant, he went privately by night to the forts and caſtles where the friends of his late father reſided. He was greatly diſſatisfied with the conduct of his mother; and he became uneaſy upon reflecting, that if death ſhould be the conſequence of her preſent indiſpoſition, the whole family would be at the mercy of the Phariſees, who had an abſolute authority over their creature Hyrcanus, the next in ſucceſſion to the government, and that he was totally unqualified for executing a public truſt. He communicated his purpoſe only to his wife, whom leaving, with his children, at Jeruſalem, he repaired to Agada, where an inhabitant of diſtinguiſhed rank, named Galates, gave him a liberal reception. On the day after that of his departure, his abſence was obſerved by Alexandra, who, however, entertained no idea of his intention, till ſhe was informed that ſeveral fortreſſes had ſubmitted to him; for when one place had accepted his propoſals, the example was immediately followed by the reſt. The queen and her party were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, judging Ariſtobulus to be a man qualified to ſucceed in the enterprize he had undertaken; and they were further alarmed by the apprehenſion, that they ſhould be called to a ſevere account for the cruelties exerciſed upon his friends. The wife and children of Ariſtobulus were ſeized, and impriſoned, under a ſtrong guard, in the citadel adjacent to the temple. Great numbers of people reſorted to the ſtandard of the prince, who in fifteen days was maſter of two-and-twenty caſtles. He collected forces from Mount Libanus, Trachonites, and other places, when the people were willing to ſupport the pretenſions of the ſtrongeſt party, from the expectation of the advantages they ſhould derive from contributing to the eſtabliſhment of a new king. Hyrcanus and the elders repreſented to the queen the formidable power of Ariſtobulus; requeſting her to give directions as to what meaſures were to be purſued; for, notwithſtanding the deſperate ſituation of public affairs, they could not, conſiſtently with their duty, act without her majeſty's concurrence. The queen replied, that indiſpoſition and the diſtreſſed ſtate of her mind, wholly diſqualified her for attending to the cares of government, which ſhe therefore conſigned to their management. Soon afterwards the queen expired, in the ſeventy-third year of her age, and in the ninth of her reign.

Several places of ſtrength ſubmit to Ariſtobulus.

The wife and children of Ariſtobulus impriſoned.

Queen Alex andra dies.

Alexandra was a woman ambitious of fame and authority; and ſhe was ſo remarkably attentive to the diſpatch of public buſineſs, that her example is worthy the attention of rulers of the other ſex. She exerciſed the powers of the ſovereignty with dignity and moderation, and diſtributed public juſtice with ſtrict impartiality. The calamities that enſued to the royal family after her deceaſe, rendered the errors of her conduct in the adminiſtration conſpicuous. This queen was ſo unfortunate as to ſelect the enemies of her family for her counſellors; and to that circumſtance is to be attributed the ſubſequent calamities. Alexandra had the happineſs of preſerving her dominions in a ſtate of uninterrupted tranquillity, nearly till the concluſion of her reign.

* * *

THE

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK XIV.

From the Year of the World 3898 *to* 3929.

CHAPTER I.

Ariſtobulus defeats Hyrcanus. Their differences compromiſed.

HYRCANUS aſſumed the pontificate, in the third year of the olympiad one hundred and ſeventy-ſeven, at which time Q. Hortenſius, and Q. Metellus Creticus were conſuls. A battle being fought near Jericho between Ariſtobulus and Hyrcanus, the latter was defeated, and obliged to fly for refuge to the citadel, where, by the command of the mother of Ariſtobulus, his wife and children were impriſoned. Numbers of the troops of Hyrcanus had deſerted to the adverſe army, and the reſt fled for ſanctuary within the verge of the temple; but in a ſhort time they ſubmitted to the conqueror.

Hyrcanus relinquiſhes his claim to the government.

The paſſions of the brothers being, at length appeaſed, Hyrcanus agreed, that the government ſhould be ſecured to Ariſtobulus, on condition, that he ſhould himſelf enjoy his private fortune in the manner moſt agreeable to his inclination. This compact was ſigned in the temple, and confirmed by the parties joining hands, mutually pledging their faith, and embracing each other in the preſence of the congregation.

CHAP. II.

Antipater meditates the ruin of Ariſtobulus.

ANtipater, a native of Idumea, was an inveterate enemy to Ariſtobulus, whom by every calumny and detraction that his malice could ſuggeſt, he endeavoured to degrade in the opinion of the public. He availed himſelf of every opportunity of repreſenting to the people, that it was unreaſonable the elder ſhould be ſuperceded in the government by the younger brother, and alſo of adviſing Hyrcanus to conceal himſelf, leſt he ſhould fall a victim to the malice of the adverſe party; for his brother could never deem himſelf ſecure in the poſſeſſion of the government, while he was living, and therefore would endeavour to effect his deſtruction.

Being of an eaſy and ſuſpecting diſpoſition, the inſinuating diſcourſes of Antipater for ſome time had but little effect upon Hyrcanus: but, he at length, prevailed upon him to offer his friendſhip and ſervices to Aretas, king of Arabia, and claim his protection in return; and this advice appeared the more reaſonable, as Arabia was adjacent to Judea. This reſolution being made, Antipater repaired to Aretas, and having obtained his oath not to deliver Hyrcanus into the hands of his enemies, he returned to him with an account of the ſucceſs of his expedition. Having remained a little while at Jeruſalem, he conducted Hyrcanus out of the city by night, and eſcorted him to Petra, where the Arabian king held his court. He exerted all his influence to induce the king to undertake to eſtabliſh Hyrcanus in his paternal right, and by preſents and perſuaſions obtained his conſent. Hyrcanus pledged himſelf, that, if through the means of Aretas, he ſhould gain poſſeſſion of the government, he would reſtore the twelve cities which had been taken from the Arabians by his father.

The king of Arabia eſpouſes the cauſe of Hyrcanus.

CHAP. III.

Ariſtobulus defeated by Aretas. Onias ſtoned to death. The people are puniſhed by a judgment from Heaven.

WITH an army of fifty thouſand horſe and foot Aretas marched againſt Ariſtobulus whom he encountered and ſubdued. Ariſtobulus retreated to Jeruſalem, where with his Jewiſh and Arabian forces, Aretas vigorouſly aſſaulted him, in the temple. At this time the feaſt of unleavened bread was approaching, and the principal people among the Jews repaired into Egypt, for the purpoſe of celebrating that feſtival.

Ariſtobulus beſieged in the temple.

Impreſſed with an idea of the great piety of Onias, and calling to their recollection that his prayers had formerly delivered them from famine, the Jews entreated him to pronounce a curſe upon Ariſtobulus, in order that they might themſelves be delivered from the calamities of war. Onias heſitated: but being repeatedly urged to a compliance, ſtanding in the midſt of the people he ſaid: "Almighty Lord, and king of kings! whoſe prieſts are now beſieged in the holy temple, I humbly ſupplicate, that ſuch of the prayers of either of the adverſaries may not prevail, as tend to the deſtruction of the other." No ſooner had the holy man pronounced theſe words than a number of wicked Jews ſtoned him to death. The barbarous murder of this righteous, humane, and benevolent man, was avenged in the following manner. During the aſſault of the temple, the time arrived for celebrating the feaſt of unleavened bread, when it was cuſtomary for the Jews to offer up various ſacrifices: but the people beſieged in the temple having no victims, they ſolicited a ſupply from the enemy, who agreed to take a thouſand drachmas in exchange for each beaſt. Ariſtobulus and the prieſts lowered the money in a bag from the walls of the temple: but when the aſſailants had received it, they refuſed to deliver the beaſts. Upon this, the prieſts joined in prayer that God would puniſh the perfidy of their enemies; and their ſupplications were followed by an immediate tempeſt, which deſtroyed all the fruits of the earth throughout the province. The ſcarcity was ſo great, that the price of a meaſure of wheat was fifteen drachmas.

Onias ſton to death.

CHAP. IV.

Ariſtobulus and Scaurus form a league. Ariſtobulus conquers Hyrcanus and Aretas.

A WAR with Tigranes detaining Pompey in Armenia, he diſpatched Scaurus into Syria, who arriving at Damaſcus, found that Metellus and Lollius had lately made capture of that city, and therefore proceeded towards Judea. While he was on his way thither, an ambaſſador arrived from Hyrcanus, and another from Ariſtobulus, each to treat of an alliance offenſive and defenſive: and they each offered four hundred talents as the terms. Scaurus accepted the offer of Ariſtobulus, and directed Aretus to retire from the ſiege of Jeruſalem, upon pain of being deemed an enemy to Rome. Scaurus now returned to Damaſcus, while Ariſtobulus advanced with his army againſt Aretas and Hyrcanus, whom he attacked and conquered in a place called Papyron, killing ſeven thouſand of their men, among whom was Cæphalis, the brother of Antipater.

Aretas raiſ the ſiege of Jeruſalem.

CHAP. V.

Scaurus and Gabinius accuſed of accepting bribes. Pompey Mennæus commutes for his life by paying a ſum of money. The diſpute between Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus referred to Pompey.

WHILE Pompey was on his way to Damaſcus and Cœle-Syria, Ambaſſadors attended him with preſents from Syria, Judea, and Egypt. The gift of Ariſtobulus

Pompey com plimented with preſent

Ariſtobulus was a golden vine valued at five hundred talents, of which Strabo gives the following account: "A preſent was ſent from Egypt to Pompey of a crown weighing four hundred pieces of gold, and he alſo received a preſent from Judea of a golden vine, which received the name of Delight. In the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome, I ſaw the vine, which was inſcribed, *Alexander, king of the Jews*. This was a preſent from Ariſtobulus, prince of the Jews, to Pompey, and it was eſtimated to be worth five hundred talents."

Antipater from Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus from Ariſtobulus appeared before Pompey, accuſing Gabinius with embezzling three, and Scaurus four hundred talents. Pompey agreed to hear the cauſe, directing the parties to attend him at an appointed time. Complaints were exhibited againſt Ptolemy Mennæus, whoſe delinquencies had ſubjected him to capital puniſhment: but he was permitted to commute for his life by the payment of a thouſand talents, which were diſtributed among Pompey's ſoldiers.

he Jews
oſe both
rcanus
d Ariſto-
lus.

Having deſtroyed the fort of Lycias, which was under the government of a Jew named Silas, Pompey proceeded to Damaſcus, where he heard the cauſe between the Jews and their princes. Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus exhibited accuſations againſt each other, and the multitude oppoſed both parties, contending for the right of being ruled by prieſts, and not by kings, agreeably with the ancient laws of the country. They admitted that the brothers were deſcended in the line of the prieſthood, but inſiſted that their motive was to ſubvert the government, and enſlave the people. Hyrcanus pleaded that Ariſtobulus had uſurped the rank and authority to which he himſelf was intitled in virtue of priority of birth, repreſenting his adverſary as of a vexatious and tyrannical diſpoſition, whereby he had fomented the prevailing popular diſſentions. Ariſtobulus alledged, that the ſovereignty had been conferred upon him by the common conſent of the people, who had declared Hyrcanus to be incapable of a due adminiſtration of the powers of government. Pompey intimated as his opinion, that Ariſtobulus had been haſty and raſh in his proceedings: but for the preſent declined pronouncing a final determination, promiſing that after his expedition againſt the Nabatheans, he would conſider the matter in controverſy with more deliberation. In the mean time, he enjoined the parties to conduct themſelves peaceably towards each other; and leſt his journey ſhould be interrupted by the turbulent proceedings of Ariſtobulus, he diſmiſſed him with reſpectful compliments. Regardleſs of what Pompey had ſaid, Ariſtobulus immediately repaired to Judea.

CHAP. VI.

Pompey marches againſt Ariſtobulus, who ſurrenders the caſtles in his poſſeſſion. Pompey follows him to Jeruſalem.

SO exaſperated was Pompey by the proceedings of Ariſtobulus, that, uniting his army deſtined to act againſt the Nabatheans with the forces raiſed in Damaſcus and other parts of Syria, and his Roman legions, he purſued him through Pella and Scythopolis, and on his arrival at Coræ, in the center of Judea, learnt that he had retired to a ſtrong caſtle named Alexandrion, ſituated upon the ſummit of a mountain. From this place he ſummoned him to come down, and dreading a war with the Romans, his friends adviſed him to comply. They now held a conference on the ſubject of the diſpute between the brothers, after which Ariſtobulus obtained Pompey's permiſſion to retire to the caſtle; a favour which he frequently aſked, by way of obtaining his end, by keeping on good terms with Pompey: yet this did not prevent his putting himſelf in the beſt poſture of defence, leſt the latter ſhould declare for his brother. Some time afterwards, Pompey commanded him to deliver up his caſtles, and to ſignify, to the governors thereof, the royal will, that no heſitation might be made. Ariſtobulus obeyed this order, but immediately departed for Jeruſalem, to make preparations for a war, which he now thought inevitable. In a little time Pompey followed him at the head of his army. While on his march, he received an expreſs from Pontus, informing him that Pharnaces had ſlain his father Mithridates.

Ariſtobulus prepares for war againſt Pompey.

CHAP. VII.

Ariſtobulus offers Pompey a ſum of money and the command of the city: but the gates are ſhut againſt his officer.

THE firſt place Pompey encamped at was Jericho, and the next day he proceeded towards Jeruſalem. By this time Ariſtobulus, who had regretted his former conduct, went to meet Pompey, to whom he offered a ſum of money, with the command of the city, and whatever other gratification he might wiſh, ſo that a war could but be prevented. Theſe terms were accepted by Pompey, who diſpatched Gabinius, with ſome troops, to the city, to receive the offered money: but his endeavours were fruitleſs; for the gates of the city were ſhut on his approach, and it was urged, that the ſoldiers would not abide by the ſtipulation. This behaviour ſo enraged Pompey, that he advanced to Jeruſalem, and directed the motions of Ariſtobulus to be watched with the utmoſt circumſpection.

CHAP. VIII.

The temple of Jeruſalem taken. Jeruſalem made tributary to the Romans. Ariſtobulus taken as a priſoner to Rome.

DURING the time that Pompey lay before the town, the citizens were divided in opinion how to act. The friends of Ariſtobulus broke down the bridge between the temple and the city, having firſt poſſeſſed themſelves of the former; while the adherents of Pompey admitted his army, and gave the city and palace into his hands. Piſo, his lieutenant, being ſent to take poſſeſſion of them, fortified the buildings near the temple. This being done, Pompey made an offer of peace, which being rejected, he prepared for an aſſault; Hyrcanus ſupplying him with all things that were neceſſary. Pompey propoſed to begin on the north ſide of the temple, which was the weakeſt part: but this was encompaſſed by a ditch, and guarded by high towers. Crags and precipices prevented all paſſage on the city ſide, as the bridge was down: but the Romans with amazing labour, filled the ditch with timber and other materials, and raiſed ramparts ſo high, that they played large ſtones on the wall of the temple. But the ſabbath of the Jews intervening, gave the Romans an advantage, for on that day, though the law allowed them to repel force by force, yet they durſt not work, even to hinder the operations of their enemies. The Romans obſerving that no oppoſition was made on the ſabbath, employed that day in preparation for the attack on the following. This will ſerve to prove the high veneration the Jews have for their religion and laws, from which even the dread of death cannot induce them to depart.

The temple aſſaulted.

When the ſiege had continued about two months, the temple was taken on a faſt day, in the hundred and ſeventy ninth olympiad, during the conſulſhip of C. Antonius, and M. T. Cicero. On entering the place the enemy made a general maſſacre; but even this cruelty did not deter thoſe at the altar from proceeding in their devotions, as they deemed it preferable to fall into the hands of an inveterate foe, than to abandon the rights of their religion. Theſe facts are atteſted by Strabo, Nicolaus of Damaſcus, the Roman hiſtorian Livy, and others who have written of the life and actions of Pompey. The enemy attacked the great tower with engines and batteries, and having made a breach in a wall adjacent to it, the tower fell to the ground. The breach being made, the enemy crouded in at it; among the firſt of whom were Cornelius Fauſtus, the ſon of Sylla, and Furius and Fabius, each with diſtinct parties. The place was covered with dead bodies, ſome of which were ſlain by the Romans, while many of the Jews killed each other; ſome threw themſelves from the walls, others fired the houſes, rather than be witneſs to the barbarities that were practiſed. About twelve thouſand Jews fell in this action, though but few of the Romans. Among the priſoners was Abſalom, the uncle and father-in-law of Ariſtobulus. A number of perſons now entered the holy places, where none but the prieſts had ever been before; among whom were Pompey and his attendants, who found a table of gold, cups, and a candleſtick of the ſame metal; perfumes, incenſe, and, in the treaſury, about two thouſand talents. Theſe things, however, he deemed holy, and from motives of piety forbore to touch them, but ordered the officers of the temple to cleanſe the place on the following day, and offered ſacrifices in the accuſtomed manner. He re-inſtated Hyrcanus in the office of high-prieſt, cauſed the incendiaries who promoted the war to be executed, and rewarded according to their merits, Fauſtus, and others who had behaved valiantly in the attack. He rendered Jeruſalem tributary to the Romans, and reduced to allegiance thoſe towns in Cœle-Syria which were poſſeſſed by the Jews, whom he confined to their antient boundaries. He cauſed Gadara to be rebuilt, in compliment to his freed man Demetrius, who was a native of that place. He gave to the inhabitants the towns of Hippon, Schythopolis, Dian, Samaria, Mariſſa, Azotus Jamnia, Arethuſa, and other places in the interior parts of the country: but Gaza, Joppa, Dora, and Straton's tower, being ſituated on the coaſt, he made them free ports, annexing them to the province. Upon its being rebuilt by Herod, Stratton's tower received the name of Cæſarea.

A great ſlaughter.

Pompey rebuilds Gadara.

The deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and the ſubjection of the Jews to the Romans, are to be imputed to the contentions between Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus. The Jews were compelled to reſtore to the Syrians what they had acquired from thoſe people in war, and to pay upwards of ten thouſand talents to the Romans.

The war being concluded, Pompey aſſigned the government of Cœle-Syria, from the Euphrates and the borders of Egypt, to Scaurus, giving him the command of two legions of troops. Pompey returned to Rome, taking with him priſoners Ariſtobulus, with his ſons Alexander and Antigonus, and two of his daughters. In a ſhort time Alexander contrived to effect his eſcape.

urus ap-
inted go-
rnor of
ele-Syria.

CHAP. IX.

Scaurus marches againſt Petra, but compounds with Aretas.

LEADING an army towards Petra, the capital of Arabia, Scaurus found the country ſo deſolate, that he was under the neceſſity of making great ravages, for ſupplying his troops with proviſions. By the order of Hyrcanus, Antipater ſupplied Scaurus with grain and other neceſſaries from Judea. Antipater being known to Aretas, king of Arabia, he was commiſſioned by Scaurus to propoſe to him terms for a compromiſe; and to prevent his country being ruined by war, the king agreed to pay three hundred talents.

ntipater
ncludes a
eaty with
retas.

CHAP. X.

Gabinius routs Alexander, who ſurrenders his caſtles. Hyrcanus reſtored to the prieſthood.

IN conſequence of the frequent incurſions made into Judea by Alexander, Gabinius was commiſſioned to lead an army from Rome into Syria, in order to puniſh him for the depredations he had committed; and in this expedition he performed many great atchievements. Hyrcanus now propoſed to repair the walls of Jeruſalem, which Pompey had demoliſhed: but he was prevented by the Romans from proceeding in that undertaking.

Having aſſembled an army of ten thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, Alexander fortified the caſtle of Alexandrion. Determining to offer battle to Alexander, Gabinius diſpatched forward Marcus Antonius, and other officers, who being joined by Antipater's auxiliary forces, and the honeſt Jews under the command of Pitholaus and Malichus, came within ſight of the enemy, who thereupon retreated to Jeruſalem. An engagement taking place, Alexander was defeated, three thouſand of his men being ſlain, and the ſame number made priſoners. Gabinius now laid ſiege to Alexandrion; but offered pardon to the people, on condition of their ſurrendering the place. On this occaſion, Marcus Antonius behaved with diſtinguiſhed valour. Leaving his army to proſecute the ſiege, Gabinius proceeded to take a ſurvey of the country, and to give orders to rebuild the cities that had been deſtroyed; and, in conſequence thereof, after being long deſerted, they ſoon became very populous. Upon the return of Gabinius to the ſiege of Alexandrion, Alexander diſpatched ambaſſadors to him, offering to ſurrender the place, on condition of receiving a pardon: which Gabinius granted: but he levelled the place with the ground. Hyrcanus was now conducted to Jeruſalem, and reinſtated in the office of high-prieſt. A court of juſtice was eſtabliſhed at each of the following places: Jeruſalem, Gadara, Amathus, Jericho, and Saphora, the whole province being ſeparated into five equal diſtricts.

ree thou-
d of A-
ander's
ops ſlain,
d the ſame
mber made
iſoners.

CHAP. XI.

Ariſtobulus eſcapes from Rome. He is conquered by, and again made priſoner to the Romans. After defeating the Nabatheans, Gabinius is ſucceeded in his command by Craſſus.

HAVING eſcaped from Rome into Judea, Ariſtobulus made preparations for reſtoring Alexandrion to its former defenſive ſtate. Gabinius diſpatched Siſenna, Antonius, and Servilius in queſt of the fugitive, whoſe fame had brought over to his intereſt a numerous body of Jews, Pitholaus, the governor of Jeruſalem being of the number. The deputies of Gabinius attacked Ariſtobulus, put about five hundred of his people to the ſword, and diſperſed the reſt. After this defeat, Antigonus, with about a thouſand men, fortified the caſtle of Alexandrion as well as he was able: but after an aſſault of two days, it was conquered by the Romans, who ſent the prince again a captive to Rome, together with his ſon Antigonus. At this time Ariſtobulus had poſſeſſed the offices of king and high-prieſt three years and a half.

Ariſtobulus defeated by the Romans.

Agreeably with an engagement that Gabinius had made with their mother, the children of Ariſtobulus were reſtored to liberty, upon certain caſtles being ſurrendered to the Romans.

An expedition againſt the Parthians was now undertaken by Gabinius, who, altering his intention, proceeded towards Egypt, to reſtore Ptolemy. For this expedition Antipater aſſiſted him with money, arms, corn, and induced many of the Jews near Peluſium to enter into an alliance with him.

When Gabinius returned, he found that

Alexander, ſon of Ariſtobulus, had ravaged Syria with a large army, compelled many Jews into his ſervice, killed numbers of the Romans, and purſued the inhabitants to mount Garizim, whither they had fled for refuge. Hereupon, Gabinius ſent Antipater, to treat with the Syrians; by which many of the revolters were brought to a ſenſe of their duty: but Alexander was inflexible; for having collected an army of thirty thouſand Jews, he reſolved to hazard a battle with Gabinius. This battle was fought on Mount Itabyr; and Gabinius conquered them, killing ten thouſand Jews.

After this victory Gabinius, in conſequence of Antipater's advice, proceeded to attack the Nabatheans, whom he totally routed, and gave liberty to Mithridates and Orſones, two noble Parthians, who ſued for his protection, and whom he reported have fled into their own country. Gabinius having honourably diſcharged all that he had in truſt, retired to Rome, and was ſucceeded in his command by Craſſus.

Alexander defeated and ten thouſand Jews ſlain.

CHAP. XII.

Craſſus plunders the temple. Craſſus ſlain, and his army defeated by the Parthians. Tarichea taken. Pitholaus put to death.

Marching into Judea, Craſſus plundered the temple of eight thouſand talents, excluſive of the two thouſand which Pompey refuſed to touch. He took likewiſe a bar of gold of three hundred minas, each mina computed at two pounds and a half. This bar was ſecreted in a beam made hollow to receive it, and delivered to Craſſus by Eleazar, who obſerving his avidity, gave him this as a compoſition for the reſt; for adjoining to this timber were hangings of immenſe value; and Eleazar had likewiſe the care of the other rich ornaments of the temple: nor was this bar of gold delivered till Craſſus had ſolemnly ſworn he would be content with it, and take no more: but he ſtripped all the temple, in violation of his oath.

How great ſoever this treaſure depoſited in the temple may appear, it will not ſeem ſo extraordinary, when it is conſidered how long the Jews were in amaſing it, and that it was ſent from all parts of the world where the true God was worſhipped. That this account of its immenſe value is not exaggerated, appears by the teſtimony of various hiſtorians, among whom Strabo ſays "Some money which Cleopatra had depoſited in the iſle of Coos, and eight hundred talents belonging to the Jews, were ſent for to that Iſland by Mithridates". All the public treaſure of the Jews was ſacred; and therefore it is to be concluded, that fearing a war with Mithridates, the Jews of Aſia ſent this treaſure to Coos; for thoſe of Judea would doubtleſs have lodged it in the temple of Jeruſalem. Strabo, in another place, ſays," Paſſing through Greece to attack Mithridates, Sylla diſpatched Lucculus to Cyrene, which country was then diſtracted by the wars of the Jews, who had ſpread themſelves through all parts of the world." The ſame writer further ſays, "The Cyreneans conſiſted of burghers, huſbandmen, ſtrangers, and Jews, the laſt of whom were ſo diſperſed that they were to be found in every habitable part of the globe. Egypt and Cyrene, while governed by one prince, and ſeveral other countries, adopted the laws, rites and cuſtoms of the Jews, and even educated their children in their mode of worſhip. Great numbers of Jews inhabited Egypt, a part of the city of Alexandria being aſſigned to them, and they were allowed magiſtrates and courts of juſtice."

Craſſus gave battle to the Parthians, who routed his army with great ſlaughter, the general being among the ſlain. Craſſus now marched into Syria, and there put a ſtop to the progreſs of the Parthians, whoſe ſucceſſes had rendered them extremely inſolent and overbearing. Proceeding by the way of Tyre into Judea, he conquered Tarichea, and made priſoners thirty thouſand of the inhabitants, among whom was Pitholaus, the friend of Ariſtobulus, who, by the advice of Antipater, was put to death. Antipater eſpouſed Cypron, an Arabian lady of high rank, by whom he had Phaſael and Herod, and two other ſons, and likewiſe a daughter named Salome. Herod ſucceeded to the ſovereignty, as will appear hereafter. Antipater was a man ſo attracting in his converſation and deportment, that he acquired the friendſhip and eſteem of all the princes and nobles with whom he had any acquaintance, and particularly of the king of Arabia, who appointed him to the care of his children, while he was employed in proſecuting the war againſt Ariſtobulus.

The army under Craſſ defeated, an himſelf ſlain.

Pitholaus put to death.

CHAP. XIII.

Ariſtobulus is poiſoned. Alexander beheaded. The daughter of Ariſtobulus married to Philippion, and after his deceaſe to Ptolemy.

Having conquered Rome, Cæſar found that the whole ſenate had deſerted the city, and retired by ſea. He now reſtored Ariſtobulus to freedom, and diſpatched him into Syria, with two legions under his command, to keep that country in ſubjection: but the adherents to Pompey ſoon contrived to take away his life by poiſon. The friends of Cæſar readily undertook the management of the funeral of Ariſtobulus, whoſe body was for a conſiderable time embalmed in honey, till at length Anthony ſent it for interment in the royal vault.

Pompey having given orders to Scipio that Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, ſhould be beheaded for former ſeditious practices againſt the Romans, the ſentence was executed at Antioch. Hereupon Ptolemy Menæus, g vernor of Chalcis near Libanus, ſent his ſon Philippion to Aſkalon, requeſting that the widow of Ariſtobulus would ſend to him her ſon Antigonus, and her daughters. With one of theſe daughters, named Alexandra, Philippion became enanmoured, and was married to her; but he being afterwards killed, Ptolemy his father eſpouſed her, and made proviſion for the family.

CHAP. XIV.

Peluſium taken by Mithridates.

THE influence that Antipater had in Judea was very conſiderable. After the conqueſt and death of Pompey, by the advice of Hyrcanus, he rendered great ſervice to Cæſar in the war in Egypt; for Mithridates bringing troops to the aid of Cæſar, being compelled to ſtop at Aſkalon, as he could not proceed to Peluſium, Antipater reinforced him with three thouſand Jews, and induced the principal people of Arabia, and all Syria, to give him their aid: among the aſſiſtant princes was Jamblicus and his ſon Ptolemy; and Tholomy of Libanus, the ſon of Sohemus. In fact, the people were ambitious who ſhould be foremoſt in their ſervices. Hereupon Mithridates proceeded to Peluſium, the inhabitants of which refuſing him admittance, he attacked the place, and broke down part of the wall. Antipater firſt entered at the breach; and the troops ſo well ſeconded him, that the town ſoon ſurrended.

Antipater firſt enters the breach at the ſiege of Peluſium.

After this, in Antiptater and Mithridates being on their way to join Cæſar, were oppoſed by the Egyptain Jews in the country of Onias: but Antipater, whoſe credit as their countryman was not ſmall, produced a letter from Hyrcanus the high-prieſt; on which the opponents afforded them ſuch ſupplies as might be neceſſary on their march; and the inhabitants of Memphis chearfully came into the ſame intereſt.

CHAP. XV.

Mithridates relieved by Antipater. Cæſar honours Hyrcanus and Antipater.

MARCHING to Delta, Mithridates and Antipater attacked the enemy at a place called the Camp of the Jews. Mithridates was ſo hard preſſed that the troops under his command were in danger of being routed, when Antipater, advancing by the banks of the river, came to his aſſiſtance, and having put the enemy to flight, and taken poſſeſſion of their camp, ſent for Mithridates to ſhare in the ſpoil. In this encounter Antipater loſt about fifty, and Mithridates eight hundred men. Upon intelligence of the above event being conveyed to Cæſar, he acknowleged that the honour of the victory belonged to Antipater, whom he employed in ſeveral poſts of honour during the war.

Antipater and Mithridates gain a victory.

After the war, Cæſar went by ſea to Syria. He paid great reſpect to Hyrcanus and Antipater, confirming the former in the office of high-prieſt, and making the latter a free man of Rome. Some writers affirm that Hyrcanus was actively concerned in this war.

Antigonus, the ſon of Ariſtobulus complained to Cæſar, that for having ſerved him in the wars, his father had been poiſoned; that Scipio had cut off his brother's head, and that he had himſelf been unjuſtly diſinherited; and accuſed Hyrcanus and Antipater, with having done him perſonal injury, and violated the rights of the people. Antipater reſiſted theſe charges, reflecting upon Ariſtobulus as being addicted to diſturb the public tranquillity, and appealing to Cæſar in regard to the rectitude of his own conduct during the late war. Ariſtobulus had ever been conſidered as an inveterate enemy to Rome; and therefore the treatment he had received was deemed juſtifiable by the laws of nations. With regard to his brother being beheaded by Scipio, that puniſhment was due to his demerits in the commiſſion of divers acts of robbery. Having heard the merits of the whole matter in diſpute, Cæſar determined in favour of Hyrcanus and Antipater, confirming the firſt in the office of high-prieſt, and conſtituting the other governor of Judea.

CHAP. XVI.

Cæſar permits Hyrcanus to rebuild the walls of Jeruſalem. The Romans and the Jews contract an alliance. The Athenians and the Jews engage in a treaty.

AT the requeſt of Hyrcanus, Cæſar granted him permiſſion to rebuild the walls of Jeruſalem, which Pompey had deſtroyed, and diſpatched an expreſs to the conſuls of Rome to enter the following reſolutions on the records of the capitol. The ſenate in the temple of Concord have paſſed the following decree.

Cæſar's decree in favour of the Jews.

"Foraſmuch as it appears to the ſenate, by the report of Valerius, the ſon of Lucius Prætor, that Alexander the ſon of Jaſon, Numenius the ſon of Antiochus, and Alexander the ſon of Dorotheus, ambaſſadors from our faithful allies the Jews, requeſt that the antient league of friendſhip between us may be renewed; and whereas they have brought a golden cup and buckler, valued at fifty thouſand crowns as a preſent, in token of their friendly diſpoſition; and requeſt our recommendatory letters to all governors and free towns, that they may paſs ſafely by land and ſea through their reſpective diſtricts: the ſenate therefore ordain that the league of friendſhip be renewed and confirmed: that whatever the ambaſſadors have aſked be complied with, and their preſents received." This happened in the month of Panemus, in the ninth year of Hyrcanus's office of high-prieſt and prince. This governor of the Jews was likewiſe ſingularly honoured by the republic of Athens, who tranſmitted him the following decree.

"Decree of the ſenate of Athens, paſſed the 25th of the month Panemus; Dionyſius Aſclepiades being preſident and high-prieſt, and Agathocles Archon, reported on the eleventh of the Prytanea, in the month Munichion, by Eucles the Alimuſian, ſon of Menander the ſecretary. A council of the Proedri being aſſembled in the theatre, the high-prieſt Dorotheus and his aſſiſtants collected the ſuffrages of the people; and Dionyſius, the ſon of Dionyſius, made the following publication:

"Whereas Hyrcanus, the ſon of Alexander, and high-prieſt, and prince of the Jews, hath uniformly, on all occaſions, received and entertained our ambaſſadors, and given every other teſtimony of his regard to our people in general, and the citizens of Athens in particular, of which we have abundant proof: and whereas Theodoſius, the ſon of Theodorus of Sunium, hath credibly informed us of the virtues of the ſaid prince, and his wiſhes to render us every ſervice; we have determined to preſent him with an honorary crown of gold, and, in the temple of the people and the graces, to erect a brazen ſtatue to his memory; and we order that, when in theatres and places of public exerciſe, ſpectacles ſhall be exhibited to the honour of Bacchus, Minerva, Ceres, &c. proclamation be made of our having preſented this crown in honour of his virtue. And we further command our governors and magiſtrates, to aid and aſſiſt in making known this treaty of friendſhip between us; that our grateful regard to men of worth and honour, and our zeal to encourage offices of friendſhip in future, may be acknowledged. We alſo direct that proper perſons may be immediately choſen to wait on Hyrcanus, in our name and with this decree, and our preſents, that others may be excited to exceed us in liberality of conduct."

Cæſar having diſpatched his affairs in Syria, returned immediately by ſea to Jeruſalem, taking with him Antipatar, who, on his arrival, gave immediate orders for repairing the walls which Pompey had thrown down. Antipater likewiſe made a tour through the province, exhorting a turbulent people to peace and quietneſs. He repreſented to them the virtues of obedience to their prince, by the peaceable enjoyment of their poſſeſſions; explained what danger would attend ſeditious practices and innovations, which would induce their governors to perſecute them, compel Hyrcanus to acts of tyranny, and inflame the enmity of their generous and powerful allies the Romans.

CHAP. XVII.

The ſons of Antipater promoted. Ezethias put to death. Herod ordered to appear before the Judges. The death of Cæſar.

HYRCANUS being of an eaſy and complying diſpoſition, Antipater availed himſelf of the opportunity of promoting his ſons Phaſael and Herod to places of authority. To the former he gave the government of Judea and the adjacent country, and to the latter that of Galilee. At this time Herod was only fifteen years of age: but being of an active and enterpriſing genius, he availed himſelf of every opportunity that offered for obtaining popularity and advancing his fortune. The borders of Syria being infeſted by a number of robbers, Herod took the whole body of them into cuſtody, together with Ezethias, their chief, or commander. This heroic exploit greatly advanced his reputation, and ſerved to introduce him to the acquaintance of Sextus kinſman to Cæſar, who had then the government of Syria. The example of his brother ſtimulated Phaſael to render himſelf popular. He was a youth of very engaging addreſs, moderate in the exerciſe of authority, excellently qualified for the diſpatch of public buſineſs, and a friend to the public.

Herod pu band of ro bers to de

The wealth and power of Antipater, and the ſplendid proviſion he made for his ſons, excited the envy of the principal Jews, whoſe jealouſy was increaſed, when they found he was a favourite of the emperor, as well as the people of Rome. They inſinuated, that he received money from Hyrcanus for the uſe of the Romans, and arrogated to himſelf the credit of advancing the ſums ſo employed. The ambitious and active ſpirit of Herod urged the people to make a complaint againſt both him and Phaſael. They told Hyrcanus the young men were not deputies but maſters; alledging, that the conduct of Herod towards Ezethais and his companions was a flagrant violation of public juſtice; ſince, however atrocious his crimes it was an act of murder to put any man to death, till he had been brought to trial, and the offence alledged againſt him proved.

The mothers of thoſe who had been ſlain now continued day after day in the temple, calling on prince and people for juſtice on Herod, for the murder of their children: till at length Hyrcanus appointed a day when a bench of judges ſhould determine between Herod and his accuſers. Herod came into court at the firſt call; but, in conſequence of his father's advice, only with ſuch attendants as might appear neceſſary to ſecure him, without offending the court. At this time Sextus Cæſar, who commanded in Syria, wrote in favour of Herod to Hyrcanus, with threats, if he were not acquitted; but theſe were needleſs; for Hyrcanus was exceedingly fond of him. Herod and his attendants having waited a while, without a ſingle charge againſt him, the company were wondering at the event, whem Sameas, a man of incorruptible integrity, ſpoke with great ſeverity againſt Herod for the dauntleſs and preſuming manner in which he conducted himſelf before a ſolemn court of legal enquiry; adding, that the delinquent who was then about to be diſcharged would prove the author of the ruin both of his judges and the king. It will be found in the progreſs of our work, that the prediction of Sameas was verified.

The above ſpeech having rendered Hyrcanus apprehenſive for the ſafety of Herod, he adjourned the court to the following day, and adviſed him in the mean time to ſecure himſelf by a private retreat. Hereupon Herod retired to Damaſcus, under pretence of being in fear of Hyrcanus: and, in conference with Sextus Cæſar, declared that he would diſclaim the juriſdiction of the court, if ever he ſhould be again ſummoned. This enraged the judges who told Hyrcanus that his ruin was concerted: but though the matter was evident, and himſelf convinced of it, yet he had not courage the take the neceſſary advantage of the circumſtance. By this time Herod was ſafe in the protection of Sextus Cæſar, and had purchaſed part of the government of Cœle-Syria. Hyrcanus now ſaw the danger that might be dreaded. Herod, enraged at being expoſed to a trial, drew forth an army, and would have attacked Jeruſalem, but for the entreaties of his father and brother: on their interceſſion, however, he abſtained from farther violence to the man who had raiſed him to fortune and honour. They ſaid, that though he had been cited to trial, he was under great obligations to Hyrcanus for his freedom; and that it would be unreaſonable in him to expect the favour of Heaven, while fighting againſt a prince who had favoured and protected, but never injured him.

On his return to Rome, Cæſar was complimented by ambaſſadors from Hyrcanus, in whoſe name they requeſted a renewal of the ancient leagues of friendſhip. Arriving at the capital of the Roman empire, Cæſar made preparations for an expedition into Africa, againſt Scipio and Cato. It may not be improper here to advert to the diſtinctions paid by the Roman emperors to the Jews, and to notice their alliances, that the public may judge of the high eſtimation in which the fidelity and valour of our people were held by the kings of Europe and Aſia.

Teſtimonies in honour of the Jews.

The Perſian and Macedonian hiſtories are not generally known: though we are in poſſeſſion of thoſe writings, we would rather refer the credit of our cauſe to the monumental inſcriptions on the pillars of braſs, and in the capitol at Rome. The authenticity of theſe evidences will not be controverted: neither will that of the inſcription of Julius Cæſar upon the brazen pillar at Alexandria, which remains a perpetual monument of the admiſſion of the Jews to the privilege of free citizens. However, without entering into a circumſtantial detail of the decrees paſſed in favour of the Jews, we ſhall briefly obſerve that Caius Julius Cæſar publiſhed five ſeveral edicts in behalf of thoſe people, therein paying great honour to Hyrcanus, confirming him and his poſterity in all the rights and privileges of the prieſthood and the ſovereignty, and making moſt liberal proviſions for the benefit of the Jewiſh nation. It was ſtipulated by one of theſe inſtruments, that Hyrcanus, his ſon and ambaſſadors, ſhould be accommodated with ſeats among the ſenators to view the exerciſes of the gladiators, and other public exhibitions; that whenever they ſhould apply for that purpoſe to the ſenate, the dictator, or maſter of the horſe, ſhould procure them audience; and that if the ſenate ſhould come to a reſolution on their buſineſs, an anſwer ſhould be delivered in ten days. When Alexander was emperor for the fourth, and conſul for the fifth time, he publickly avowed his friendſhip for Hyrcanus, his family and countrymen. Caius Julius, dictator and conſul, publiſhed an edict interdicting the Parthians from continuing to interrupt the Jews in the exerciſe of their religion, laws, and cuſtoms. When Marcus Antonius and Publius Dolabella were conſuls, they aſſembled a ſenate for the purpoſe of giving audience to ambaſſadors from Hyrcanus, and the aſſembly complied with every requiſition made to them. In conſequence of letters from Hyrcanus, Dolabella diſpatched letters through Aſia, purporting, that in conſideration of the Jews being reſtricted from bearing arms, travelling, and even procuring the neceſſaries of life on the Sabbath, they ſhould be exempted from all military cares, and permitted without interruption to aſſemble, worſhip, and ſacrifice in their accuſtomed manner. Lucius Lentullus, the conſul, granted the Jewiſh inhabitants of Epheſus the free exerciſe of their religion, and exempted them from all contributions towards the expences of the war.

Sextus Cæſar murdered.

Cæſar murdered in the ſenate houſe by Brutus, Caſſius, and their aſſociates.

A violent inſurrection now took place in Syria. Cecilius Baſſus engaged in a conſpiracy againſt Sextus Cæſar, and having cauſed him to be murdered, took poſſeſſion of the province under his government. To this ſucceeded a war on the borders of Apamia. The friends of Cæſar marched againſt Baſſus, and were joined by Antipater and his ſons, who deemed themſelves bound to revenge the murder of their friend. During the progreſs of this war, Marcus offered himſelf to ſucceed Sextus; and, in the interim, Cæſar was murdered in the ſenate-houſe, by Brutus, Caſſius, and their fellow conſpirators, after having governed three years and a half.

CHAP. XVIII.

A Civil war among the Romans. The people cruelly oppreſſed. Malichus forms a conſpiracy againſt Antipater.

UPON the deceaſe of Cæſar, violent animoſities prevailed among the princapal men of Rome each conſulting his apparent intereſt till a civil war was the reſult. Caſſius taking poſſeſſion of the army in Syria, which then lay before Apamia, raiſed the ſiege, and induced Marcus and Baſſus to join him; which being done, he proceeded from place to place, collecting arms, money and men: but in Judea he impoſed a rate of between ſeven and eight talents of ſilver, oppreſſing that diſtrict beyond any other. During this confuſion, Antipater committed the care of levying part of his money to his two ſons, while Malichus, who was ſecretly his enemy, was concerned with others in collecting the reſt. Herod, ready to oblige the Romans at the expence of other people, gave Caſſius an early proof of his zeal, by valuable preſents collected in Galilee: but cities under the command of other governors, not being equally ready with their offers, were publickly ſold, with their inhabitants, to the beſt bidder, by order of Caſſius; as was the caſe with Gophna, Emmaus, Lydda, and Thamma. Malichus would, on this occaſion, have fallen a ſacrifice to the rage of Caſſius, had not Hyrcanus compounded for his life, by the payment of a hundred talents.

Several ci
ſold by auc
tion.

Upon the departure of Caſſius with the treaſure he had collected, Malichus concerted a plot for the deſtruction of Antipater, imagining that if he were removed, Hyrcanus would govern with greater ſecurity. Appriſed of this deſign, Antipater croſſed the river Jordan, and put himſelf at the head of a numerous army of Jews and Arabians. Upon this, Malichus applied to Antipater and his ſons, and ſolemnly declared, that the ſuſpicion he had incurred was wholly groundleſs; adding, that it was unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, he could ever entertain ſo extravagant an idea, as conſpiring againſt the life of a man, one of whoſe ſons was governor of Jeruſalem, while the other was capable of avenging the treachery by having the command of arms and magazines, and a powerful army. Thus Malichus obtained pardon from Antipater. Syria was at this time under the government of Marcus, who upon being informed of other projects that Malichus had formed, would certainly have put him to death, had not Antipater interfered in his behalf.

CHAP. XIX.

Herod appointed to the government of Lower Syria. Antipater poiſoned through the contrivance of Malichus.

MARCUS and Caſſius having collected an army, they committed the command of it, both by land and ſea, to Herod, appointing him to the government of Lower-Syria, and promiſing to confer upon him that of Judea, upon the concluſion of the war in which they were then engaged with Anthony and the younger Cæſar, afterwards Auguſtus. The advancement of Herod rendered Malichus ſo jealous of Antipater, that he bribed the butler of Hyrcanus to poiſon him, while at dinner with his maſter; and immediately after his death he took poſſeſſion of the city

ter the
th of An-
ter Mali-
takes
ſſion of
e city.

at the head of a party of troops. Phaſael and Herod reſolved to take revenge for the murder of their father, but diſagreed as to the manner in which it ſhould be executed. Herod was deſirous of leading an army into the field againſt Malichus: but Phaſael being apprehenſive of that meaſure producing a civil war, propoſed to act againſt him by artifice and ſtratagem; and therefore he conducted himſelf with an affected civility towards Malichus, carefully avoiding to intimate that he was ſuſpected as the murderer of his father, to whoſe memory he erected a ſuperb monument. About this time Herod went to Samaria, and endeavoured to appeaſe the contentions and animoſities prevailing there.

On the approach of a ſolemn faſt to be obſerved at Jeruſalem, Herod marched his army towards that city, which alarming Malichus, he prevailed upon Hyrcanus to refuſe him admittance. But Herod contrived to get into the city by night, which terrifying Malichus he procured a guard for the ſafety of his perſon, and endeavoured to diſguiſe his guilt, by pretending great affliction for the death of Antipater. On the other hand, the friends of Herod pretended to have a great eſteem for, and to repoſe unlimited confidence in Malichus

CHAP. XX.

Caſſius joins Herod in revenging the murder of Antipater; and Malichus is killed.

CASSIUS commanded Herod to avenge the murder of Antipater, at the ſame time iſſuing private orders to his troops at Tyre to yield him aſſiſtance. Some time afterwards, when Caſſius took Laodicea, and the people crouded to him with money and other effects, Herod thought that would be the proper opportunity to effect his purpoſe: but as Malichus was advancing to Tyre, his ſpirits failed him, and he had recourſe to a different plan. Having then a ſon who was an hoſtage in Tyre, he conceived that if he could privately carry him off to Judea, the Jews might be induced to revolt, and himſelf take poſſeſſion of the government, while Caſſius was at war with Anthony. This ſcheme might have anſwered the propoſed end, but that Herod prevented it: for he ſent out a number of officers to meet Malichus and his party, and invite them to a treat:

alichus
ain.

which being done, they attacked him on the ſide of the town next the ſea, and ſlew him with their daggers. Hyrcanus was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at hearing of this affair: but Herod immediately informed him that it was done in conſequence of Caſſius's command; on which Hyrcanus appeared ſatisfied.

Caſſius having quitted Syria, great commotions happened in Judea. The troops in Jeruſalem under the command of Felix, attacked Phaſael, in whoſe defence the people betook themſelves to arms. Hereupon, Herod applied to Fabius, governor of Damaſcus, for aid to aſſiſt his brother; but being ſeized with a fit of illneſs, was unable to carry his generous deſign into execution. However, Phaſael was happy enough to compleat his buſineſs without aſſiſtance, compelling Felix to retreat to a fortreſs, and ſubmit on conditions. Phaſael now reproached Hyrcanus with ingratitude for taking part with his enemy, after ſuch a number of obligations received; for at this period the brother of Malichus had poſſeſſed himſelf of many fortified places, among which was Maſſada, hitherto deemed almoſt impregnable: but Herod, recovering of his illneſs retook the places, and recovered the lately conquered fortreſſes.

CHAP. XXI.

Antigonus raiſes an army. The generous behaviour of Herod to the Tyrians. Herod defeats Antigonus. He eſpouſes Mariamne.

Marion eſpouſes the cauſe of Antigonus.

ANTIGONUS, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, at this time paid Fabius a ſum of money as a conſideration for his aſſiſtance in raiſing an army; and they attached to their intereſt Marion, to whom Caſſius had given the command of Tyre and all Syria, where ſeveral garriſons were ſtationed, as were three in Galilee. The places, however, were ſoon reduced by Herod, who not only allowed quarter to the Tyrians that had defended them, but made them conſiderable preſents, and otherwiſe treated them with ſingular kindneſs and generoſity. Herod them marched againſt, and defeated Antigonus, upon the borders of Judea; after, which he returned in triumph to Jeruſalem, where he was received by Hyrcanus and the whole body of the people with every poſſible teſtimony of eſteem and reſpect. Herod about this time eſpouſed Mariamne, daughter to Alexander, by whom he had three ſons and two daughters. He had by a former wife, the daughter of Dores, a ſon named Antipater.

CHAP. XXII.

Caſſius routed by Antony and Auguſtus. Complaints exhibited againſt Phaſael and Herod. Hyrcanus obtains the releaſe of the Jews made priſoners by Caſſius.

AUGUSTUS and Antony having proved victorious over Caſſius at the battle of Philippi, the former departed into Gaul, and the other marched into Aſia. In his way through Bithynia, Antony received ſeveral embaſſies, and particularly one from a conſiderable number of Jews of diſtinction complaining againſt Phaſael and Herod, and urging, that though Hyrcanus was nominally the governor, the brothers had, in fact, uſurped, and continued to exerciſe all the powers of the adminiſtration. Herod pleaded in his own defence, and enforced his arguments with preſents of ſuch conſiderable value, that his adverſaries could obtain no advantage over him.

Upon the arrival of Antony at Epheſus, ambaſſadors attended him in the name of Hyrcanus and the whole Jewiſh nation, and preſented him with a golden crown and various other gifts, at the ſame time, entreating, that ſuch of their countrymen as Caſſius had made priſoners, contrary to the laws of war, might be reſtored to liberty, and again put into poſſeſſion of the lands of which they had been deprived; and for this purpoſe they ſolicited Antony's letters to the governors of the different provinces. This requiſition appeared ſo reaſonable, that Antony readily acquieſced therein, ſending an anſwer to Hyrcanus purporting, that Lyſimachus, the ſon of Pauſanias; Joſeph, the ſon of Mennæus; and Alexander, the ſon of Theodorus, his ambaſſadors, had faithfully diſcharged their commiſſion; ſeverely expatiating on the murder of Cæſar by Brutus and Caſſius, who had been juſtly ſlain for their barbarous treachery; avowing a firm friendſhip for the Jewiſh nation; declaring the Jews that had been expoſed to ſale by Caſſius ſhould be reſtored to liberty, and again put in poſſeſſion of the property they had been deprived of; and that all the privileges granted to them by himſelf and Dolabella ſhould be ſecured to them.

The emperor Marcus Antonius writes to different provinces in favour of the Jews.

Antony wrote to the magiſtrates and ſenate of Tyre, commanding them immediately to ſurrender to the original owners, the lands, eſtates, and other poſſeſſions unjuſtly ſeized at the time of the invaſion by Caſſius. It was ordered that this mandate ſhould be fairly written in Latin and Greek, and placed among the Tyrian records, people of all ranks being allowed to peruſe it. Inſtructions to the ſame purpoſe were diſpatched to the people of Sidon, Antioch, and Arad. Hence it further appears, that the Romans held the Jews in high reſpect.

CHAP. XXIII.

Antony enamoured of Cleopatra. Accuſations exhibited againſt Phaſael and Herod, who are acquitted. Several of the enemies of Herod put to death.

WHILE Antony was on his way to Syria, Cleopatra repaired to him in Cilicia, in order to pay her reſpects to him; and on their firſt interview, he conceived a ſtrong affection for her. At this time, near a hundred Jews, who were people of rank, complained to Antony of the conduct of Herod and Phaſael, and he appointed to hear the cauſe at Daphne. Meſſala pleaded for the brothers, and was ſupported by Hyrcanus. The pleadings being concluded, Antony aſked Hyrcanus which of the young men he deemed beſt qualified for a governor; and he anſwered in favour of Herod. However, he entertained a great eſteem for them both, partly on their own accounts, and partly in remembrance of the kindneſs he had received from Antipater, their father, who had protected him at the time of the invaſion of Judea by Gabinius; and he appointed each of them to the office of tetrarch, committing the government of the country to their care.

Hyrcanus conſtitutes Phaſael and Herod tetrarchs.

He wrote many letters in their favour, ordered fifteen of their moſt implacable enemies into priſon, and reſolved to have them executed; Herod interfered, and obtained their pardon. Herod's benevolence, however, had no weight with his enemies; who were no ſooner diſmiſſed than they concerted new ſchemes to deſtroy him. Having ſelected a band of a thouſand people, they went towards Tyre, to wait the arrival of Antony. In the mean time, Herod and his brother had made ſuch an intereſt by valuable preſents, that Antony diſpatched orders to the magiſtrates of Tyre, commanding them to ſupport the authority of Herod, and to puniſh the Jewiſh meſſengers, as people whoſe wiſh was to fruſtrate the ſchemes of government. Herod now gave a ſecond proof of his benevolence, by going out to meet the deputies, whom he adviſed to retire. Hyrcanus ſeconded this advice, repreſenting the miſchief that might ariſe from their perſeverance: but, in defiance of all danger, they obſtinately perſiſted in going forwards, till being met by numbers both of Jews and Tyrians, many of them were ſlain, many wounded, and the reſt fled; which put an end to all open oppoſition; but the vulgar continued to revile the proceedings of Herod, till Anthony was ſo exaſperated, that he pronounced judgment of death on the priſoners who were accordingly executed.

Syria was conquered in the following year, by Pacorus, ſon of the king of Parthia, and Barzaphanes, a prince of the country. At this period died Ptolemy Mennæus. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Lyſanias, who, through the intereſt of Barzaphanes, contracted an intimate friendſhip with Antigonus, the ſon of Ariſtobulus.

CHAP. XXIV.

A Plot for deſtroying Herod, and depoſing Hyrcanus. Pacorus and Barzaphanes unite againſt Judea. The Jews of Mount Carmel eſpouſe the cauſe of Antigonus. The buildings near the temple ſet on fire. Pacorus betrays Phaſael. Barzaphanes accuſed of treachery.

Antigonus reinforced.

ANTIGONUS offered the Parthians a thouſand talents, and five hundred women, on the condition of their killing Herod and his adherents, depoſing Hyrcanus, and advancing Antigonus governor in his place. Hereupon the Parthians marched againſt Judea, Barzaphanes going through the inland country, and Pacorus by the ſea coaſt. The people of Tyre refuſed to admitPacorus into the city: but thoſe of Sidon and Ptolemais received him readily. On this, he entruſted a party of horſe to the king's cup-bearer, whoſe name likewiſe was Pacorus, to obſerve the ſituation of the country, and aſſiſt Antigonus if it ſhould be neceſſary. The Jews of Mount Carmel aſſociated with Antigonus, who expected to conquer that part of the country called Drymæ, by their aſſiſtance. Many reinforcements joining him, he was induced to advance to Jeruſalem, with a deſign to attack Herod and Phaſael in the royal palace; but while proceeding to carry this project into effect, he was met by the brothers in the market place, and compelled to retreat to the temple. Herod ſtationed parties of ſoldiers in the houſes adjacent to the temple: but theſe buildings were ſet on fire by the enemy and deſtroyed, together with a great number of people in them. In revenge for this action, Herod ſlew many of the adverſe party in the ſkirmiſhes that took place almoſt every day.

Several houſes together with the people in them deſtroyed by fire.

On the arrival of the feaſt of the pentecoſt, great numbers of people, as uſual on that occaſion, reſorted to Jeruſalem, a conſiderable part of them being armed. They ſurrounded the temple, and crowded every part of the city, except the ſpot where the palace ſtood, which was guarded by Herod while Phaſael took charge of the walls and out-works. While the enemy were poſted in the ſuburbs, Herod furiouſly ruſhed upon them,put great numbers to the ſword and threw the reſt into ſuch terror and conſternation, that ſome fled to the city, and ſome to the temple, while the reſt ſought refuge behind an adjacent rampart. In this action Phaſael diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many feats of heroiſm.

Pacorus, at the head of a ſmall party, now entered the city, under the pretence of reſtoring peace: but his real motive was to give Antigonus poſſeſſion of the government. Though he experienced a friendly and reſpectful reception from Antigonus, Pacorus concerted a plot for taking away his life; and to effect his deſign, pretended to be deſirous of ſending an embaſſy to Barzaphanes. Naturally of an unſuſpecting temper, Phaſael agreed to undertake the embaſſy, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of Herod, who knowing that no confidence could be ſafely repoſed in Pacorus and his aſſociates, was deſirous of having them all put to death. However, Hyrcanus and Phaſael ſet out on the embaſſy; and on their arrival in Galilee, the governors of the neighbouring garriſons came forth armed, to compliment them with preſents, Barzaphanes being of the number. After being conducted to a ſtation near the ſea, Phaſael and Hyrcanus were informed, that Antigonus had agreed to give the Parthians a thouſand talents and five hundred women, in return for the ſervices they had rendered. Phaſael now ſuſpected the treachery; and the ſame night was informed, that a party of ſoldiers had received directions to ſeize him. This plot would certainly have been carried into effect, but that the conſpirators poſtponed the execution of their deſign, till they ſhould receive news from Jeruſalem of Herod being taken into cuſtody, according to the plan they had concerted. Phaſael was adviſed by his friends to take horſe and eſcape; particularly by Ophellius who diſcovered the conſpiracy through the information of Saramella, one of the moſt opulent men of Syria, who, reſiding by the ſide of the ſea offered him the convenience of embarking from his houſe: but diſdaining to leave his compainons in diſtreſs, Phaſael repaired to Barzaphanes, and ſeverely upbraided him for his baſe and treacherous conduct. After reſolutely denying the guilt imputed to him, Barzaphanes departed, in ſearch of Pacorus.

CHAP. XXV.

Hyrcanus and Phaſael ſeized. Herod accuſes Pacorus. Herodium built. Jeruſalem beſieged, and Mariſſa deſtroyed. Antigonus ſucceeds to the government. Phaſael puts an end to his own life. Herod applies to Malichus, king of Arabia, who commands him to quit the country. Herod relates his caſe to Antony.

IMmediately after the departure of Barzaphanes, Hyrcanus and Phaſael were ſeized by a party of ſoldiers. A eunuch was diſpatched for enticing Herod out of the palace, in order for his being taken into cuſtody. Herod repaired to Pacorus and the chiefs of the Parthians, and expoſtulated with them on the injury intended him. They denied all knowledge of the matter, adviſing him to go out of the city, and receive his letters, leſt they ſhould fall into the hands of improper perſons: but he ſuſpected, and eluded this ſtratagem.

The Parthians took till the following day to conſult how they ſhould act with Herod, for they were afraid to ſeize him openly; but Herod being informed how violently they had acted towards his brother, and conſidering how dangerous it might be to remain longer among them, reſolved to attempt an eſcape in the night. Hereupon he provided waggons, horſes, and other beaſts of carriage for the women; among whom were his mother and ſiſter, and Mariamne, the niece of Ariſtobulus, and daughter of Alexander, to whom he was to be married. There were likewiſe the mother of his intended wife, with his own youngeſt brother, and all the family. Having collected his troops, they departed towards Idumea, and were conſiderably advanced before their enemies had notice of their departure.

Herod preſerved an unſhaken fortitude, and continued to animate his troops both by his example and advice, informing them that they had no ſecurity but in flight for their lives and liberties, and adviſing them not to loſe that time in fruitleſs lamentation, which ought to be employed in providing for their ſafety. Thus exhorted, they unanimouſly declared that they would act with a degree of ſteadineſs and reſolution becoming their circumſtances. At this inſtant by ſome accident one of the waggons overturned, whereby the life of Herod's mother was greatly endangered. Through tenderneſs to his parent, and the apprehenſion that the loſs of time would enable the enemy to overtake him, he was ſo greatly affected, that he made an attempt to throw himſelf upon his ſword; but he was prevented by his attendants.

Herod attempts to deſtroy himſelf.

They urged that he ought not to ſacrifice his friends to the fear of his enemies, and that a brave man ſhould diſdain to injure the public by his own deſtruction. Having recovered the power of recollection, he took all poſſible care of his mother, and haſtened on his journey to Maſſada: the Parthians frequently preſſing on him in ſmall parties, but he was ſtill victorious. When he was about ſixty furlongs from Jeruſalem, the Jews who had purſued, attacked him; but he routed them, ſhewing admirable diſcipline in the fight, notwithſtanding his hurry and confuſion. On his ſubſequent advancement to the throne, Herod built a palace on the ſpot where this victory was obtained, and near it a village which he called Herodium.

Herodium built.

Proceeding to Reſa in Idumea, Herod was met by his brother Joſeph, and they conſulted how to get rid of great numbers of uſeleſs people that were with them, excluſive of their troops: and conſidering that the caſtle of Maſſada, to which they intended to retire, was too ſmall to contain them all, they diſcharged about nine thouſand perſons, to ſeek ſubſiſtence in Idumea, till they could find a regular ſettlement. Thoſe who were fit for war he kept, and having placed them in the caſtle his near relations, with the women and children, in all about eight hundred people, he left them ſufficient proviſions, and proceeded to Petra, the chief city of Arabia.

Jeruſalem plundered.

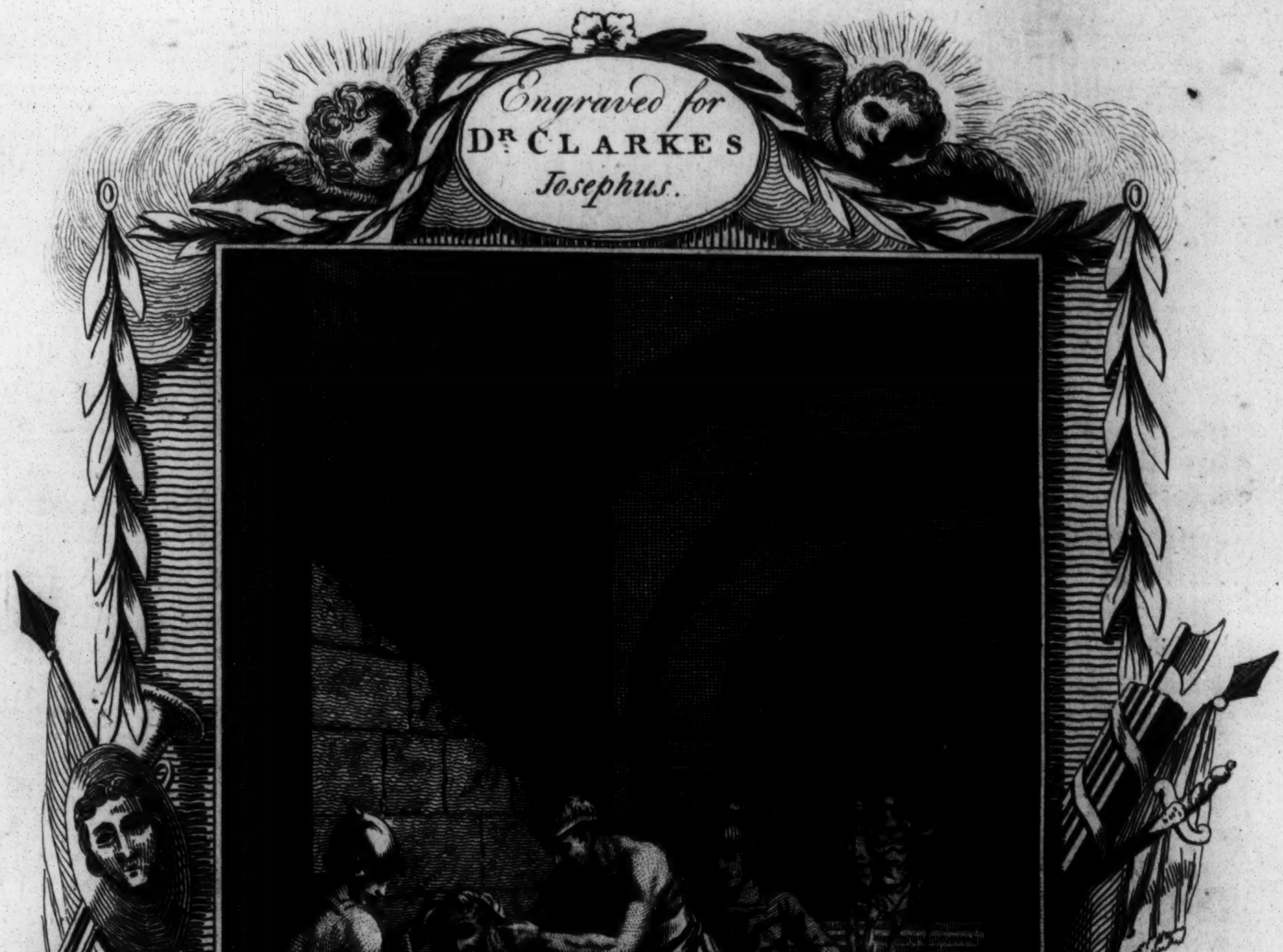
On Herod's leaving Jeruſalem, the Parthians, the next morning early, ravaged the city and palace, ſeizing every thing therein, except three hundred talents belonging to Hyrcanus, and a few valuable articles, the property of Herod. Nor were the Parthians ſatisfied with plundering the city, but they ravaged the adjacent country, and totally demoliſhed the city of Mariſſa, which was famous for its ſtrength and riches.

The king of Parthia having given the government to Antigonus, Hyrcanus and Phaſael were delivered to him as priſoners: but he regretted the loſs of the women, who, as well as the money were to be delivered to him by contract. Antigonus now ordered that Hyrcanus's ears ſhould be cut off, to incapacitate him for the office of high-prieſt; preſuming that the people might otherwiſe, at ſome future period, reſtore him.

Phaſael dies.

Phaſael finding that he was deſtined to death, determined that his enemies ſhould not deſtroy him, but his hands being fettered, daſhed out his brains againſt a wall. It has been ſaid that the wound was not mortal; but that the ſurgeons employed by Antigonus, put a period to his life, by dreſſing his wounds with poiſon. However, he lived to learn that Herod was ſafe from the hands of his enemies, which enabled him to die in peace.

In the interim, Herod, ſo far from ſinking under his misfortunes, ſeemed but the better diſpoſed to encounter them. He applied to Malichus, king of Arabia, for a loan of money, either in paying intereſt for it, or in mere friendſhip, having no doubt that a prince who owed him ſo many obligations, would be glad to repay them. At this time he had not heard of his brothers


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

The death of Hyrcanus & Phazael

Publish'd as the Act directs, by J. Walker, Paternoster Row, June 30. 1786.

BRITISH MUSEUM

ther's death, and his intention was only to raiſe three hundred talents for his ranſom, propoſing to give a ſon of Phaſael, of ſeven years of age, as a pledge for the money. Meſſengers now arrived from Malchus, directing Herod to quit the country, for the Parthians would not admit his ſtay. He replied, that he came not to give trouble, but merely for the purpoſe of adjuſting his own affairs. This treatment he imagined proceeded from the deſire of ſome powerful people to defraud him of money which he had entruſted in their hands through the means of Antipater.

Herod now proceeded towards Egypt, and in his way called at a temple, where he had left a number of his friends. Arriving at Rynocuſa on the following day, he was there informed of his brother's death. Repenting of his ingratitude, Malchus haſtened after Herod, with a deſign of making him reparation: but in the mean time, he had proceeded to Peluſium, where the mariners bound for Alexandria would not permit him to embark. Hereupon, he applied to the magiſtrates, who reſpectfully attended him into the city, where he was magnificently entertained by Cleopatra, and invited by her to eſtabliſh his reſidence there as long as might ſuit his convenience: but neither entreaties, dangers, nor difficulties were ſufficient to induce him to decline his intention of going to Rome.

Herod honourably entertained by Cleopatra.

Embarking at Pamphlia, a tempeſt aroſe, and the ſeamen were under the neceſſity of throwing part of their lading overboard: but at length Herod landed at Rhodes, where he met Sappinas and Ptolemy. Part of his ſhattered fortune he employed in repairing the town, which had been nearly deſtroyed during the war with Caſſius. At Rhodes he took ſhipping for Italy, and after putting into the port of Brunduſium, proceeded to Rome, where he communicated to Antony all the late tranſactions in Judea and ſolicited his aſſiſtance for the recovery of his affairs.

CHAP. XXVI.

Herod gains the friendſhip of Auguſtus and Antony. He is elected king of Judea. Antigonus aſſaults the caſtle of Maſſada.

ANTONY was greatly affected by the narrative of Herod's misfortunes, and in his deſire of yielding him aſſiſtance, was ſeconded by Auguſtus. Meſſala and Atratenus introduced Herod to the ſenate of Rome, recommending him to their regard, both on account of his own and his father's ſervices; at the ſame time reproaching Antigonus for having accepted the government from the Parthians, thereby ſhewing a contempt for the authority of the Romans, and for various other inſtances of miſconduct. Antony ſaid, that in conſideration of the ſtate of the war with the Parthians, in his judgment it would be a prudent meaſure to appoint Herod king of Judea; and in this propoſition the ſenate unanimouſly concurred. The Romans deviated from their uſual practice in thus conferring the ſovereignty upon a perſon not of royal deſcent.

Herod conſtituted king of Judea.

Herod was conducted from the ſenate-houſe, between Antony and Auguſtus, to the capitol, where ſacrifices were offered, and the decrees depoſited, the conſuls and ſenators attending on the occaſion. This was in the conſulſhip of C. Domitius Salvinus and C. Aſinius Pollio, in the hundred and eighty-fourth year of the olympiad. In compliment to the new king, Antony provided a magnificent entertainment; after which Herod departed to execute the functions of his office.

During the abſence of Herod, the caſtle of Maſſada was beſieged by Antigonus. Of all other neceſſaries the beſieged had a plentiful ſupply, but being greatly diſtreſſed by a want of water, Joſeph, with a body of two hundred men, formed the reſolution of forcing a paſſage through the enemy, with a view of obtaining ſuccour from the Arabians, having received information that Malichus repented his late ungenerous treatment of Herod. But when on the point of making this dangerous attempt, a plentiful fall of rain filled all the reſervoirs and ciſterns in the place. Encouraged by this ſupply, they repeatedly made ſallies upon the enemy with conſiderable ſucceſs.

Antigonus beſieges Maſſada.

In the mean time Ventidius, a Roman general, after having compelled the Parthians to evacuate Syria, proceeded to Judea, under pretence of yielding aſſiſtance to Joſeph: but his real motive was to extort money from Antigonus, in which project he ſucceeded, by advancing his troops to Jeruſalem.

CHAP. XXVII.

Herod takes Joppa, and relieves Maſſada. After the conqueſt of Reſa, he proceeds to Jeruſalem. Jericho rifled by the Romans. The reduction of Galilee. The death of Ptolemy. The Parthians defeated. A ſlaughter upon the Jews by Machærus. Antony gives Herod an honourable reception. Samoſata ſurrendered. Antony goes into Egypt. The death of Joſeph. An inſurrection in Galilee. Machærus fortifies Gath. Herod wonderfully preſerved. Jeruſalem beſieged by Herod.

Returning from Italy, while on his way towards Galilee, Herod met Antigonus, who had augmented his army with a conſiderable body of auxiliary troops. At this period alſo Gellius arrived from Antony, with orders to Silo and Ventidius, that they ſhould afford Herod all poſſible aſſiſtance, in taking poſſeſſion of his kingdom: but when theſe orders arrived, Ventidius was buſily employed in appeaſing the tumults that had taken place in ſeveral cities, through the means of the Parthians; and Silo was in Judea, on the receipt of a penſion from Antigonus. Herod's army being collected, appeared to be conſiderable, and increaſed as they marched; almoſt all the people of Galilee declaring in his favour. The firſt great object of his preſent wiſh was to raiſe the ſiege of Maſſada, in order to give liberty to his friends and relations, who had been ſo long impriſoned in that city. But in this expedition Joppa appeared to be ſuch a barrier againſt his views of advancing to Jeruſalem, that he could not think of leaving ſo ſtrong a place unſubdued. In this ſituation Silo marched off; and the Jews making a cloſe attack upon his rear, Herod drove in upon them with a ſelect party, put them to the rout, and reſcued Silo, when he was on the point of being made a priſoner. This being done, Herod made a conqueſt of Joppa, and, without loſs of time, repaired to relieve his friends in Maſſada, at which place numbers of people flocked to his aſſiſtance; ſome of them on account of his father, ſome in reſpect to his own merits, and a third ſort in conſideration of the obligations they owed to both: but the hope of ingratiating the favour of the new king was the moſt prevailing motive. Having raiſed the ſiege of Maſſada, and relieved his friends there, Herod conquered the caſtle of Reſa by ſtorm, and then marched towards Jeruſalem.

Herod conquers Joppa.

Jeruſalem beſieged.

Having drawn up his army on the weſtern quarter of the city, the beſieged made frequent ſallies upon his men, and greatly annoyed them with continual ſhowers of darts and arrows. Herod ordered a herald to go round the walls of the town, and make proclamation in different parts, that the general benefit and welfare of the inhabitants was the only object he had in view; and that he was willing to paſs an act of pardon and perpetual oblivion of all animoſities and offences. Hereupon, Antigonus, addreſſing himſelf to Silo and the Roman ſoldiers, expatiated upon the injuſtice of Herod's advancement to the regal dignity, he being an Idumean by birth, and a deſcendant from a private family; obſerving that in his caſe a precedent was eſtabliſhed in direct contradiction to ancient cuſtom, and the laws and rights of ſucceſſion. The contention between Antigonus and Herod becoming more violent, provoking language paſſed on both ſides; and at length, by the command of Antigonus, the oppoſite party was driven from the walls by repeated diſcharges of darts and arrows.

A mutiny i Herod's army.

Herod was now convinced that Silo had been corrupted. In fact, he had tampered with the ſoldiers, and ſeduced them to be clamourous for money and proviſions; they demanded more commodious winter quarters, ſaying the country had been ſo ravaged by Antigonus, that it was no longer capable of affording them ſubſiſtence. This mutinous diſpoſition increaſed to ſo alarming a degree, that the ſoldiers were actually on the point of abandoning their arms and deſerting. To maintain his authority, Herod called to their recollection that Cæſar, Antony, and the Roman ſenate, had commiſſioned him to come into that country; and exhorted his officers and men to adhere to their duty, promiſing to accommodate them with every convenience that their ſituation would admit. He then employed commiſſaries to purchaſe proviſions, of which an ample ſupply was in a ſhort time procured. Herod alſo directed his friends in Samaria to collect at Jericho great ſtores of cattle, corn, wine and oil, for the ſupply of his army.

To intercept the conveyance of proviſions to the adverſe army, Antigonus ordered ſeveral parties of ſoldiers to ſtation themſelves in ambuſh in the fields and roads, among the crags and mountains, and in other places in the neighbourhood of Jericho. Nor was Herod leſs aſſiduous on his part; for with ten companies of troops, half conſiſting of Jews, and the other of Romans, together with a hired party, he marched towards Jericho; but five hundred of the inhabitants, with all their families, having quitted the town and fled to the mountains, he purſued them and made them priſoners, but afterwards gave them liberty. The city was ranſacked by the Romans, who found therein an immenſe treaſure, conſiſting of money, jewels, rich furniture, and other valuable effects. The king having left a garriſon in the place, retired by the way that he came, and appointed his army to take up their quarters in places which he had lately conquered; as Samaria, Idumea, and Galilee. Antigonus bribed Silo with a ſum of money to permit the Roman army to be quartered in Lydda, which was done to obtain the friendſhip of Antony. The Romans were now in the midſt of peace and plenty, and every way well accommodated.

The Romans gain conſiderable booty at Jericho.

But Herod, whoſe active diſpoſition would not permit long to remain idle, diſpatched a thouſand foot and four hundred horſe, under the command of his brother Joſeph, into Idumea, while he himſelf went to Samaria, in order to attend the ſafety of his mother and other relations he had conveyed from Maſſada. He next went to Galilee, to reduce ſome garriſons there in the poſſeſſion of Antigonus. Arriving at Sepphoris, he found the inhabitants had abandoned the place, but left therein great quantities of proviſions of all kinds. At this time the adjacent country, particularly about Arbela, was moſt dreadfully infeſted with robbers, who iſſuing from their lurking places in the mountains, diſturbed the neighbourhood in a high degree. Hereupon, Herod ordered out a ſquadron of horſe, and three companies of foot, to drive them out from their retirements. He marched againſt them with his whole army, about forty days after he had ſent out this force; on which the robbers made their appearance, and attacked Herod's troops with ſo much reſolution, that his left wing gave way; but bravely rallying his forces, and putting himſelf at the head of them, he renewed the charge, and totally routed the opponents, whom he purſued even to the river Jordan. The conſequence of this victory was, that, in a ſhort time, all the people of Galilee ſubmitted, except thoſe who had taken refuge in the mountains.

The Galileans ſubmit to Herod.

Herod now ordered one hundred and fifty drachmas to be given to each of his ſoldiers, and a larger ſum to the officers, in proportion to their rank. Theſe gratuities being diſtributed, he poſted his troops in winter quarters. He was now informed, that Antigonus had refuſed to grant his people more proviſions than for one month's ſubſiſtence, and ordered the neighbouring inhabitants to clear the country of all the neceſſaries of life, and to retire to the mountains with the proviſions, for the purpoſe of ſtarving the Romans out of their quarters. But to obviate the threatened calamity, Herod directed Pheroras, his younger brother, to collect ſuſtenance for his army, and alſo to repair the ruinated fort of Alexandrion. Theſe commiſſions Pheroras faithfully executed.

Herod now marched againſt ſuch of the enemy as had taken refuge among the mountains. It appeared equally difficult to deſcend to the caverns where they lived, or to ſcale them from below, and therefore he had recourſe to the following ſtratagem: he cauſed ſoldiers provided with hooks, darts, arrows, and other arms, to be lowered in wooden caſes ſuſpended by iron chains to machines fixed on the top of the hill. The men put many of the fugitives to death, either with their darts and arrows, or by drawing them out of their holes with their hooks, and throwing them down the precipice. The king now offered pardon to thoſe who ſhould lay down their arms and ſubmit to his authority, declaring that a public act of indemnity and total oblivion ſhould be paſſed in their favour, and with this propoſition numbers of them complied. The attack being renewed the next day, the ſoldiers ſet fire to combuſtible articles placed at the mouths of the caves, whereby many of the robbers were ſmothered. In one of the caverns was an aged man, whoſe wife and ſeven ſons exhorted him to ſubmit: but he refuſed, and ſtabbed them as they ſeverally attempted to paſs by him, throwing their bodies down the precipice, from whence he alſo precipitated himſelf. While thus deſtroying his family, he reflected upon Herod on account of the meanneſs of his extraction, though that prince, who was witneſs to the tranſaction, by the moſt expreſſive ſignals he could make uſe of, endeavoured to induce his acceptance of mercy. This enterprize put an end to the war between Herod and the robbers.

An old man kills his wife and ſeven ſons, and deſtroys himſelf.

The government of the above diſtrict being given to Ptolemy. Herod marched into Samaria at the head of three thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe, with a determination of coming to a deciſive battle with Antigonus. Soon after his advancement, Ptolemy was attacked and ſlain by a party of the people who had committed many depredations in Galilee, after which they retired to the mountains, and other almoſt inacceſſible places; from whence they iſſued at different times, and ravaged the adjacent country. However, Herod puniſhed them for their outrageous proceedings, putting ſome to death upon the ſpot, putting others to torture, and deſtroying all their forts and caſtles. He then laid a fine of a hundred talents upon ſome cities ſuſpected of favouring the enemy.

The death of Ptolemy.

Pacorus king of the Parthians, being defeated in battle, Ventidius, agreeable to his orders from Antony, ſent Machærus to Herod with a thouſand horſe, and two legions; but Machærus having been artfully applied to by Antigonus, departed to him, under pretence of giving intelligence, though in direct oppoſition to the advice of Herod. On his approach, Antigonus, ſo far from confiding in him, directed his people to oppoſe him with darts and ſlings. He was now convinced that Herod was perfectly right in his diſſuaſion, and that he ought to have liſtened to his advice. Enraged at the treatment he had received he turned towards the city of Emmaus, deſtroying, without diſtinction of friend or foe; every Jew that he met with in the way. This conduct was ſo offenſive to Herod, that he immediately went towards Samaria, to acquaint Antony with what had happened, and to inform him that he was himſelf able to cope with Antigonus, without the aid of ſuch as did more miſchief to their own cauſe, than to that of the enemy. While he was on this expedition, Machærus hurried after him, and having overtaken him on the road, earneſtly entreated him either to give over all thoughts of his propoſed journey, or at leaſt to leave his brother Joſeph behind, that thoſe two might carry on the war againſt Antigonus in conjunction. On this ſolicitation Herod yielded, forgave all that had paſſed, and left the army under the command of Joſeph, with particular directions not to quarrel with Machræus, nor to undertake any enterprize without a proſpect of ſucceſs.

On this adjuſtment of affairs, Herod took with him an additional number of horſe and foot, and marched to join Antony, who then lay before Samoſata, on the banks of the Euphrates. When he arrived at Antioch he found multitudes diſpoſed to join Antony, but the roads, were ſo thronged with Barbarian enemies that they could not approach him. Hereupon, Herod put himſelf at their head, and undertook to conduct them: they proceeded on their march; but having advanced within two days journey of Samoſata, they were encountered by a party of the enemy's horſe, which had lain in ambuſh behind ſome hedges, on the entrance into the country, to prevent Antony from receiving any aid from that quarter. The enemy ſuffered the front of the troops to paſs; but when Herod advanced with the rear, they attacked him violently with about five hundred horſe, and broke his front ranks. The king, however, bore down courageouſly on them with his guards, drove them from their ſtation, rallied his ſcattered forces, and purſued his ſucceſs till he recovered all they had taken, which in priſoners, baggage, carriages, horſes and mules, amounted to a very conſiderable booty. This battle being ended, Herod proceeded in his way to Antony; but was frequently attacked on his rout, by companies of Barbarians, who ſallied out upon him from the woods and thickets; but in all his encounters he was ſtill ſuperior to them, defeating them in all the attempts they made, till at length a free paſſage was obtained, and as he proceeded, the people hailed him as their preſerver.

Antony, who had been informed of the gallant manner in which he had acquitted himſelf in his ſeveral conteſts with the Barbarians, received Herod with every honourable mark of friendſhip, eſteem and reſpect. Soon afterwards, the war was concluded by Antigonus delivering up Samoſata. Having appointed Soſius to the government of the province, and the command of the army, with orders to yield aſſiſtance to Herod, Antony departed into Egypt. Hereupon, Soſius diſpatched two legions to guard the king on his way to Judea, and immediately followed with the reſt of the army.

Antigon ſurrende Samoſata.

During the above tranſactions, Joſeph loſt his life in Judea, in conſequence of his diſregard to the orders of Herod. Marching towards Jericho with his own troops and five companies belonging to Machærus, with a view of getting in the harveſt, Joſeph took his ſtation upon the mountains. The greateſt part of the Roman army being newly raiſed in Syria, and none of them perfectly diſciplined, the enemy, taking advantage of their ſituation and inexperience, attacked them by ſurprize, totally routed them, and cut ſix companies to pieces, Joſeph being ſlain, while courageouſly fighting at the head of his army. The body of Joſeph being found, Antigonus ordered the head to be cut off; but for the redemption of the head of the general, his brother Pheroras paid fifty talents. Soon afterwards an inſurrection took place in Galilee, during which as many of Herod's adherents as could be found were drowned in a lake by their enemies. Several other diſturbances took place in Judea; and in the mean time, Machærus fortified the caſtle of Gath.

Joſeph falls battle.

While at Daphne, near Antioch, Herod was informed of the ſucceſſive misfortunes that had occurred; but this news was the leſs ſurprſing on account of his having had ſeveral dreams predicting the death of his brother. Directing his rout towards Mount Libanus, Herod, being then at the head of eight hundred men, was attacked by the enemy near Ptolemais in the night, but he defeated and forced them into their former quarters, and made preparations for aſſaulting the place next morning: but a ſtrong tempeſt ariſing, his army was under the neceſſity of ſeeking ſhelter in the neighbouring villages. At his juncture another legion detatched by Antony arrived; and this reinforcement ſo intimidated the garriſon, that they abandoned the place, and eſcaped by night.

Impatient to avenge the death of his brother Joſeph, Herod haſtened to Jericho, where he invited the princes to a magnificent entertainment. His gueſts being departed, juſt as Herod had quitted the apartment to retire to his bed-chamber, the roof of it ſuddenly fell in. The eſcape of the king from ſo eminent a danger was aſcribed to the interpoſition of Divine Providence.

On the following day the enemy deſcended from the mountains, ſurprizing the Romans with a body of ſix thouſand men. The diſtreſs occaſioned hereby was very great; they trampled down all oppoſition, and Herod himſelf was wounded in the ſide by an arrow. Juſt after this, Antigonus, as if boaſtful of his ſuperior force, ſent Pappus, with a number of troops under his command, into Samaria; and while he and Machærus were conſidering which ſhould attack the other, Herod took poſſeſſion of five towns, put to the ſword two thouſand men that were in garriſon in them, and leaving the places, retired to ſeek for Pappus, who had then made his encampment at a place named Iſanas, where numbers of people from Jericho and Judea flocked to his ſtandard. Herod finding the enemy in a diſpoſition to decide the matter by arms, a battle immediately enſued, in which he totally routed his opponents, amply revenging the death of his brother, and puniſhing them in the very town to which they fled for ſanctuary. In an inſtant the houſes were crouded with ſoldiers from the top to the bottom, each ſeeking his own ſafety, and ſhowers of ſtones, darts, and other weapons conſtantly deſcending a dreadful ſlaughter was made.

Herod aven-
es the death
f his bro-
her by a
reat ſlaugh-
r of the
emy.

The broken troops now fled in ſuch numbers, and in ſuch wildneſs of diſorder, that if a furious tempeſt had not happened in the very juncture, the aſſailants, in the firſt zeal of conqueſt, would have marched directly to Jeruſalem, and put a ſpeedy termination to the war: for at this period, Antigonus was doubting if he ſhould not quit the city. The evening being far advanced, Herod directed his ſoldiers to go to ſupper, and retreated to his own chamber, to take ſome neceſſary refreſhment after the battle: and now again he had a providential deliverance, no leſs ſingular than the former. Being in his bath, unattended but by one perſon, three ſoldiers, each with a drawn ſword in his hand, ruſhed into the room, croſſed it with great haſte, and went off by the oppoſite door. On enquiry it appeared that theſe men, during the rage of the battle, had concealed themſelves in the houſe, in fear of the enemy; and now retired with all expedition, to ſave themſelves, without having any notion of doing injury to the king, whom it would have been eaſily in their power to have put to death. Among the bodies of the ſlain was found that of Pappus, whoſe head Herod ordered to be cut off, and ſent it Pheroras, as a ſort of conſolation for the death of his brother Joſeph, who had been ſlain by Pappus, while fighting at the head of his troops.

The confuſion occaſioned by the above battle was no ſooner over, than Herod marched his army towards Jeruſalem, and ſtationed himſelf, as Pompey had done before, on that part of the city next the temple, which ſeemed the beſt place for a ſucceſsful attack. When his engineers were ready, all proper materials provided, and he had given orders for the erecting of towers, and throwing up trenches and bulwarks about the place, he went to Samaria to eſpouſe Mariamne, daughter of Alexander, and grand child to Ariſtobulus, to whom, as we have already obſerved, he had been for ſome time affianced.

Jeruſalem aſ-
ſaulted.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Jeruſalem ſubdued. Antigonus put to death. The extinction of the Aſmonæan race.

SOON after the nuptials of Herod and Mariamne, Soſius diſpatched a formidable body of cavalry and infantry to Jeruſalem, and preſently afterwards followed, taking the road through Phœnicia. In the mean time, the king returned from Samaria, with about thirty thouſand men, and the troops being united, they advanced towards the north walls of the city. The army under the command of Herod and Soſius was compoſed of ſix thouſand horſe and eleven regiments of foot, excluſive of auxilaries from Syria.

The defence was maintained with great bravery, the beſieged animating each other by frequently exclaiming, "The temple of the Lord." In order to diſtreſs the aſſailants they ſeized every opportunity of ſallying forth and ravaging the country; and ſo active and reſolute were they in theſe incurſions as to leave very little for the ſuſtenance either of man or beaſt. To prevent as far as poſſible the inconveniencies threatened by theſe proceedings, Herod ſtationed ambuſhes to annoy the enemy, and employed commiſſaries to procure proviſions for the army from diſtant parts. The beſieged made ſeveral deſperate ſallies ſetting fire to ſuch of the works of the enemy as were compleated, as well as thoſe that were in hand: their courge was likewiſe extremely conſpicuous when they advanced to fight hand to hand, being no ways inferior to that of the Romans; though it muſt be confeſſed, that in experience and military knowledge, the advantage was very greatly in favour of the latter. One wall was no ſooner thrown down, than immediately the beſieged ſupplied its place by a trenchment that anſwered the end of another. When the beſiegers wrought one mine, the beſieged worked a counter-mine; and they repeatly met under ground, and fought while employed in this buſineſs; their actions were moſt deſperate, and they become valiant through mere deſpair. At the time they were acting theſe wonders againſt an enemy without the walls, they were almoſt ſtarving within them, for want of neceſſaries; for this happened in the ſabbatical year, when it was unlawful for them to cultivate the earth. At the end of forty days after the attack commenced, twenty gallant men mounted the firſt wall, and were followed by one of Soſius's centurions. At the expiration of fifteen days from this time, the ſecond wall was taken, and a number of the galleries round the temple ſet on fire, which circumſtance Herod attributed to Antigonus, to render him obnoxious in the eyes of the people. The lower town, and the outer-quarter of the temple being taken, the Jews retired to the upper part of the city, and the middle of the temple: and apprehenſive that the Romans might interrupt them in offering up their daily prayers and ſacrifices, they ſent ambaſſadors to Herod, to aſk permiſſion to bring in as many beaſts to the city as might be neceſſary for that ſervice. This requeſt, in the hope that it might have a conciliating effect upon them, Herod readily granted: but he ſoon diſcovered his error, for they appeared to be ſtill more zealous in the cauſe of Antigonus: on which Herod immediately attacked the city with his whole force, and made a conqueſt of it by aſſault. The delay that had happened, and the oppoſition that had been made, ſo exaſperated the Romans, and the Jews in the ſervice of Herod were likewiſe ſo enraged with thoſe of the oppoſite party, that they jointly united to put all they met with to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age: and this was done equally in the ſtreets and houſes; nor was the temple itſelf any longer a ſanctuary to thoſe who ſought for refuge in it. The ſcene of blood and ſlaughter that now enſued exceeds all deſcription. The ſoldiers, tranſported to the higheſt degree of fury and revenge, were implacable in their reſentment, and paid not the leaſt regard to the rights of humanity: Herod, however, did all that was in his power, by entreaty and authority, to put a ſtop to the carnage; but all his orders and perſuaſions paſſed equally unheeded.

Herod takes Jeruſalem, and a dreadful ſlaughter enſues.

When things had arrived at this extremity of diſtreſs, Antigonus, in debaſement of his former regal character, deſcended from the tower, and threw himſelf at the feet of Soſius; but, ſo far from taking pity on his misfortunes, Soſius treated him as one who had degraded himſelf below the dignity of manhood, calling him by the name of Antigona, inſtead of Antigonus, as if he had been a woman. But in the ſequel he was not treated like a woman; for Soſius directed that he ſhould be put in irons, and a ſtrong guard placed over him for ſecurity.

Herod, however, had not yet accompliſhed his end; for the victory he had already obtained over his enemies, was not attended with greater difficulties than he now experienced in keeping his own people in ſubjection. The forces which he had hired crouded in immenſe numbers, and were extremely importunate, to get into the temple, and even into the very ſanctuary; to prevent which Herod was obliged to exert all his authority, and to have recourſe to force, as well as to fair words and threatenings. In fact, he would have been more eſſentially injured by his ſucceſs, than even by a defeat, if he had indulged the curioſity of the riotous multitude ſo far as to expoſe to their ſight the ſacred and venerable myſteries of religion. He likewiſe argued and reaſoned with Soſius, to prevent the ſoldiers from indulging their rage for plunder, murder, and devaſtation: repreſenting, that if they continued to ravage and deſtroy, as they had hitherto done, the Romans would find in the end, that inſtead of having a people to govern, he would be a king of a deſart: he added, that if the ſovereignty of the whole world were to be offered to him at the expence of ſo much blood, he would not accept of it. In anſwer to this Soſius ſaid, that it was a matter of courſe, an act of juſtice, and agreeable to general practice, that when any place was taken by aſſault, the ſoldiers ſhould have the booty. Herod in reply told him that, as far as the ſoldiers had any intereſt in the matter, he would himſelf compound with them for the plunder, and gratify them to the utmoſt of their wiſhes; and this he accordingly did; for he made it a point of honour and conſcience to be true to his engagements. In a word, he behaved in ſo liberal manner to the common ſoldiers, gave the officers ſuch ſuperior gratuities, and made ſo many acknowledgments, attended with ſumptuous preſents, to Soſius, that he wholly redeemed the city, and in the end, all parties appeared perfectly ſatisfied.

Herod's liberality to his army.

This event took place in the 185th olympiad, in the third month, and on the day of a ſolemn faſt, being the anniverſary of the taking of the city by Pompey, twenty-ſeven years before: happening likewiſe, when Marcus Agrippa and Canidius Gallus were conſuls.

All things being thus ſettled, Soſius dedicated a golden crown to God, and then departed to Jeruſalem, and took with him his priſoner Antigonus, in chains, to preſent him to Antony. Herod now began to entertain an idea, that it was poſſible Antony would not put the priſoner to death; but that, when he ſhould appear at Rome, he might appeal to the ſenate on the legality of his claim to the government; and as Antigonus was of the blood royal, and Herod himſelf but of vulgar extraction, he was exceedingly doubtful what might be the iſſue. It occurred to him that Antigonus might inſinuate, that as he had been in arms againſt the Romans, he could not expect the reſtitution of the regal dignity in his own perſon, as his actual offences might be deemed a ſufficient forfeiture of all his pretenſions; yet that his ſon, who was perfectly inoffenſive, might be admitted to the ſucceſſion, and no advantage taken of the innocent for the crime of the guilty. Herod becoming very uneaſy with the weight of theſe reflections, he bribed Antony, with a conſiderable ſum of money to cauſe Antigonus to be privately put to death.

By the death of Antigonus the Aſmonæan line became extinct. This family was in poſſeſſion of the government one hundred and twenty-ſix years; and was celebrated for the eminent ſervices it had rendered the public.

◆

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK XV.

From the Year of the World 3929 *to* 3955.

CHAPTER I.

Forty-five of the adherents to Antigonus put to death. Antigonus beheaded.

HEROD made a very liberal proviſion for ſuch of the citizens as had eſpouſed his cauſe, and on the contrary, almoſt daily conſigned to death ſome of thoſe who had oppoſed his advancement to the ſovereignty of Judea. In gratitude for the ſervices he had received from them in the circumſtance of their adviſing Antigonus to admit him into the city at the time of the ſiege, Herod took Pollio, the Phariſee, and his diſciple Sameas into his particular favour. This was the ſame Pollio*, who, on a former occaſion, when Herod was examined before Hyrcanus, and the reſt of the judges, told them that the time was advancing when that man whom they were ſeeking to diſcharge, ſhould ruin them; and in the event this prediction was wholly verified.

Herod had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the city; than he gave orders for the collection of all the royal furniture, together with ſuch valuable treaſure, in gold, ſilver, and effects, as had been ſecreted by the more wealthy of the citizens; and this he directed to be conveyed to the palace, and out of it made a moſt ſumptuous preſent to Antony, gratifying with the remainder ſuch friends and adherents as had been moſt faithful to his intereſt. He now gave orders that forty-five of the moſt zealous friends of Antigonus ſhould be put to death, and directed that a guard ſhould be placed at their doors while the bodies were brought out, which guard was alſo to ſee that nothing elſe was conveyed away: and if any gold or ſilver was diſcovered, it ſhould be immediately produced to the king: ſo that, in fact, the vanquiſhed ſaw no end to their misfortunes. They were unhappy enough to be ſubjected to a neceſſitous prince, whoſe avarice was ſo great, that all their earthly poſſeſſions were too little to gratify it. This happened likewiſe, during their ſabbatical year, when their wants could not be ſupplied by the cuſtomary produce of the harveſt.

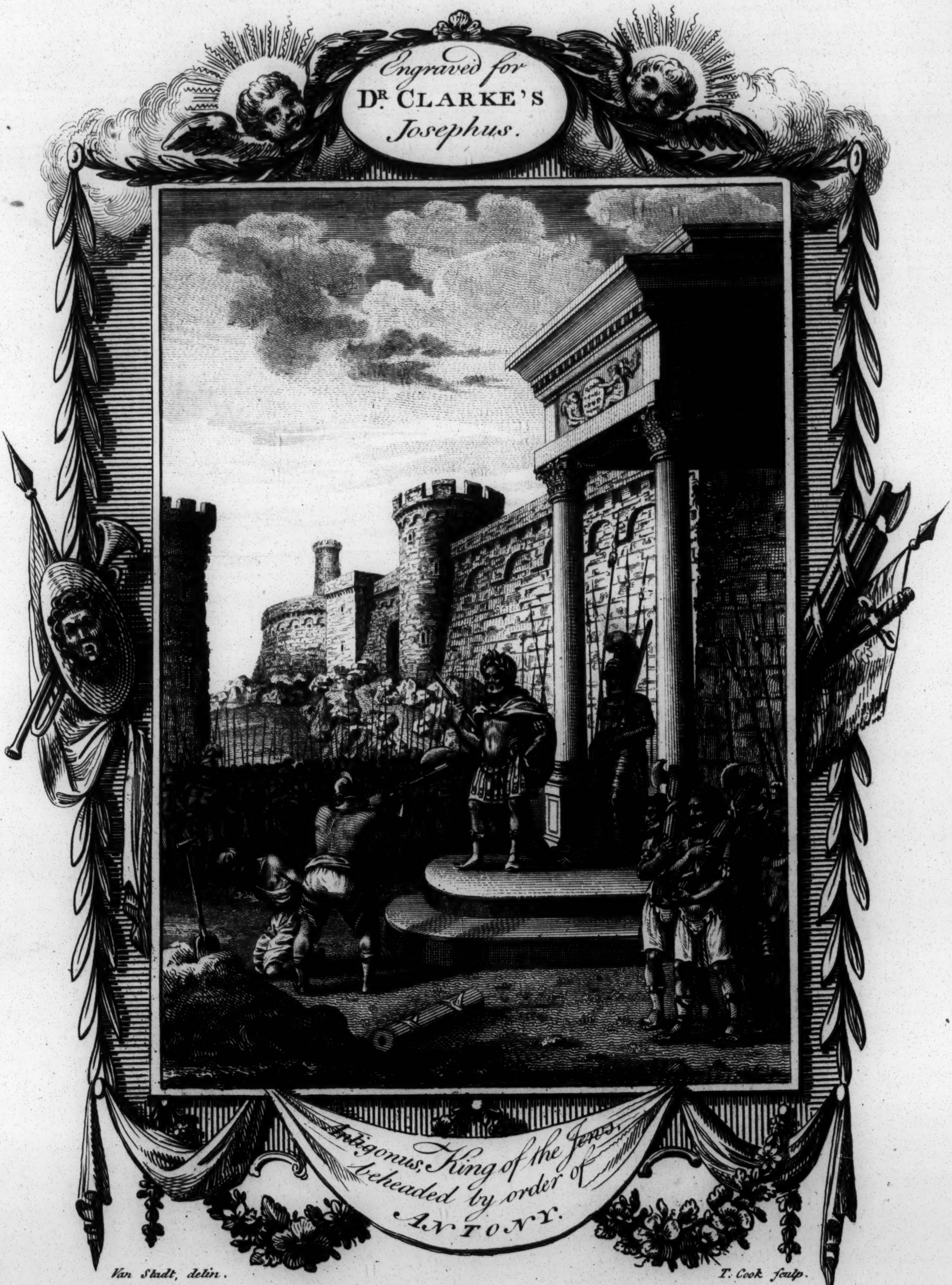
Herod makes preſents to Antony, and cauſes the friends of Antigonus to be put to death.

At this time Antigonus was a priſoner to Antony, who had an intention of gracing his triumph by exhibiting him in chains:

---

* In the XVIIth chapter, of the XIVth book, this is ſaid of Sameas, not of Pollio.

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

Antigonus, King of the Jews,
beheaded by order of
ANTONY.

Van Stadt, delin. T. Cook sculp.

Published as the Act directs, Octr. 22d. 1785. by John Walker Paternoster Row.

chains: but hearing that the Jews began to be mutinous, and to favour Antigonus, from the antipathy they had conceived to Herod, he immediately gave orders for his being beheaded at Antioch, as the moſt likely method to appeaſe the paſſions of the people. This event is mentioned by Strabo in the following terms:

igonus
aded.

“Antigonus, king of the Jews, being conveyed by Antony priſoner to Antioch, he there ordered his head to be cut off: being the firſt king ever put to death in this manner by the Romans: but this much he could acknowledge in his juſtification, that while Antigonus was living, the Jews would never acknowledge Herod for their king: and, in fact, the veneration they had for their former prince was ſo great, that no degree of puniſhment would prevail upon them to acknowledge Herod as a king, even in name: he, however, propoſed to himſelf, by this ignominious puniſhment, to deſtroy the reputation and inſult the memory of Antigonus, while he conciliated the affections of the people to himſelf.”

CHAP. II.

After obtaining his liberty, Hyrcanus is generouſly received by Herod. Ananel promoted to the office of high-prieſt. Herod accuſes Alexandra of conſpiring with Cleopatra. Ananel depoſed and Ariſtobulus advanced to the prieſthood.

IN conſideration of his illuſtrious deſcent, Phraates king of Parthia, ordered Hyrcanus to be relieved from his chains, and permitted to be at large, on condition that he ſhould not go beyond the limits of the city of Babylon. Upon being informed of the advancement of Herod to the ſovereignty, he became extremely deſirous of viſiting that Prince, who he imagined would make every poſſible acknowledgment for having been the preſerver both of his life and honour, as we have before mentioned. But upon conſulting his friends, they adviſed him againſt undertaking the propoſed journey: but their arguments were not ſufficient to induce him to decline his intention of reviſiting his native country. At this period too it happened that Hyrcanus was invited, by a letter from Herod, to repair to him, and take his ſhare in the government: this letter deſired him to requeſt Phraates, and the Jews his brethren, not to deny him a ſatisfaction which he ſo much coveted; intimating that this was the period when he had the faireſt opportunity of teſtifying his gratitude to the man to whom he was indebted for his life and advancement. Nor did Herod's entreaties thus end: for he diſpatched Saramalla as an ambaſſador to Phraates, commiſſioning him to deliver valuable preſents, and pay all poſſible reſpect, in behalf of Hyrcanus, whom he eſteemed his friend and patron. Now the whole of this conduct appeared to be dictated by hypocriſy; for Herod being a prince not only ſuſpicious and artful, but knowing that he had uſurped the dominion, thought it a point of prudence to ſecure himſelf againſt every viciſſitude of fortune; and on this principle, deemed it good policy to get Hyrcanus into his cuſtody, or to cauſe his deſtruction; which laſt circumſtance happened, as will appear in the ſequel.

Phraates gives liberty to Hyrcanus.

At length Phraates, gave a diſmiſſion to Hyrcanus, whom the Jews in Babylon having ſupplied with money, and all other neceſſaries for his journey, he repaired to Jeruſalem. Herod aſſigned him the moſt diſtinguiſhed place at all public meetings and entertainments; called him, and treated him as his father, and in all other reſpects behaved in ſuch a manner that not the ſmalleſt reaſon appeared to juſtify a ſuſpicion of his ſincerity.

In the common opinion, nothing ſeemed to be now wanting to the confirmation of Hyrcanus in the office of high-prieſt, but Herod's too great ſolicitude on the occaſion; which gave riſe to a diſſenſion in the family, of a moſt dangerous nature. Herod however, determined that no man of diſtinguiſhed extraction ſhould be promoted to the office of high-prieſt, ſent to Babylon for Ananel, a perſon of inferior degree, and cauſed him to be promoted to that diſtinguiſhed honour. The wife of Hyrcanus was Alexandra, the widow of Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, by whom ſhe had a ſon, likewiſe called Ariſtobulus, after his grandfather, and a daughter named Mariamne, married to Herod, who was a woman of the moſt diſtinguiſhed beauty. Now Alexandra was exceedingly concerned at this ſlight being put on her family; ſince, as ſhe had a ſon living, ſhe thought the office of high-prieſt ought not to be given to a ſtranger; and hereupon ſhe employed a certain muſician to carry a letter to Cleopatra, requeſting that ſhe would ſolicit Antony to beſtow the pontificate upon her ſon: but no regard was paid to this ſolicitation. It happened at this juncture, that Gellius, a confidential friend of Antony, being in Judea on buſineſs reſpecting his own affairs, ſaw Ariſtobulus and Mariamne, whom he deemed to be two of the moſt beautiful and graceful perſons that had ever exiſted. Hereupon he paid many compliments to Alexandra, on having had the happineſs to give birth to two ſuch wonderful inſtances of human perfection, and perſuaded her to ſend

Herod appoints Ananel to the office of high-prieſt.

ſend Antony a perſent of each of their pictures, as the moſt likely method to ſucceed in any requeſt ſhe had to make to him. In conſequence of this advice ſhe ſent the pictures: and Gellius, who wiſhed to inflame Antony with a paſſion for Mariamne, greatly exceeded the truth in his report of the beauty of their perſons. To ſend for the wife of a prince with whom he lived upon terms of friendſhip, Antony conſidered as inconſiſtent with the laws of honour; nor was he diſpoſed to offer offence to Cleopatra. Antony at this time wrote to Herod, ſignifying a deſire of receiving a viſit from Ariſtobulus, a fine youth of about fifteen or ſixteen years of age. Knowing Antony to be addicted to the gratification of a deteſtable paſſion, and that he was accuſtomed to exert his power in the perpetration of his enormities, Herod declined ſending the royal youth, ſignifying to Antony, that the Jews were ſo inclined to ſeditious practices, and ſo fond of the idea of a new king, that the departure of Ariſtobulus would inevitably be followed by a rebellion.

Herod ſolicited to give the pontificate to Ariſtobulus.

Herod deemed it prudent to preſerve an appearance of freindſhip for Ariſtobulus and Alexandra. His wife was extremely urgent with him to do juſtice to her brother in promoting him to the office of high-prieſt, the duties whereof would aſſuredly prevent his going to Antony. Hereupon, Herod put an extraordinary project in execution. Having ſummoned a meeting of his friends, he accuſed Alexandra of having engaged in a conſpiracy againſt him, and endeavouring, by means of Cleopatra, to induce Antony to remove him from the government, preparatory to the advancement of her ſon, in which, he ſaid, ſhe could not ſucceed without degrading her daughter: but in proof of his reſpect towards his mother-in-law, and every branch of her family, he was willing immediately to confer the dignity of the office of high-prieſt upon Ariſtobulus, which he would have done before, but that he was not of an age to undertake ſo important a charge at the time of Ananel's appointment. This addreſs was calculated to amuſe the women and the council; and it ſo much affected Alexandra, that, burſting into tears, ſhe expreſſed her concern at being ſuſpected of a deſign ſhe had never conceived; ſaying, if the promotion of her ſon to the throne, had been propoſed, ſhe would have abſolutely rejected it, being no farther ſolicitous for his advancement, than was conſiſtent with her own honour and the dignity of her family. She acknowledged that Herod had behaved towards her with a degree of generoſity becoming the dignity of his ſtation, requeſting, that if, through too nice a ſenſe of honour, ſhe had offended, he would grant her his pardon, and declaring, that ſhe would thenceforward conduct herſelf with perfect loyalty and obedience. This conceſſion appeared to put an end to all animoſity; and they parted with mutual expreſſions of friendſhip.

CHAP. III.

Ananel depoſed. Alexandra invited to accompany her ſon into Egypt. Their eſcape is prevented; and by the contrivance of Herod, Ariſtobulus is drowned.

HEROD now depoſed Ananel from the office of high-prieſt. Ananel was a foreigner deſcended from thoſe Jews who had been formerly carried captives by the Aſſyrians beyond the river Euphrates, ſeveral thouſands of which captives went to reſide at Babylon. Ananel, however was deſcended from the line of the prieſthood, and had been an old friend of Herod, who, on his advancement to the regal dignity, made him high-prieſt, and now depoſed him, in order to procure peace in his family. This proceeding, however, was contrary to law; for the office of high prieſt having been once regularly conferred, ought to remain with the party for life. This rule was firſt violated by Antiochus Epiphanes, who placed his brother Onias in the office, having removed Joſhua for that purpoſe. In the ſecond inſtance, Ariſtobulus ſet aſide Hyrcanus, and took on himſelf the dignity. And in the third inſtance, we find the law in this reſpect tranſgreſſed by Herod.

The intention of this proceeding appeared to have been a regard to domeſtic peace; but the event will ſhew, that the reconciliation which ſeemed to have taken place was by no means ſincere; for Herod was impreſſed with the idea, that Alexandra would not remain quiet any longer than till ſhe could find a freſh opportunity of giving farther trouble. Convinced in his own mind that this was the fact, he gave orders that ſhe ſhould be confined to her palace, and iſſued his injunctions that ſhe ſhould never intereſt herſelf in public concerns. Excluſive of this, he appointed ſo many perſons to watch over every part of her conduct, that all her actions were immediately reported to the king.

Alexandra confined to the palace, and ſpies appointed to obſerve her conduct.

Alexandra, being a woman of ſtrong underſtanding, and of a high ſpirit could not tamely brook the indignities that had been put upon her from an ungrounded ſuſpicion; and therefore ſhe wrote to Cleopatra, ſtating her whole caſe, and ſoliciting her advice and aſſiſtance. In conſequence of this application, Cleopatra perſuaded her to attempt to eſcape with her ſon into Egypt, where protection ſhould be afforded them. This advice being approved, Alexandra provided two coffins in which ſhe and her ſon were to be carried on board a ſhip that was ready for ſailing for Egypt, by ſome domeſtics, in whom ſhe repoſed great confidence. A ſervant to Alexandra, named Eſop, incautiouſly mentioned the particulars of the intended eſcape to Sabbion, not ſuppoſing him to be ignorant of the deſign. Sabbion was conſidered as a ſteady friend to Alexandra, and a bitter enemy to Herod, and he was ſuſpected to have been concerned in the plot for taking away the life of Antipater by poiſon. This man, with a view to ingratiate the favour of the king, communicated to him all that Eſop had related in regard to Alexandra and her ſon, to whom Herod offered to give no interruption till the project was on the point of being carried into effect, when he cauſed them to be taken into cuſtody. However, he offered no ſeverity to Alexandra on account of this attempt, leſt through the influence of Cleopatra, Antony ſhould be exaſperated againſt him: but he ſecretly determined to take away the life of her ſon in ſuch a manner as ſhould not be likely to expoſe him to ſuſpicion.

On occaſion of the feaſt of the tabernacles Ariſtobulus, who was then in the eighteenth year of his age, being cloathed in the pontifical veſtments, repaired to the temple in order to diſcharge the functions of his holy office, and while employed in that duty, the gracefulneſs of his perſon and deportment, and the dignity of mind that was apparent in his countenance, attracted the admiration of all the ſpectators, who could not refrain from expreſſing their affection and eſteem by offering up prayers for his proſperity, and acknowledging the great obligations they were under to his illuſtrious family. The commendations beſtowed by the people upon Ariſtobulus inflamed the envy and jealouſy of Herod, and determined him to accelerate the deſtruction of the youth.

After the feſtival, Herod went to Jericho to accept of a treat given by Alexandra, and there, as in point of compliment to Ariſtobulus, he took him apart from the company, to take a ſhare in his diverſions and recreations. As the weather was too hot for any conſiderable degree of exerciſe, they retreated to a cool ſhade, adjacent to a number of fiſh-ponds in which ſeveral of their friends and dependants were bathing. Herod now prevailed on Ariſtobulus to make one of the party, and the latter, taking his advice, jumped into the water; when ſeveral of Herod's agents, who had been purpoſely ſtationed for that buſineſs, began to plunge and play with him in the water, under pretence of diverſion only, ſo that at length they kept him down till he was drowned. Thus ended the life of Ariſtobulus, in the firſt year of his prieſtly office, and the eighteenth of his age. Herod immediately reſtored Ananel to his former dignity.

Ariſtobulus drowned by the contrivance of Herod, who reſtores Ananel.

This tragical event was no ſooner known to the women, than univerſal deſpair, ſeemed to take place: the lamentations exceeded all deſcription, and the ſorrow was beyond all bounds. The loſs was deemed a general one; the whole city was in tears on the occaſion, and every family ſeemed to ſhare the common diſtreſs. Alexandra, however, was the principal mourner; and it was no ſmall aggravation of her misfortune, that though ſhe was convinced of the baſe deſign to which her ſon had fallen a ſacrifice, ſhe was compelled to ſilence, in the fear of more fatal conſequences. Her deſpair, however, was ſuch, that ſhe was frequently tempted to deſtroy herſelf; but ſtill ſhe reſtrained every effort of her paſſion in the hope that if ſhe could but ſurvive her preſent reſentment of the horrid murder of her ſon, and conceal her knowledge of the real author of the crime, ſhe might live to ſee a juſt vengeance fall on his head. On this principle ſhe behaved as if ſhe had been a ſtranger to what had really happened while Herod exerted all his addreſs to convince the public that he was totally innocent; and he affected the character of a real mourner with ſo much art, that but little ſuſpicion was entertained of his guilt. It has been deemed doubtful whether, partly from motives of humanity, and partly from the influence of conſcience, he might not be conſidered as a true penitent, for having ſpilt the blood of ſo accompliſhed and noble a youth; but, on the other hand, it is ſaid that the death of the one was thought neceſſary for the ſecurity of the other. By the order of Herod, the remains of Ariſtobulus were interred with great pomp and magnificence.

CHAP. IV.

Cleopatra urges Antony to avenge the murder of Ariſtobulus. Herod being ſummoned to appear before Antony, he directs Joſeph to kill Mariamne, if he ſhould himſelf be put to death for the murder of Ariſtobulus. He becomes jealous of Mariamne, and cauſes Joſeph to be ſlain. Alexandra impriſoned. The baſeneſs of Cleopatra.

ALEXANDRA diſpatched to Cleopatra an account of the perfidious manner in which her ſon had been deſtroyed by Herod; and ſhe was extremely urgent with Antony to execute vengeance upon the murderer; repreſenting to him the atrociouſneſs of the crime itſelf, and how derogatory it would be to him to permit a man, who he himſelf had advanced to the throne, and was in fact the uſurper of the right of another, to eſcape unpuniſhed, after having committed ſo violent an outrage upon the legal heir to the ſovereignty. At length, Antony went to Loadicea, and ordered Herod to attend him there, in order for making enquiry in the death of Ariſtobulus. Conſcious that if he refuſed to obey this order, force would be employed to compel his attendance, he departed for Loadicea, after entruſting the government to his uncle Joſeph, and ſtrictly enjoining him, if Antony ſhould put him to death, immediately to execute the ſame fate upon Mariamne; for he had ſo great an affection for his wife, that the idea of another man poſſeſſing her after his death was intolerable. He reflected that upon the report of her uncommon perſonal attractions, Antony was deſirous of getting her into his power, and that her beauty had in a great meaſure been the cauſe of his preſent miſfortunes.

Herod ordered to attend Antony, reſpecting the death of Ariſtobulus.

Joſeph, during his adminiſtration, took the utmoſt care of the truſt committed to his charge; and often waited on Mariamne partly through reſpect, and partly on affairs of buſineſs. While they were in converſation, Joſeph uſed frequently to ſpeak of Herod, as one of the moſt fond and tender huſbands in the world. The women ſeemed to wonder at the ſtrangeneſs of this aſſertion, particularly Alexandra: but Joſeph in the zeal of his heart to aſcertain that character of which he had ſpoken ſo highly, unintentionally betrayed the ſecret he was intruſted to have kept; arguing as an undoubted proof of Herod's affection, that as he found himſelf unable to live without his wife, he was determined that they would not be parted even in death. Theſe words were interpreted by the women, not as a proof of Herod's love, but as a reſolution that they ſhould not long ſurvive, in caſe he ſhould be put to death.

A report now became prevalent in the place, propagated by ſome who wiſhed ill to the king, that Antony had firſt ordered Herod to be put to the torture, and then doomed him to death. The whole court was alarmed at this news, and the women in particular; whereupon Alexandra entreated Joſeph to take them with him, and ſeek protection of the Roman legions commanded by Julius, which was then quartered in the ſuburbs. She urged, that if any diſturbance ſhould happen in the palace, the Romans would provide for their ſafety; and that if Mariamne could have but an opportunity of appealing to Antony, he would not refuſe her any favour ſhe could aſk, even though ſhe were to ſolicit the poſſeſſion of the kingdom, and all the royal privileges attendant thereon.

During the conſideration that took place on this affair, letters were received from Herod, which proved the falſhood of the late report: and by them it appeared, that Herod no ſooner attended Antony, than by obliging language, and the effects of preſents, he ſo far engaged him in his intereſt, that the power of Cleopatra to do him injury ſeemed to be at an end. "Kings, ſaid Antony, would be no longer kings, if they were to be accountable for their proceedings: it is their privilege that their actions ſhould paſs unqueſtoned; and Cleopatra would give an inſtance of her prudence, if ſhe would ſeek leſs to pry into the arcana of government."

The letters from Herod alſo contained a particular account of the honours he had received from Antony; mentioning that he had invited him to his council and ſolemn feaſts, notwithſtanding all the detractions of Cleopatra, whom he repreſented as having a deſign on the government, excluſive of her endeavours to injure him. But he ſaidthat Antony was a princeof integrity and honour, and his friends might ſoon expect his return to reſume poſſeſſion of the kingdom, which would be effectually ſecured to him, together with the continued friendſhip of Antony, who had made Cleopatra a preſent of the country of Cœle-Syria, on the condition that ſhe would never trouble him again on the affairs of Judea.

The conſequence of theſe letters was, that the deſign they had of putting themſelves under the protection of the Romans, was ſet aſide: but the plan had not been conducted ſo ſecretly, but that Herod had ſome intimation of it; and as ſoon as Antony was gone on an expedition againſt the Parthians he was informed of the whole affair by his mother and his ſiſter Salome. The latter proceeded ſo far as to accuſe Joſeph, her huſband, of being engaged in an intrigue with Mariamne: but this charge aroſe from an animoſity ſhe entertained againſt Mariamne, who during a diſpute with her expreſſed ſome inſinuations reſpecting the meanneſs of her birth. The ſuppoſed incontinency of his wife, ſo exaſperated Herod, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty he could reſtrain his paſſion within the bounds of moderation: but upon more cool deliberation, he took his wife aſide, and ſtrictly queſtioned her reſpecting her pretended intimacy with Joſeph. She inſiſted that ſhe was unjuſtly ac-

accuſed; and the ſeverity of Herod gradually abating, he abſolved her from all ſuſpicion, and earneſtly ſolicited her forgiveneſs for having, through raſhneſs and inconſideration, given credit to a rumour ſo highly injurious to her chaſtity. The more doubt ſhe ſeemed to entertain of Herod's affection, the more anxious was he to afford teſtimonies of his regard. At length ſhe exclaimed, "Surely you gave an indubitable proof of your eſteem in ordering your innocent wife to be ſlain, in caſe you ſhould have met the fate you expected." Theſe words were no ſooner pronounced, than ſtarting from her embrace, in a phrenſy of jealouſy and rage, he declared he was now perfectly convinced of her treachery; for nothing but the confidence ariſing from an illicit intercourſe could have induced Joſeph to divulge a ſecret entruſted to him under the moſt ſolemn injunctions of fidelity. In the impetuoſity of his rage, Herod was on the point of putting his wife to death, but returning love reſcued her from his fury. But he cauſed Joſeph to be immediately put to death, not allowing him the opportunity to ſpeak in his own vindication. Conſidering Alexandra as the cauſe of the miſchief that had ariſen, he directed her to be cloſely impriſoned.

ph put to
h, and
andra
iſoned.

At this period there were great commotions in Syria, ariſing from the conduct and intrigues of Cleopatra, who had now an abſolute aſcendant over Antony, which ſhe made uſe of to produce very miſchievous conſequences: ſhe was perpetually exaſperating him againſt ſome men of rank in his dominions, till ſhe had prevailed on him to take their governments from them; and then ſhe got them appropriated to her own uſe. In a word, her ambition and avarice were ſo extravagant, that ſhe made no ſcruple of any thing which might be productive of her own advantage. One of her firſt flagitious crimes was to procure the deſtruction of her brother, a youth near fifteen years of age, and who was next heir to the throne. She cauſed her ſiſter Arſinoë to be deſtroyed, while ſhe was engaged in her devotions, in the temple of Diana, at Epheſus. Neither ſanctuaries, temples, nor ſepulchres, eſcaped the rage of her avarice, where ſhe conceived that any thing might be obtained by a ſacrilegious violation of them. She conſulted no meaſures of right or equity, nor made diſtinction between things ſacred and profane, ſo that her own advantage might be promoted. In a word this woman, was ſo loſt in pride, vanity, and voluptuouſneſs, that the poſſeſſion of the whole world would have even been inſufficient to gratify the unbounded exuberance of her paſſions. This being her diſpoſition it is not much to be wondered at that ſhe was ſo ſolicitous to urge Antony to deprive others of what ſhe intended for her own emolument: and, in fact, ſhe had no ſooner entered Syria with him, than ſhe began to concert how ſhe might make herſelf miſtreſs of the whole country. She procured Lyſanius, the ſon of Ptolemy, to be put to death, on the pretence that he was a friend to the Parthians, without aſſigning any other cauſe. She ſolicited and obtained of Antony, the countries of Arabia and Judea, in injury of the kings who were the legal poſſeſſors. Antony, in a word, was ſo very much devoted to the humour of this woman, that he appeared to be almoſt faſcinated with her charms; yet ſome of her demands were ſo extremely enormous and illiberal, that there was no poſſibility of his complying with them, without publicly declaring himſelf the ſlave of a woman of abandoned character. In a word, being unwilling, on the one hand, to diſoblige her by the refuſal of any of her requeſts; and, on the other, equally aſhamed publicly to announce himſelf her ſlave by complying with all her demands, however unreaſonable, he took a middle courſe of conduct, by aſſigning to her uſe certain parts of both provinces, together with all the cities from the river Eleutherus to Egypt, Tyre and Sidon alone excepted, which had been always accounted free: yet theſe donations, liberal as they were, did not prevent her ſoliciting Antony, in the moſt earneſt manner, to give her thoſe two places likewiſe.

Cleopatra a
woman of
abandoned
character.

CHAP. V.

Cleopatra attempts to inſpire Herod with love. His deſign of putting her death being oppoſed by his friends, he accompanies her on her way to Egypt. Antony conquers Armenia, and makes various preſents to Cleopatra.

CLEOPATRA attended Antony on his way into Armenia as far as the river Euphrates, and returning towards Judea by the way of Apamia and Damaſcus, ſhe was met by Herod, who conducted himſelf towards her with great reſpect and diſtinction, and entered into a treaty with her for the purchaſe of the revenue of Arabia and Jericho, which had been aſſigned her by Antony. The latter country is famous for producing vaſt quantities of balſam, the moſt precious of all gums, and the fineſt palm trees in the world. Cleopatra practiced all thoſe artifices and ſtratagems of which ſhe was a conſummate miſtreſs, in order to ſeduce Herod into an illicit intercourſe with her. Though he knew her to be a woman of a laſcivious temper, yet

Herod deſigns to put Cleopatra to death, but is diſſuaded from that meaſure.

rod ſuſpected the overtures ſhe had made to be a mere pretext for facilitating ſome inſidious project; and being highly diſguſted with the groſs licentiouſneſs of her behaviour, he formed the deſign of putting her to death, whereby he ſhould afford ſome ſatisfaction to thoſe ſhe injured, and ſecure others from the dangerous effects of her artifices; and he ſuppoſed, that by this meaſure he ſhould render an eſſential ſervice to Antony, who, he was perſuaded, ſhe would not ſcruple to betray whenever her infidelity might appear likely to promote her advantage: but his friends repreſented the procedure as highly dangerous, in as much, that ſo great an affront might not only provoke the diſpleaſure and reſentment of Antony, but alſo involve the royal family and the whole kingdom in tumult, confuſion and danger. Yielding to their arguments and perſuaſions, Herod diſguiſed his ſentiments, and having made the queen conſiderable preſents, accompanied her on her way to Egypt.

Antony ſubdues Armenia, and compliments Cleopatra with priſoners and preſents.

At this time Antony was ravaging the country of Armenia; and having made priſoners of Artabazes, the ſon of Tigranes, and ſome of the princes, his ſons, he ſent them into Egypt, as preſents to Cleopatra, together with immenſe quantities of valuable treaſure, of which he had made capture. Artabazes was ſucceeded in the government by his eldeſt ſon Artaxais, whom fear had induced to leave the country on the firſt commencement of the war: but he had not been long in poſſeſſion of this new dignity before he was deprived of it by Archelaus, and the emperor Nero, who promoted Tigranes, the youngeſt brother of the family, to reign in his ſtead.

Herod punctually paid the revenues of the country which Antony had aſſigned to Cleopatra, conſidering it ill-policy to provoke the enmity of a woman with whom it was manifeſtly his intereſt to live upon terms of amity. Theſe revenues the Arabians for ſome time regularly paid to Herod, raiſing annually the ſum of two hundred talents *: but their contributions at length decreaſed to leſs than half that amount.

CHAP. VI.

Auguſtus and Antony become competitors for the empire. The Jews defeat the Arabians. Athenion attacks the Jews by ſurprize, and gains a complete victory over them.

HEROD was ſtrongly diſpoſed to chaſtiſe the Arabians for their breach of faith in refuſing to pay the ſtipulated taxes; but the civil diſſentions among the Romans induced him to decline that project. At this time the battle of Actium was approaching, which it was imagined would terminate the competition for the empire then prevailing between Auguſtus and Antony. This was in the one hundred and eighty-ſeventh olympiad. Through the bounty of Antony, Herod had long been in poſſeſſion of a fertile and populous country, and of abundance of cattle, corn and money; and having collected a powerful army, he marched to the aſſiſtance of his friend and patron: but not having occaſion for an increaſe of his army, Antony adviſed him to lead his troops againſt the Arabians, conſidering them as a perfidious and traitorous people. This advice was in conſequence of the ſuggeſtions of Cleopatra, who imagined that ſhe ſhould advance her own intereſts by fomenting contentions and animoſities between the Jews and Arabians.

The Jews overthrow the Arabians in a bloody battle.

Herod marched into Arabia, where the enemy, who had information of all his motions, waited to give him battle near a place called Diaſpolis; and an obſtinate and bloody battle enſued, wherein the Jews proved victorious. In a ſhort time afterwards, the Jews aſſembled another formidable army at Cana, in Cœle-Syria, whereupon, Herod marched the main body of his troops to that part of his country, intending there to encamp and fortify himſelf, till an opportunity ſhould offer of attacking the enemy with a favourable proſpect of ſucceſs. Animated by their late conqueſt, and confident that the army was in the beſt condition poſſible for battle, Herod's troops were ſo impatient to engage as to indicate a diſpoſition to attack the enemy without waiting for orders from their commanders. Unwilling to give any check to the ardour and alacrity of his ſoldiers, Herod led them on to the charge. Their countenances, deportment and exact diſcipline, aſtoniſhed the enemy, who, however made a ſlight reſiſtance, but ſoon after the firſt onſet, the greater part of them fled in confuſion, finding themſelves unable to cope with adverſaries of ſuch unſhaken fortitude and determined bravery.

The Arabians again defeated.

This defeat would probably have proved the total deſtruction of the Arabians, but that Athenion, who acted as general for Cleopatra in that country, took advantage of the ſituation of affairs. Now Athenion, who was an irreconcileable enemy to Herod, had remained, during the late battle, in a kind of neutrality, having his forces drawn up, in order to wait the event of the conteſt. If the Arabians had happened to have proved ſucceſsful, Athenion would not have interpoſed between the contending parties; but when he came to find that the Jews were the conquerors, and that after the battle they ſeemed to be fatigued and wearied out with the labours of the day, and likewiſe, in the pride of victory, indifferent to a proper care of their own ſecurity, he collected a great number of the natives, and taking advantage of the Jews being off their guard, he ſurprized them by a ſudden attack, and with little difficulty put them to the rout, purſuing them over precipices, and driving them into bogs with which places the fugitives were unacquainted. This advantage inſpiring the Arabians with additional courage, they encountered, and again gave chaſe to the enemy of whom they ſlew ſuch numbers that but few of an immenſe multitude eſcaped. Being thus dangerouſly circumſtanced, Herod haſtened to procure ſuccours; but his camp was plundered before he could bring up his reinforcements. Thus, by the means of a ſingle ſurpriſe, was a compleat and important victory obtained, and the deſtruction of a potent enemy effected, beyond all human expectation or probability. After this melancholy iſſue of the conteſt, Herod was compelled to have recourſe to making depredations and incurſions on the Arabians. He was likewiſe obliged to ſeek refuge in the ſecure places of the mountains, being afraid to expoſe his army to the event of a battle. However, the time thus ſpent was not abſolutely thrown away; for his troops were hereby kept in perpetual exerciſe, inſtructed in the duties of military diſcipline, inured to hardſhip and fatigues, and in ſome degree qualified to redeem their forfeited honour on any future occaſion.

---

* Two hundred Jewiſh talents weighed twenty two thouſand eight hundred and twelve pounds, ſix ounces; and their value in ſilver amounted to ſixty eight thouſand four hundred thirty ſeven pounds, ten ſhillings; and in gold, to one million ninety-five thouſand pounds, Engliſh money.

thenion
Herod's
y.

CHAP. VII.

A dreadful earthquake in Judea. The Arabians put the Jewiſh ambaſſadors to death.

IN the ſeventh year of the reign of Herod, and in the ſame year wherein was fought the famous battle of Actium, a more dreadful earthquake happened in Judea than had been known at any preceeding period. By this calamity vaſt number of cattle were deſtroyed, and in different towns upwards of ten thouſand men were killed by the overthrow of buildings: but the ſoldiers in the open field ſuſtained but little injury. When the Arabians were informed of this viſitation, their pride and inſolence were inflated to the moſt extravgant idea; for they ſuppoſed that the land of Judea was nearly depopulated; that the cities and towns were reduced to heaps of ruins, and that the wretched remains of the Jewiſh people were too inconſiderable ever to wage war aginſt them in future; for though the earthquake was attended with vaſt havoc and deſtruction, the report of the miſchief greatly exceeded the truth. The Jews diſpatched meſſengers to the Arabians to ſolicit peace: but thoſe people not only put the ambaſſadors to death but in a ſhort time led forth an army, with a view of ſtill further diſtreſſing the ſupplicants, who were already ſufficiently humbled by their late misfortunes.

The Arabians put the ambaſſadors from the Jews to death.

Being now reduced to a ſtate of deſpondency, the Jews became wholly inattentive to the ſupport of public government, and their martial ſpirit was ſo ſurpriſingly depreſſed, that in caſe an enemy ſhould advance againſt them they abandoned the idea of attempting any reſiſtance. The king employed every means in his power to animate his people with courage and fortitude, but many of his adherents were ſo depreſſed by a ſenſe of their calamitous ſituation, that his perſuaſions and arguments had little or no effect upon them.

CHAP. VIII.

The Jews recover from their deſpondency, and defeat their enemies, who being reduced to great diſtreſs, ſolicit aſſiſtance from Herod.

HEROD having addreſſed to his army a ſpeech admirably calculated to revive that ſpirit of intrepidity which their miſfortunes had for a time ſuppreſſed, it was attended with all the happy effects that his moſt ſanguine hopes had pictured. Obſerving this favourable alteration in the minds of his followers, after having offered up the cuſtomary ſacrifices, he led his army towards the Arabians, and encamped beyond the river Jordan. Between the two armies ſtood a caſtle, which both parties conſidered as an advantageous ſituation, either in caſe of a battle or decampment; and the attempts to gain poſſeſſion of this place occaſioned ſeveral ſkirmiſhes. At length, a general engagement took place, in which many were ſlain on both ſides; but in the end, the Jews proved victorious and compelled the adverſe army to make a precipitate retreat to their intrenchments, where they made a ſlight reſiſtance: but in the end, five thouſand of them fell, part of whom killed themſelves with their own ſwords, great numbers were ſlain by the victors,

The Jews defeat the Arabians.

victors, and the reſt were trampled to death by the croud. Thoſe who eſcaped to the camp were in a miſerable ſituation, being utterly deſtitute both of food and water, and being ſurrounded by the Jews, they had no proſpect of relief.

Being reduced to the laſt extremity of diſtreſs, the Arabians diſpatched meſſengers to Herod to ſupplicate that he would either conclude a treaty of peace, or ſupply them with water to relieve the pain of intolerable thirſt; but being determined to give full ſcope to his revenge, he refuſed to comply with their requeſt, and rejected the preſents they offered him.

Within five days after the return of the deputies, about four thouſand of theſe wretched people came out of the camp, and offered to become ſlaves to Herod, rather than longer endure the extreme diſtreſs of intolerable thirſt. On the ſixth day, the remainder ſallied forth, and made a furious attack upon Herod's troops, preferring immediate death to the torment of expiring under every circumſtance of affliction and infamy: but notwithſtanding this deſperate effort, they had neither ſtrength nor ſpirits equal to ſo arduous an undertaking. Seven thouſand being ſlain in the conteſt, the ſurvivors ſubmitted to the mercy of Herod.

The Arabians ſubmit to Herod.

CHAP. IX.

Antony defeated in the battle of Actium. Herod meditates the deſtruction of Hyrcanus. Malchus appointed to meet Alexandra at the lake of Aſphatites. Hyrcanus put to death. Particulars relating to Hyrcanus. Herod goes to Cæſar, leaving his government to the care of his brother Pheroras.

HIS late victory was highly gratifying to the ambition of Herod, who now returned to Jeruſalem. But while he was congratulating himſelf on his good fortune, he received advice that Auguſtus had defeated Antony at Actium; on which he conſidered himſelf as a ruined man: nor was he ſingular in this opinion: all parties, friends and foes, were of the ſame ſentiment; conceiving that the perſon who had been ſo firm a friend to Antony, would never be forgiven by Auguſtus. His friends were ſo ſincere with him, as not to conceal their opinion that he would be utterly ruined; while his foes, who conceived great hopes from the probable change of affairs, pretended to condole with him on his misfortunes.

Herod now began to conceive, that as Hyrcanus was the only ſurviving branch of the royal family, it would be good policy to procure his deſtruction, even though Auguſtus might aſterwards determine unfavourably with regard to himſelf. He thought that, whether he might fall under his diſpleaſure, or eſcape it, there would be no wiſdom in leaving between himſelf and the government a perſon who had ſo fair a pretenſion thereto; excluſive of which the cutting him off from the ſucceſſion would afford him a perſonal gratification.

Alexandra a woman of aſpiring temper.

Doſitheus acts treacherouſly by Hyrcanus.

While he was revolving in his mind how he ſhould act in this emergency, an incident that happened in the family of Hyrcanus afforded him the means of coming to a reſolution. Hyrcanus was a man of the moſt pliant and eaſy diſpoſition imaginable: he had an utter averſion to buſineſs of all kinds; he was for leaving every thing to chance, and was contented with whatever event took place. Oppoſed to this character was that of his daughter Alexandra, a woman violent in her paſſions, aſpiring, turbulent, and, on the preſent occaſion, animated with the warmeſt hopes of a change in the adminſtration of affairs. Alexandra ſeized every opportunity of urging her father to deviſe ſome mode of delivering his family from the oppreſſions and perſecutions of Herod; and adviſing him to make a timely proviſion for his own ſecurity, while a happy change in his fortune preſented itſelf to his view. The ſubſtance of her advice was, that he ſhould immediately write to Malchus, who was then governor of Arabia, requeſting, that, if occaſion ſhould require it, he might be received under his protection, ſaying, that if Auguſtus ſhould be offended with Herod, the conſequence would be, that he himſelf would of courſe, be reſtored to his former ſtation, ſince he had an incontrovertible right to that dignity, and the public opinion was manifeſtly in his favour. In compliance with the importunities of his daughter, Hyrcanus wrote to Malchus, requeſting him to ſend for his aſſiſtance a party of horſemen to the lake of Aſphaltites, which was about three hundred furlongs † diſtant from Jeruſalem. This letter was entruſted to the care of Doſitheus, who was ſuppoſed to be firmly attached to Hyrcanus and Alexandra, and an inveterate foe to Herod, becauſe the latter had put his kinſman Joſeph to death, and his brothers had ſome time before ſuffered the ſame fate from Antony at Tyre. But, in order to ingratiate the favour of Herod, Doſitheus treacherouſly expoſed this letter to him, as well as the anſwer from Malchus, the purport of which was, that he was willing to afford protection and aſſiſtance to

---

† About ſeventy-four miles and a half Engliſh meaſure.

Hyrcanus and all the Jews who eſpouſed his cauſe.

Having read the letter from Malchus, Herod cauſed Hyrcanus to appear in his preſence, and demanding whether he held any correſpondence with the Arabians, was anſwered in the negative; whereupon he produced the letter from Malchus, and after cauſing it to be publicly read, ordered Hyrcanus to be put to immediate death. Thus the matter is related in Herod's commentaries: but other reports have prevailed in relation to the death of Hyrcanus. Some writers have contended that he was not put to death for the charge above mentioned, but for being concerned in a conſpiracy. Others inſiſt, that during a public entertainment, Herod enquired of Hyrcanus, whether he had lately received letters from Malchus, which he acknowledged to have done, ſaying they contained nothing of a public nature, being merely letters of compliment and civility.

yrcanus put to death.

Herod, it is aſſerted, now proceeded to interrogate Hyrcanus farther, and demanded whether, he had ever received any preſents from Malchus. To this likewiſe he anſwered in the affirmative; but ſaid, that theſe preſents were nothing more than four horſes for his own uſe. It is averred, that the king conſtrued this trivial circumſtance into treaſon, ariſing from the acceptance of bribes, and thereupon gave orders for his being taken from his preſence, and immediately put to death.

The hiſtory of Hyrcanus.

After all that has been ſaid on this matter, many perſons are of opinion, that Hyrcanus was altogether innocent; and this opinion they found on very rational arguments. He was diſtinguiſhed for being a man of almoſt the mildeſt temper imaginable, who had the leaſt of officiouſneſs in his diſpoſition of any perſon that ever lived. He was ſo ſingular for his modeſty, and the temperance of his conduct, that he is ſaid never to have been guilty of one raſh action in the whole courſe of his life; never to have indulged himſelf in the uſual levities of youth, nor to have been wanton in the exerciſe of his authority; for in his mode of government he ſtrictly followed the advice of Antipater, the father of Herod. Hyrcanus at the period abovementioned, was more than eighty years of age, and dwelt on the oppoſite ſide of the river Euphrates, having left his friends and beſt connections behind him, in ſubmiſſion to the will of Herod, who was now eſtabliſhed in the plenitude of his power; ſo that it ſeems to exceed the bounds of all human probability, that Hyrcanus ſhould have attempted a plan ſo impracticable in itſelf, and ſo totally contrary to the whole bent and diſpoſition of his mind: wherefore the whole matter, hath been juſtly looked upon to be a contrivance of Herod for the deſtruction of the other.

Thus ended the life of Hyrcanus; a life long and troubleſome, and checquered with a vaſt variety of fortune. He was promoted to the execution of the office of high-prieſt during the reign of his mother Alexandra; and continued to diſcharge the duties of it nine years, at the end of which his mother died, and he aſſumed the reins of government. He had not been in poſſeſſion above three months, when he was expelled by his brother Ariſtobulus: after this, however, he was reſtored to his former ſtation by Pompey, who put him in poſſeſſion of all his dignities, and for the ſpace of forty years he continued in the enjoyment of them; but was at length dethroned by Antigonus, ſuffered the pain and diſgrace of having his ears cut off, and was carried away priſoner among the Parthians. But he had not long remained in this ſituation before he obtained his liberty, and returned home, flattering himſelf with great advantages from the friendſhip of Herod: but in this hope he was ſo egregiouſly diſappointed, as appears from what is above related. Hyrcanus was fond of a life of eaſe, and generally entruſted the adminiſtration to others, being conſcious that he was not himſelf well adapted to the diſpatch of public buſineſs. The mild diſpoſition of Hyrcanus materially contributed to lay the foundation of the fortunes of Antipater and Herod: but it was his misfortune to fall a ſacrifice to the good qualities which ought to have ſecured him protection.

Herod repairs to Cæſar leaving his relations in Alexandrion and Maſſada.

Immediately after the death of Hyrcanus, Herod repaired to Cæſar, who, however, he did not expect would ſhow favour to a man who had ſo zealouſly eſpouſed the cauſe of Antony. Suſpecting that Alexandra might attempt to foment an inſurrection during his abſence, he commiſſioned his brother Pheroras to exerciſe the powers of the ſovereignty. He ſent Cypris, his mother, his ſiſter, and other relations, to the caſtle of Maſſada, ſtrictly enjoining his brother that if any misfortunes ſhould threaten them, he ſhould vigorouſly enforce the authority with which he was inveſted, and exerciſe the powers of government in his own name. He ſent his wife Mariamne to reſide with her mother at Alexandrion; for as a ſtrong animoſity had long ſubſiſted between her and his own mother and ſiſter, he deemed it imprudent that they ſhould live together. He appointed two confidential friends, namely Joſeph, his treaſurer, and Sohemus, an Iturean, to the government of the fort of Maſſada, under pretext of doing honour to the princeſſes: but he gave them private orders if any violence ſhould be exerciſed upon his perſon, to put the women to death, and exert their moſt ſtrenuous endeavours for ſecuring the ſucceſſion of the government to his brother and ſons.

CHAP. X.

Herod confirmed in the government. He intercedes with Cæſar in behalf of Alexander, but without effect. Cæſar receives Herod with great magnificence at Ptolemais.

REpairing to Cæſar at Rhodes, Herod laid aſide his crown, but appeared before him in the robes of royalty, and ſaid, he came not to diſavow his friendſhip for Antony, to whom he had ſuch powerful obligations that he would gladly have afforded his aſſiſtance to render him emperor of the world. After aſcribing all the misfortunes of Antony to his imprudent connection with Cleopetra, Herod made a tender of his friendſhip and beſt ſervices to Cæſar.

Herod's offer of friendſhip to Cæſar is accepted.

He had no ſooner finiſhed his oration, than the emperor treated him with particular marks of generoſity and regard, directed him to re-aſſume his crown, and continue to be as ſincere a friend to himſelf in future, as he had heretofore been to Antony: he likewiſe informed him, that the good offices which Herod had done him in the affair of the gladiators, had been made known to him by Caſſidius.

Theſe generous expreſſions of Cæſar were ſoon followed with the moſt ſubſtantial effects; for Herod was reinſtated in his kingdom, the poſſeſſion of which was ſecured to him by a decree of the ſenate: and this very ſingular favour was granted through the immediate influence of Cæſar; a circumſtance that, as it exceeded Herod's moſt ſanguine expectations, was matter of equal ſuprize and joy to him. Theſe matters being adjuſted, he accompanied Cæſar into Egypt, and in the courſe of the journey preſented the emperor and his attendants with valuable gifts, conducting himſelf towards them in a manner becoming their diſtinguiſhed rank, without derogating from the dignity of his own character. Herod interpoſed all his influence to obtain a pardon for Alexander, a ſteady friend to Antony, but his interceſſion proved ineffectual, Cæſar having bound himſelf by a ſolemn vow, not to extend his clemency to the man in whoſe favour the preſent appeal was made.

On his departure, the Jews conſidered Heord as being ruined beyond the poſſibility of redemption: but upon his returning with greater ſplendor and reputation than he enjoyed when he left them, they looked upon him as a man peculiarly favoured by Providence, and all his actions that they had before condemned with the utmoſt ſeverity, were now as extravagantly applauded.

Herod entertains Cæſar at Ptolemais.

Sometime afterwards, while Cæſar was on his return from Egypt, Herod met him at Ptolemais, and there entertained him with a degree of magnificence exceeding the powers of deſcription, at the ſame time regaling the whole of his numerous army. By this behaviour Herod ingratiated the eſteem of Cæſar, who treated him with great familiarity; and they generally rode and converſed together, while their troops were arranging themſelves in order. In the retinue of Herod were an hundred and fifty perſons ſumptuouſly habited, whoſe peculiar office was to attend to the accommodation of the emperor and his friends during their march, and to provide them with wine, water and other refreſhments, however barren and deſolate the countries might be through which they were to paſs. This attention gained Herod much popularity in the Roman army. He preſented to Cæſar eight hundred talents†, and in all other reſpects acted ſo much to the general ſatisfaction, that greater deference was paid to the liberality of his mind than to his dignified ſtation.

CHAP. XI.

Great uneaſineſs in Herod's family. The death of Antony and Cleopatra. Herod honoured by Auguſtus. Mariamne rejects the advances of her huſband. Her ruin conſpired. Sohemus put to death. Mariamne murdered. A plague in Judea. Alexander put to death. The ſhocking cruelties of Herod. Several conſpirators againſt Herod puniſhed. Herod fortifies Samaria and other places.

WHEN Herod returned to his kingdom, diſtinguiſhed in the moſt glorious manner, he found his family in the higheſt degree of diſorder, and his wife and mother-in-law greatly chagrined at their ſituation: for they could not but deem themſelves rather to be priſoners in the caſtle, which was really the caſe, than as having been lodged there for their ſecurity. Previous to his return, the mind of Mari-

---

† Eight hundred Jewiſh talents weighed ninety one thouſand two hundred and fifty pounds; and their value in ſilver amounted to two hundred ſeventy three thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty pounds; and in gold, to four millions three hundred and eighty thouſand pounds Engliſh money.

Sohemus diſcovers the plot upon Mariamne's life, and turns her heart againſt her huſband.

Mariamne was filled with the idea that the whole of Herod's profeſſions of regard to her had no other object than his own convenience. But what above all other things, gave her the utmoſt concern was, the reſolution that ſhe ſhould fall a ſacrifice in caſe of her huſband's death. The ſanguinary tendency of the orders, which Herod had given to Joſeph, engroſſed all her faculties: ſhe ſaw that her only proſpect of ſecurity conſiſted in her obtaining the favour of her keepers; particularly that of Sohemus, for her life was more immediately in his hands. For ſome conſiderable time he remained true to his truſt, and kept the ſecret inviolable; but on the ladies treating him with great complaiſance and preſenting him with ſeveral little gratuities, he began to recede by degrees, and at length, diſcovered the whole ſecret that Herod had entruſted him with. Now at this time he had formed an idea that Herod was to be conſidered only as a loſt man: and he therefore imagined that no danger could ariſe from that quarter, while, on the other hand, he ſhould be certain of ingratiating himſelf with the princeſs, and by this means advance his intereſt at all events.

Mariamne's indifference exaſperates Herod.

Shocked at the conditional orders that her huſband had repeatedly given in reſpect to her, Mariamne now entertained a ſtrong antipathy againſt Herod, who ſhe daily prayed might not live to return, as ſhe afterwards frankly acknowledged, when driven to the laſt extremity of diſtreſs. While Herod was giving Mariamne an account of the great and unexpected honours he had received, ſhe looked about her with an air of the moſt perfect indifference, without paying the leaſt attention to the narrative, which he expected would have afforded her infinite ſatisfaction. Herod was now no longer tormented with the doubts of jealouſy; for what he moſt dreaded to be aſſured of appeared to be altogether certain. Partly through indignation at finding his endearments rejected, and partly through the warmth of his affection, each paſſion tearing and tormenting his breaſt with] oppoſite force, his tenderneſs inciting him one way, and his reſentment another, his whole frame appeared to be agitated to a moſt extraordinary degree. Obſerving the inexpreſſible anxiety of Herod's mind, his mother and ſiſter availed themſelves of that opportunity ſtill more violently to inflame him againſt his wife, and ſuggeſted to him a variety of inſinuations which were calculated to anſwer their inſidious purpoſe. Theſe malicious detractions he could not entirely reject, yet neither could he afford them ſuch an implicit confidence of belief, as to determine, on the credit thereof, to deſtroy a perſon for whom he had ſuch an unbounded affection. Nevertheleſs, he became daily more and more diſcontented in his mind, and behaved with a greater degree of ſeverity to his wife. On the contrary, Mariamne took not the leaſt pains to diſguiſe the diſcontent which rankled at her heart; ſo that the violent regard that Herod entertained for her, was, by degrees, converted to the utmoſt rancour of hatred: inſomuch that it is not improbable, but that ſhe might have fallen an immediate ſacrifice to his reſentment; but juſt at this juncture intelligence was received of the death of Antony and Cleopatra, and that Egypt was at that time in the poſſeſſion of Cæſar. On the receipt of this information, Herod loſt not a moment in repairing to Cæſar, leaving his family in the above-mentioned diſordered ſituation, and once more committing Mariamne to the care of Sohemus, to whom he made many acknowledgments for his former ſervices, and gratified him with a command in Judea, as a teſtimony of his eſteem.

Herod returns to Jeruſalem; a miſerable man in all his glory.

On the arrival of Herod in Egypt, Cæſar treated him with great diſtinction, behaved more in a ſtile of familiarity than heretofore, placed great confidence in him, and conferred the following favours on him in token of his regard; he made him a preſent of four hundred Gauls who had officiated as guards to Cleopatra; he likewiſe made him governor of that part of the country which Antony had heretofore given to Cleopatra, and added thereto the government of Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and the tower of Straton, which lay towards the ſea, together with the command of Gadara, Hippen, and Samaria.

Having attended Cæſar as far as Antioch, Herod there took leave of him, and returned to Jeruſalem, but found himſelf altogether as unhappy at home, as he had been ſucceſsful abroad: he was convinced that the ſplendor of a crown was by no means a counterpoize to the misfortunes attendant on an unhappy marriage; and his diſtreſs was aggravated from the conſideration that this match was of his own choice, on which he had built all his hopes of earthly happineſs: for certainly no man ever loved a woman with a purer or more honourable affection, than Herod did Mariamne. Notwithſtanding the ſuſpicions of Herod, the chaſtity of Mariamne was unſullied. She had ſome ſingularities of temper, which made her forget all reſpect to her huſband's power and authority; for ſhe would ſometimes treat him in the moſt opprobrious manner. Herod endeavoured to behave with an apparent evenneſs of temper, though ſhe uſed frequently to reflect on his mother and ſiſter, on account of the meanneſs of their extraction: and this too in ſo public a manner that it created the moſt implacable animoſities among the ladies, and was the ſource of a thouſand ſcandalous reports and malevolent calumnies.

A plot upon Mariamne's life, betwixt Salome and the butler.

A confident to Mariamne put to the torture.

Herod's family remained in a ſtate of unhappineſs a whole year from the time of his return from Cæſar; and at length, the following ſtratagem was carried into effect. Oppreſſed with the heat of the weather, and deſirous of indulging himſelf with a ſhort repoſe, Herod retired to his cloſet, but not finding himſelf inclined to ſleep, he ſent for Mariamne, and with tender careſſes beſought her kindneſs, but rejecting his ſolicitations, ſhe treated him with contempt, and ſeverely reproached him on account of the death of her father and brother. Exaſperated at this behaviour, Herod with great difficulty reſtrained himſelf from putting her to inſtant death. Overhearing their diſpute, Salome, Herod's ſiſter, kept the butler in waiting to execute a commiſſion in which ſhe had employed him, which was, to inform the king, that Mariamne had requeſted his aſſiſtance in adminiſtering a love potion to his majeſty. This the man accordingly did, ſaying, that as he was ignorant of the ingredients, which had been compounded by Mariamne, he conſidered it as his indiſpenſible duty to inform his majeſty of the circumſtance. Driven to the verge of diſtraction by this intelligence, Herod commanded a perſon in whom he knew his wife repoſed great confidence, to be put immediately to the torture, in order that the myſtery might be explained; for he preſumed that ſhe would not attempt to carry any project into execution without his knowledge. The king's orders were obeyed; but nothing could be extorted from the ſuffering party, till, in the extremity of his anguiſh, he dropped ſome words intimating that Mariamne's uneaſineſs was in conſequence of ſome information communicated to her by Sohemus. Upon theſe words being pronounced, Herod paſſionately exclaimed, that he was confident Sohemus who had given repeated and ſignal proof of his loyalty, would not have betrayed ſo important a ſecret as that he had entruſted him with, unleſs induced to that act of treachery by having engaged in an adulterous intercourſe with his wife. He therefore gave immediate orders that Sohemus ſhould be put to death; and directed that his wife ſhould be ſummoned to take her trial before a court of juſtice: and appointed for her judges, a number of perſons devoted to his will.

When the day of her trial arrived, the charge exhibited againſt her was that of having conſpired to poiſon the king. Herod was more violent againſt her both by his words and actions, than was conſiſtent with the dignity of a court of juſtice; and the judges obſerving the diſpoſition of the king, followed his example in pronouncing her guilty. This ſentence was no ſooner paſſed, than both Herod, and all his ſurrounding friends, thought it would be prudent not to carry it into execution; but rather to ſpare her life, and detain her in priſon. Salome and her adherents were alone violent in their exclamations for immediate juſtice; and, in conſequence of what they urged, that a revolt would happen among the people if the queen's life was ſpared, Herod was prevailed on to agree to her execution: and ſhe ſuffered accordingly.

Mariamne tried, condemned and executed.

When Alexandra found to what extremity the proceedings againſt her daughter had been carried, ſhe had every reaſon to conclude that her own life was in danger. In order, therefore, to avoid the dreaded conſequence, ſhe deſcended to a conduct that was altogether derogatory to the dignity of her character. Her fears at this juncture, induced her to go ſuch lengths, and ſhe was ſo zealous not to be thought to have combined with her daughter, that ſhe ſought every opportunity of traducing her character in all companies, repreſenting her as the moſt baſe and ungrateful of women, and extolling the juſtice of a ſentence which had doomed her to death for conſpiring the deſtruction of her huſband, to whoſe tenderneſs ſhe lay under ſuch unbounded obligations. Alexandra carried this hypocritical behaviour to ſuch a height, that ſhe became univerſally diſpiſed, as one who could condeſcend to inſult her daughter during the extremity of her misfortunes: but Mariamne, even while ſhe was conducting to the place of execution, ſpoke not a word in return to all ſhe heard of her mother's unnatural behaviour, though her countenance teſtified the ſenſe ſhe entertained of the ſhameful part that her mother had acted. In a word, Mariamne maintained her ſpirits to the greateſt degree of firmneſs and conſtancy; not exhibiting even by the change of complexion, that ſhe was terrified at the thoughts of approaching death. She died in the ſame manner ſhe had lived, a pattern of courage, diſdaining fear, and proving herſelf capable of ſuſtaining the moſt arduous of trials.

Thus ended the life of the generous and virtuous princeſs Mariamne, a woman who would have been ſuperior to all her ſex, but that ſhe had too great a mixture of paſſion and pride in her diſpoſition. Her beauty was ſo great, the graces of her perſon ſo extraordinary, and the charms of her converſation ſo ſingular, as not ſimply to render her ſuperior to all other women, but ſo much ſo, as not to admit of any degree of compariſon. Now theſe ſupereminent gifts and qualifications tended in a great meaſure to the advancement of her misfortunes, by occaſioning the diſagreements that ſo long ſubſiſted between her and her huſband.

After the death of Mariamne, the fondneſs that Herod entertained for her during her life, broke forth with redoubled violence. This paſſion was more ardent than common conjugal love; it was in fact, carried to exceſs of dotage, for the more preſumptuouſly ſhe treated him, the more his fondneſs encreaſed; and perhaps this gave riſe to thoſe frequent and inconſiderate reproaches that ſhe caſt upon him, without conſidering, that ſhe was thereby deſtroying her own happineſs; for by ſuch conduct ſhe inflamed the enmity of her mother and ſiſter, and at length provoked the rage and reſentment of Herod, whoſe affection ſhe imagined could never be alienated from her.

Reflecting upon the fate of Mariamne, the torments of Herod's mind were more violent than can be deſcribed: amidſt his exclamations he frequently repeated her name, ſaying her blood called aloud for vengeance. To divert his melancholy and appeaſe the agonies of his mind, he had recourſe to drinking, feaſting, company, and various diverſions and entertainments: but finding all theſe means ineffectual, he reſigned the care of the government, and abandoned himſelf wholly to grief. He ſoon afterwards became delirious, conſtantly calling Mariamne to him; for his diſordered imagination repreſented her as ſtill living.

A plague rages in Judea.

A dreadful plague now broke out in Judea, and carried off great numbers of the inhabitants. This calamity was generally deemed to be a judgment for the murder of the unfortunate and innocent Mariamne. The king's illneſs daily encreaſing, he retired to a country ſeat, where he was ſoon after attacked with ſuch racking pains in the head, that he had no longer any government over his conduct. The medicines applied to relieve him were found rather to do him injury than ſervice; and therefore the phyſicians declined further interpoſition, but recommended that the royal patient might be gratified in all his inclinations.

Upon the unhappy ſituation of Herod being communicated to Alexandra, ſhe reflected that it might be poſſible to gain poſſeſſion of ſome of the ſtrong forts, and of two of them in particular ſhe was deſirous of becoming miſtreſs, one being ſituated in the city, and the other cloſe adjoining to the temple; being aſſured that the people muſt be altogether at the mercy of the party in poſſeſſion of thoſe two towers: for ſuch is the diſpoſition of the Jews, that they will yield up theirs lives rather than part with their religion; and as their daily ſacrifices make a very conſiderable part thereof, whoever has command of the above-mentioned tower may determine whether they ſhall have any ſacrifices or not. With a view to the accompliſhment her deſign, Alexandra made application to the governors of the ſaid towers, whom ſhe addreſſed to the following purpoſe: "I need not inform you of the very deplorable ſtate of the king's health; wherefore I entreat you, that the two fortreſſes may be given up to the poſſeſſion of the mother of the king's wife, and the children of Herod and Mariamne; leſt, in caſe of his death, a different family ſhould ſucceed to the throne; and even if the king ſhould recover, the hands of his neareſt relations are thoſe in which the government may with moſt ſafety be truſted." The governors, partly from a ſenſe of their duty, but chiefly from an enmity they had to Alexandra, refuſed to acknowledge the force of her arguments for the dilivering up of the towers: beſides, they ſaid it would ill become them to make a kind of prejudication of the king's fate, for whom, during many years, they had entertained the moſt perfect friendſhip. Achiab, one of the governors, was nephew to Herod. Their converſation was no ſooner at an end, than Achiab diſpatched an account of the propoſal that Alexandra had made to Herod, who ſent back immediate orders that ſhe ſhould be put to death, without loſs of time.

Alexandra put to death.

At length, Herod recovered his health, but his indiſpoſition produced a ſtrange alteration in his temper; for he became cruel and ferocious to an extravagant idea, and friends and foes were equally the objects of his fury. The change in his diſpoſitions was remarkably evinced in his cunduct towards Coſtabarus, Lyſimachus, Antipater, otherwiſe called Gadia, and Doſitheus. Coſtabarus was a man of as great diſtinction as moſt in Idumea and deſcended from a family whoſe anceſtors had heretofore officiated as prieſts of Coze, a deity which they had formerly paid great veneration to, till at length, during the reign of Hyrcanus, they adopted the Jewiſh mode of religion. When Herod was firſt advanced to the regal authority he committed to this Coſtabarus the government of Idumea and Gaza, and gave him for a wife his ſiſter Salome, whoſe huſband Joſeph he himſelf had cauſed to be put to death, as hath been noticed in another place. This promotion ſo exceeded the expectations, and even the hopes of Coſtabarus, that his pride and inſolence increaſed with the elevation of his rank, till at length he even conceived the idea of diſputing the authority of Herod; for on reflection, he thought that the Idumeans had deſcended beneath their own dignity in acknowledging themſelves to be ſubjects to the Jews, merely becauſe they had adopted their ceremonies and mode of worſhip. Hereupon he diſpatched a meſſage to Cleopatra, recommending her to apply to Antony for the government of Idumea, in which requeſt there could be no impropriety, ſince the country had been long ſubject to her anceſtors. His motive in this application was to weaken the power of Herod, and facilitate his own ſucceſſion to the government of Idumea. The dignity of his birth, and the great wealth he had amaſſed encouraged him to hope for the ſucceſs of his project. In the acquiſition of his riches he had obſerved neither the dictates of honour, nor conſcience; and his ambition was equal to his avarice.

Cleopatra's interceſſion to Antony for obtaining the government of Idumea proved fruitleſs. Coſtabarus would certainly have been puniſhed with death for his late conduct, but that Herod's mother and ſiſter interceded in his behalf, and procured a pardon for him, on condition that no confidence ſhould in future be repoſed in him.

Salome charges Coſtabarus and Lyſimachus, Antipater and Doſitheus with a conſpiracy againſt Herod.

Some time afterwards, a diſagreement taking place between Coſtabarus and Salome, the latter cauſed a bill of divorce to be delivered to her huſband, in direct contradiction to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the country, and in uſurpation of the privilege of the male. A man has power to diſmiſs his wife, and abſolutely prohibit her contracting another marriage without his conſent. However, in this caſe the will of Salome paſſed into a law, and parting with Coſtabarus, ſhe repaired to her brother, towards whom ſhe entertained a higher ſenſe of duty than that ſhe had vowed to her huſband, adding that her preſent buſineſs was to apprize him of a conſpiracy againſt his life by Coſtabarus, Lyſimachus, Antipater, and Doſitheus; and to inſure credit to her information, ſhe mentioned the kindneſs her huſband had ſhewn to the ſons of Babas, whom he had privately protected for the ſpace of twelve years. The intelligence reſpecting the ſons of Babas made a ſtrong impreſſion upon Herod, who had long determined to effect the deſtruction of that family, as being compoſed of perſons who were declared enemies to his intereſts. The enmity of Herod towards theſe people aroſe from the following cauſe. While Herod was beſieging Jeruſalem, in the time of Antigonus, the inhabitants were ſo exceedingly diſtreſſed, that a great majority of them was deſirous of having the gates thrown open for admitting the enemy; but this propoſition was reſolutely oppoſed by the ſons of Babas, who were men of great rank and influence, and zealous adherents to the cauſe of Antigonus; and they adviſed an obſtinate reſiſtance to be maintained, for the purpoſe of preſerving the government in the royal line. Having conquered the place, Herod gave inſtructions to Coſtabarus to keep a ſtrict watch on all the paſſages which led out of the city, and to ſee that not a ſingle perſon of the country faction made his eſcape.

Now it happened that the ſons of Babas were the peculiar favourites of the people in general, and of courſe the moſt proper inſtruments to be made uſe of, in caſe of any future attempt that might be made to change the government. Coſtabarus ſeemed to conſult his own intereſt in their preſervation, and gave private orders that they ſhould be ſecretly conveyed to a place of ſafety. This tranſaction had no ſooner paſſed, than Herod, who immediately ſuſpected what had happened, examined him ſtrictly on the circumſtances of the affair: but the other ſolemnly ſwore that he was altogether ignorant how they had been diſpoſed of. This produced an immediate proclamation, offering a reward to thoſe who would diſcover the place of their retreat; and many other modes of enquiry were adopted: but nothing was confeſſed on the part of Coſtabarus, who having at firſt denied the truth, found that he could not now retract what he had ſaid: ſo that the concealment of the affair, which had been a point of kindneſs became a matter of neceſſity and prudence. At length, however, the whole ſecret being developed by Salome, the king immediately diſpatched proper perſons to their places of retreat, and cauſed them all to be cut to pieces, with their friends and adherents; and by this proceeding, the whole houſe of Hyrcanus was utterly eradicated: inſomuch that from this time forward, there was no ſuch thing thought of as controuling the actions, or oppoſing the will of the king.

The ſons of Babas put to death.

No ſooner was Herod eſtabliſhed in the plenitude of an abſolute dominion, than he began, by ſlow degrees, to recede from an obſervance of the laws, and government of our anceſtors; by which the people, in former times, had been kept in obedience, and induced to a regular diſcharge of their duty: and, inſtead thereof, he introduced a number of foreign innovations: particularly, he cauſed a theatre to be built in Jeruſalem, for the purpoſe of exhibiting wreſtling matches, which were to be celebrated every fifth year in honour of Auguſtus Cæſar.

Herod likewiſe built a magnificent amphitheatre without the walls of the city: and the two buildings above-mentioned were equally ſuperb and expenſive: but theſe were neither of the leaſt uſe, nor afforded any entertainment to the Jews, who were not of a diſpoſition to be gratified by the vanity of ſuch exhibitions. Now Herod, to give his public entertaniments the greater variety, cauſed proclamation to be made, promiſing rewards to ſuch as excelled in divers exerciſes. Thus he engaged a great number of competitors in their ſeveral profeſſions.

The theatre was embelliſhed with trophies, devices, and inſcriptions, to the honour of Cæſar, and in celebration of his triumphs: the whole building was ornamented with gold, ſilver and precious ſtones, and furniſhed with rich habits and hangings of high price. He provided lions, tygers, and other wild beaſts, diſtinguiſhed for their ſtrength, fierceneſs, or ſome other remarkable quality. Sometimes theſe animals were turned looſe to encounter each other, or to attack and tear to pieces criminals ſentenced to ſuffer death.

The trophies for the ornament of the theatre proved moſt diſguſting to the Jews. They were ſo vehement in their diſapprobation of theſe repreſentations, that Herod deemed it not prudent to oppoſe their humour by force; and therefore by fair words and arguments endeavoured to convince them that their objections were founded in the principles of ſuperſtition. However, the people declared, that the introduction of images, which appellation they gave to the trophies, was an impiety of ſo atrocious a nature, that they were inflexibly determined to oppoſe its eſtabliſhment to the utmoſt extent of their power.

Finding that the antipathy which the people had conceived againſt the trophies was every day becoming more violent, and that neither his authority nor perſuaſions had any tendency towards removing their prejudices, he aſſembled in the theatre a number of the principal men among the complainants, and deſired them frankly to to declare, what opinion they entertained in regard to the trophies; and they replied, that they conſidered them as the images of men. Upon this, Herod ordered the trophies to be taken down, and when the Jews obſerved that thoſe ornaments had only covered ſome ſtumps of wood, their indignation was immediately turned into ridicule. The majority of the people now appeared to concur in this, as well as the other cuſtoms newly introduced; but ſtill there were many who perſiſted in their abhorrence of all foreign innovations, which they apprehended might lead to fatal conſequences; and therefore, thought it a point of duty they owed their country, at whatever hazard to themſelves, to preſerve their ancient diſcipline, now ſo greatly endangered, and not to permit Herod, under the ſanction of the regal dignity, to behave as an enemy to his country, and, by the introduction of illegal cuſtoms, to wound the conſciences, and violate the rights of the people.

A great deal being publicly ſaid on this ſubject, the minds of the people were much inflamed; and hereupon ten citizens immediately united in a conſpiracy againſt the life of the king, notwithſtanding the extreme danger that muſt attend ſuch a plot. Now among the reſt, there was one who happened to be blind. This man hearing repeated accounts of the alarming nature of Herod's proceedings, was ſo tranſported with rage at his conduct, that he declared, though it was out of his power to take an active part for the general welfare, that he was willing to bear an equal ſhare in the ſufferings of his companions, however ſevere they might happen to prove; and this public-ſpirited declaration tended, in a great degree, to fix them in their reſolution. After having held repeated conferences upon the ſubject, each man concealed a dagger under his coat, and thus armed, they proceeded to the theatre, with a fixed determination to ſtab the king, if they ſhould be able to get near enough to him: but at all events they reſolved to make an attack on his guards, from whence they promiſed themſelves one comfort would ariſe, in caſe of their miſcarriage; ſince their being put to death for the attempt, would render the king ſtill more odious in the ſight of the people: ſo that the force of their example in vindication of the ſacred rights of their religion, might encourage others to carry the plan into execution on ſome future opportunity.

An attempt upon the life of Herod in the theatre.

Juſt as the king was about to enter the theatre, a perſon whom he had employed as a ſpy prevented his going in, by revealing all the circumſtances of the plot: whereupon Herod, fully ſenſible of the enmity the people entertained for him, returned to his palace, whither he ſent for the conſpirators, of whoſe names he had been previouſly informed. When they attended, they conſidered themſelves as if taken in the actual fact; and being certain that there remained no chance of their eſcape, they gave a freſh proof of the moſt undaunted courage, by acknowledging every part of the crime with which they were charged, at the ſame time arguing with a deal of ſurpriſing compoſure and reſolution in juſtification of their deſign. Having produced their daggers, they ſaid; "We do not conceive ourſelves as having engaged in a criminal aſſociation, for the promotion of our intereſts, or the gratification of our paſſions, but as having leagued together in a ſacred combination for the public welfare, and the preſervation of the laws, which it is the duty of all worthy citizens, and true patriots, to ſupport at the hazard of their lives"

After making this declaration, they were ordered out of the royal preſence, and immediately put to death with the moſt exquiſite tortures.

Soon afterwards, the miſerable wretch who had given information of the conſpiracy, was attacked and torn to pieces, and his mangled body was thrown to the dogs. This was done in the ſight of a great number of people: but a conſiderable time elapſed before the authors of this ſcene of vengeance were diſcovered. At length, however, ſome women who were preſent when the fact was committed, being taken into cuſtody and put to the torture, they made a diſcovery of all the perſons concerned in the tranſaction, in conſequence of which they were apprehended, and not only themſelves, but all the perſons of their families were put to death. The common people perſevered in their determination to vindicate the laws, cuſtoms, and privileges of their country.

The conſpirators put to death.

Reflecting on the unhappy conſequences that were likely to reſult from the mutinous diſpoſition of the people, Herod determined to adopt ſpeedy meaſures for preventing an inſurrection. The king had already two fortreſſes in the city, in one of which his palace was ſituated, and the other named Antonia, had the command of the temple. He fortified Samaria, otherwiſe called Sebaſte, that place being advantageouſly ſituated for keeping the country in ſubjection, as well as for ſuppreſſing tumults and diſorders in the city, from whence it was about a day's journey. The ſtrong fortreſs of Cæſaria, formerly known by the name of Straton's tower, was alſo very convenient for the king's purpoſe. In Galilee he erected the fort of Gabala, and that of Eſtmonitis in Perea, and alſo built a caſtle in the great plain, appointing that place for the winter quarters of his cavalry.

Herod ordered a numerous body of troops, both domeſtic and foreign, to march into the city of Samaria, a place of great natural ſtrength, partly to aſſiſt in guarding the temple which he propoſed to build there, and partly to provide for his perſonal ſafety. He changed the name of the city from Samaria to Sebaſte, and divided the circumjacent lands into lots, which he diſtributed among the inhabitants, who ſoon grew into eaſy circumſtances, as the ſoil was naturally fruitful. He conſiderably increaſed the buildings, and ſurrounded them with a ſubſtantial wall; ſo that the place was numbered among the moſt eminent cities. Its circumference was twenty furlongs[*], there being a vacant ſpace of a furlong and a half[†] in the middle, whereon Herod erected a temple, which for the extent of its dimenſions, and the magnificence, variety, and curioſity of its ornaments, was inferior to no fabric of the ſame kind in the univerſe. He continued his attention for the embelliſhment of the whole city; and excluſive of relying on the ſtrength of the place for ſecurity, his ambition was gratified by reflecting, that he ſhould tranſmit ſo ſplendid a monument of his power, opulence and dignity, to future generations.

Herod builds a ſuperb temple in Samaria.

CHAP. XII.

Judea afflicted with various dreadful calamities. Herod's wiſdom in providing for the relief of the people. He builds a magnificent palace. Simon appointed to ſucceed Jeſus in the pontificate. Herod erects a caſtle. Character of Herod. He builds ſeveral cities and temples.

WHEN Herod had reigned ſomething more than twelve years, the country of Judea was afflicted with a variety of ſevere calamities, but whether theſe aroſe from the immediate interpoſition of the Divine wrath, or were the conſequence of the general courſe of Providence, it does not become me to determine. A tedious and blaſting drought was the fore-runner of theſe calamities, and this was followed by ſuch a barrenneſs, that the earth could no longer produce the neceſſaries of life. This, of courſe, was ſucceeded by a famine; and partly, at the firſt, through the change of diet, and partly through the want of food, the people were tormented with the plague, and afflicted with a variety of other diſorders, rapidly ſucceeding to each other. Nor was it a ſmall aggravation of their diſtreſs, that there was no perſons to attend thoſe that were ſick, who were of conſequence left without aſſiſtance, food, or medicines. Death now made ſuch ravages among them, that the ſurvivors deſpaired of ever ſeeing each other again, and permitted the diſeaſed to die without ſo much as an attempt to alleviate their miſeries. By this time, the proviſions of the preceding year being all expended, and no proſpect appearing of any ſupply, their condition grew almoſt hopeleſs, as they were every day more pinched by the extremity of want, than on the preceding one; and their misfortunes were greatly aggravated by the reflection, that after the expiration of one ſeaſon, the earth continued barren, and promiſed nothing for a future ſupply. Diſtreſſes ſo exquiſite and complicated naturally induced every one to deviſe means for his particular ſafety.

---

[*] According to Calmet's tables, twenty furlongs, or ſtadia, were equal to two miles and a half, and thirty paces, Engliſh meaſure.

[†] According to the ſame writer, nine hundred and ninety Engliſh feet, or three hundred and thirty yards, are exactly equal to a furlong and a half.

Great as had been the revenues and ample the reſources of Herod, he was now reduced to the moſt deplorable miſery. His rents and duties were unproductive: the treaſure he had amaſſed, he had exhauſted in fortifications and other buildings; the people were outrageous in their complaints, and, as uſual in popular diſcontents, the prevailing misfortunes were aſcribed to an improper adminiſtration of the powers of government. His neighbours being as greatly diſtreſſed as himſelf, Herod could not hope for relief from them; and he had not money to procure proviſions from diſtant parts. To alleviate the public ſufferings he cauſed all his plate, veſſels and curioſities of gold and ſilver, to be melted down, and ſent into Egypt, which country was then governed by Petronius, by virtue of a deputation from Cæſar.

Herod diſpoſes of his gold and ſilver for the relief of the public.

The great number of applications made to him for proviſions, were highly diſtreſſing to Petronius; but the particular eſteem he had for Herod inclined him to yield him every aſſiſtance in his power; and therefore, in preference to all others, he permitted his commiſſioners to export corn, and afforded them aſſiſtance in the purchaſe and conveyance of that commodity. Having obtained a ſupply of proviſions, even thoſe who had ſo lately treated Herod with diſreſpect, now extolled his partriotiſm; and his wiſdom and prudence became the ſubjects of univerſal applauſe and admiration.

Herod diſtributes proviſions among his ſubjects, and furniſhes them with apparel.

Immediately upon the corn being imported into his dominions, Herod cauſed it to be diſtributed in ſuch proportions as were proper to relieve their neceſſities, ordering their reſpective ſhares to be delivered to ſuch as were not able to convey them from the magazines, and employing proper people to bake for thoſe who, through age, ſickneſs, or other infirmities, were incapable of making their own bread. A ſcarcity of ſheep having occaſioned the produce of wool to be very inconſiderable, the people were much diſtreſſed for cloathing; and therefore he ſupplied them with comfortable apparel, to defend them againſt the inclemencies of the winter.

He aſſiſts the Syrians.

Having competently ſupplied his own ſubjects, Herod extended his benevolence to the Syrians, his near neighbours, whom he furniſhed with a large quantity of grain for ſeed. This happening to arrive at the preciſe time when it was moſt wanted, they ſowed it immediately; and the produce was ſo unuſually great, that, when the harveſt came on, Herod ſent fifty thouſand men, to aſſiſt in gathering in the fruits of the earth; and theſe fifty thouſand, Herod had himſelf prevented from ſtarving during the famine. By the above mentioned prudent conduct and good management on the part of Herod, affairs that had been given up as hopeleſs were abſolutely re-eſtabliſhed; every thing that he undertook ſucceeded to the extent of his wiſhes, whether in his own dominions, or among thoſe of his friends. Not a ſingle perſon applied to him but what was relieved: the rich, the poor, the citizens, the ſoldiers, and even ſtrangers, experienced the extent of his bounty. It was calculated that he diſtributed among his people eighty thouſand côre * of wheat, each core reckoned at ten Attic medimni, a meaſure containing ſix buſhels, and it was computed that he gave away ten thouſand côre to ſtrangers.

The well-timed exertion of Herod's plan in behalf of the public, operated ſo forcibly on the minds of the people in general, that they ſeemed univerſally to have forgotten all his former negligence and miſmanagement, and ſaid not a ſingle word reſpecting his encroachments on their laws and violation of their diſcipline; as they conceived that his late provident care of, and liberal proviſion for them, ought to be deemed an ample atonement for all his miſconduct in preceding times. Neither was his character become more eſtimable at home than abroad; ſince, in the event of things, it ſo happened, that his reputation had been advanced in one place, in proportion as his misfortunes had increaſed in the other; and, from the benevolent exertion of his humanity towards ſtrangers a general judgment was formed of him, not from

---

* Calmet ſays, a côre or chomer contained ſix hundred and five Engliſh pints; eighty thouſand, therefore, muſt be equal to forty eight millions, and four hundred thouſand Engliſh pints; and ten thouſand equal to ſix millions and fifty thouſand pints of the ſame meaſure.

what he had been in former times, but from the feelings it appeared that he had been capable of in caſes of extreme diſtreſs.

About this time Herod took from his own guards five hundred men that had acquired great reputation while ſerving under the command of Ælius Gallus[*] in the Arabian war; and theſe he preſented to Auguſtus.

Herod builds a ſuperb palace.

A ſtate of compoſure having now ſucceeded the late diſtreſsful poſture of affairs in Judea, Herod conceived a deſign of building a ſpacious and elegant palace on the high grounds of Jeruſalem. The rooms of this building were large enough to contain great numbers of people; and in them were ſeats and other ornaments compoſed of gold and marble moſt curiouſly carved, and bearing the names of the perſons for whoſe accommodation they were intended; one of them being inſcribed the apartment of Cæſar, another that of Agrippa, and ſo on.

Jeſus depoſed from the pontificate. Herod advances Simon the ſon of Boethus, and marries his drughter.

While Herod was giving the neceſſary directions for the raiſing of this edifice, he formed the deſign of marrying another wife as the moſt probable means of diverting his attention from illicit amours. Now it happened, that at this time there was in Jeruſalem a citizen named Simon, the ſon of Boethus,[†] an Alexandrian, who was a prieſt that had his origin from a noble family. Simon had a daughter who was deemed incomparably the moſt beautiful woman of her time; and Herod became exceedingly fond of her. However, he determined not to make a tyrannical uſe of the power that his rank and ſtation in life gave him, but to ſolicit her hand in an honourable marriage. In ſome degree to balance the inequality of his own rank with that of his intended bride, Herod determined to advance her father Simon to ſome dignified ſtation, previous to the ſolemnization of his nuptials: and therefore he depoſed Jeſus, the ſon of Phabes[‡], from the pontificate, and appointed his intended father-in-law to that honourable office.

Herod builds a caſtle in memory of a victory over Antigonus.

Soon after his marriage with Simon's daughter, Herod erected a magnificent caſtle upon the ſpot whereon, during his war with Antigonus, he had defeated the Jews. This fortreſs was ſituated about ſixty furlongs from Jeruſalem; and it was a place of ſuch natural ſtrength as to be capable of being rendered impregnable. This building ſtood on a circular hill, of ſo gradual and regular aſcent that it appeared to be the work of art. The caſtles were fortified by a number of towers, and a flight of two hundred ſtone ſteps led to the entrance. The apartments were magnificent, and in the whole building, ſtrength and elegance were happily united. At the foot of the mount were a number of buildings well worth the attention of the curious, as were alſo ſeveral fine aqueducts, which with vaſt labour and expence had been brought from a conſiderable diſtance. The plain ſurrounding the hill was covered with a number of houſes having the appearance of an extenſive city, which the caſtle was admirably calculated to protect.

The char- ter of He

Herod's affairs were now ſo favourably circumſtanced that he had no further dread of tumults and inſurrections. His ſubjects maintained their allegiance partly through fear, and partly from perſonal intereſt and affection to the king. Though rigid in the execution of juſtice upon thoſe who tranſgreſſed the laws, he gave full ſcope to the natural benevolence of his diſpoſition whenever he had an opportuntity of contributing thereby to the welfare of his people. He kept ſo conſtant a guard upon himſelf, and preſerved every thing about him in a poſture of ſuch order and ſecurity, as if he meant to intimate, that the ſafety of the prince and the people were inſeperably connected. He was eaſy of acceſs; polite and affable to people of all ranks, whether foreigners or his own ſubjects; and when occaſion required it, ſingularly generous to perſons of diſtinguiſhed characters. By this kind of conduct he obtained an univerſal regard and eſteem, which tended greatly to promote his deſigns, and forward all his views. But ſo great was his ambition to obtain the favourable regard of Auguſtus, and other diſtinguiſhed Romans, that he was imperceptibly tempted to depart from the cuſtom and diſcipline of our anceſtors by the vanity of erecting cities and temples in honour of his illuſtrious patrons. It is true, that theſe erections were not made in the interior part of Judea; for the Jews would not have ſubmitted to the gratification of an ambition ſo contrary to their laws, ſince it tended to promote the worſhip of idols and images, according to the practice of the Greeks: for which reaſon Herod cauſed theſe cities to be built on the confines of the province, and not within its immediate juriſdiction: and his excuſe for the whole of this proceeding was, that it was not ſo much in conſequence of any will of his own, as the reſult of the orders of thoſe who had a right to command him. By this proceeding, however, he obtained the favour of Cæſar and the Romans, as he appeared to have renounced the principles and diſcipline in which he was educated, in compliment to them. Upon the whole, it is beyond diſpute that his ultimate view was to promote his own intereſt, and to diſtinguiſh himſelf by theſe laſting monuments of his opulence and liberality.

---

[*] In the verſion of Rufinus, or Epiphanius Scholaſticus, 'tis Eliſæus, and not Ælius Gallus.

[†] In the antient verſion it is Buzus.

[‡] In the antient verſion this is ſaid to be the ſon of Boethus.

CHAP. XIII.

Account of Straton's tower, or Cæſaria. Herod builds a theatre and amphitheatre. Cæſar grants Herod permiſſion to appoint either of his two ſons his ſucceſſor. Herod drives the free-booters of Trachon from their retreats. Zenodorus dies. Pheroras made a tetrarch of Judea. Herod builds a temple in honour of Cæſar. Herod's civility to the Phariſees and Eſſenes. A prediction by Manahem.

NEAR the ſea-coaſt was the place formerly called Straton's tower; and this ſpot Herod deemed admirably adapted for the building of a city. This deſign he carried into effect with great expedition and ſucceſs. The private houſes, as well as the palaces of this city, were all built of marble; but the moſt diſtinguiſhed part of the whole was the port, which was erected on the ſame ſcale as the Pyræum, and, excluſive of all the other conveniencies that attended, it was protected from all danger from wind and weather. The completion of this work was the more extraordinary, as every article of the materials for finiſhing it was conveyed thither from diſtant parts, at an expence almoſt incredible.

The ſituation of this city is in Phœnicia, near the paſſage into Egypt, between Joppa and Dora, two moſt dangerous ſea port towns, in the harbours of which there is no riding with any degree of ſafety, if the wind blows from the ſouth-weſt; for it beats upon the coaſt with ſuch fury, that the merchant men are often obliged to keep out at ſea for a conſiderable time, leſt they ſhould be driven on ſhore. To obviate theſe dangers ariſing from the ſituation he had choſen, Herod gave directions that a mole ſhould be formed in the ſhape of a half-moon, and of a ſize ſufficient to contain a compleat royal navy. In this place he gave orders for the ſinking of ſtones of immenſe ſize, in twenty fathom of water. Some of theſe ſtones were fifty feet long, eighteen feet broad, and nine feet thick, and many others of them of various dimenſions, ſome being even more than this ſize. The extent of the mole was no leſs than two hundred feet, one half of which was deſtined to the breaking of the ſurf of the ſea, and the other was appropriated to form the foundation of a ſtone wall, on which a number of fortified turrets were erected: and the largeſt and moſt beautiful of theſe Herod called by the name of the tower of Druſus, in honour of the memory of Druſus, the ſon in law of Cæſar, who died in his youth. Adjacent hereto were ſeveral arched vaults, which ſerved as cabins for the ſailors. There was alſo a quay, or landing place, with a broad walk around the port, proper to retreat in for the benefit of the air, and as a place of recreation. The opening of this was to the northward, whence the wind blows with its mildeſt influence. On the entrance of the port to the left hand, a turret was built with a large platform, and beneath it was a deſcending bank to prevent the ſea from waſhing it: on the right hand, and oppoſite to the tower, were erected two pillars of ſtone of an equal height. The houſes adjacent to the port were all built with the fineſt kind of marble, and with the moſt exact uniformity to each other. A temple dedicated to Cæſar, was erected on a mount in the middle, which became a famous ſea mark, and proved of the utmoſt uſe to mariners. In this temple were placed a repreſentation of the city of Rome, and a ſtatue of Cæſar, which were no leſs diſtinguiſhed for the beauty of the materials, they were made of, than for the elegance of the workmanſhip; and thence the city obtained the name of Cæſarea. Nor was leſs ingenuity exerted in the contrivance of the vaults, and common ſewers, which were placed at equal degrees of diſtance from each other, and diſcharged their contents into the ſea: but there was one conveyance, which interſected all the reſt, which, while it carried off all the filth from the various parts of the city, was ſo diſpoſed, that the tides entered by it, and waſhed the paſſages, by which the whole was kept in a uncommon ſtate of cleanlineſs. Excluſive of all the erections above-mentioned, Herod built a theatre of ſtone; and on the ſouth ſide of the harbour conſtructed a very large amphitheatre, which afforded an elegant proſpect towards the ſea. In fact, nothing that money could procure, or diligence effect, was wanting; and the whole of this magnificent work was compleated in about twelve years.

Herod cauſes
a fine mole to
formed.

Herod having now totally finiſhed the two cities of Cæſarea and Sebaſte, he ſent his two ſons, Alexander and Ariſtobulus, on an embaſſy, to pay his reſpects to Cæſar. Pollio, who was the particular friend of Herod, had ordered lodgings for the reception of the viſitors; but this was more than was neceſſary; for Cæſar had previouſly given directions that they ſhould be entertained and accommodated in the royal palace.

lace. His reception of them was conſiſtent with the utmoſt rules of politeneſs and friendſhip; and having, in addition to all his former favours to Herod, conferred on him the government of the three provinces of Trachon, Batanæa, and Auranitis, he likewiſe ſubmitted to his own choice which of his ſons ſhould ſucceed him in the government of Judea.

Herod's ſons kindly received by Cæſar.

The lands of Lyſanius having been rented by one Zenodorus, he could not reſt ſatiſfied with the lawful profits of his farm, but went ſhares with the free-booters of Trachon, who, in a great meaſure, ſubſiſted on the pillage they obtained from the inhabitants of Damaſcus. Now Zenodorus, whoſe buſineſs it was to puniſh thoſe invaders of their neighbour's property, made no ſcruple of accepting his proportion of the ſtolen effects. Hereupon thoſe people who had been the principal ſufferers by their violent proceedings, made application to Varro, who governed the province at that time, requeſting he would grant a letter to Cæſar, againſt Zenodorus. This being done, Cæſar ſignified his royal pleaſure, that the "thieves ſhould be ſmoked out of their holes like hornets;" and he likewiſe conferred on Herod the government of that province, in expectation that, for the future, the Trachonites might be kept in ſubjection. Theſe diſorderly people poſſeſſed neither towns, houſes nor lands, but inhabited caves and dens, like beaſts; but in theſe they were provided with ſuch ſtores of food, and plenty of water, that it could not but be very difficult to drive them out; nor was it an eaſy matter to explore their receſſes: beſides, as they lived by their unlawful depredations, they would be very unwilling to quit their irregular courſe of life. It was not poſſible for more than one perſon at a time to enter into their hiding places, as the paſſage was ſo extremely narrow; but the apartments in the inſide were more ſpacious than can be imagined, and the whole was covered with flat and plain roofs. Upon the whole, their retreat conſiſted of one immenſe rock, that was almoſt impaſſable; the turnings and different paſſes in it were innumerable, and it was neceſſary to have a guide to find the right way into it. The abandoned inhabitants of this place were deſperate beyond the power of deſcription; and would rob each other, rather than not gratify their natural propenſity to theft.

Herod had no ſooner entered on the poſſeſſion of the government of his new province, than taking with him a number of guides and agents, he explored the receſſes of the thieves, drove them from their retreats, and re-eſtabliſhed peace and ſecurity in the country. Zenodorus was ſo enraged at the late events, partly, perhaps, through mortification on account of his having loſt his government, and partly through its being given to Herod, that he loſt no time in complaining of the latter, for which purpoſe he made a journey to Rome; but all his accuſations produced not the effect he deſired.

Zenodor complain Herod, b without effect.

During this ſituation of public affairs, Agrippa was commiſſioned by Cæſar to go into Aſia, to aſſume the command of the tranſmarine provinces in that country. Now Agrippa being a particular friend and old acquaintance of Herod, he went as far as Mytilene to meet him on his journey, and then returned into Judea. Immediately upon the arrival of Agrippa, the Gardarenes repaired to him, and exhibited grievous complaints againſt the conduct of Herod: but, without permitting them to ſpeak in their own juſtification, he ſent them in chains to the king.

About the ſame time, the Arabians began to manifeſt tokens of their enmity to Herod, on the ſcore of an antient animoſity. Finding his influence and authority upon the decline, Zenodorus came to an agreement with the Arabians, according to which they were to pay him an annual rent of fifty talents for a certain portion of his eſtate in the province of Auranitis. Now this being within the limits of the government which Cæſar had granted to Herod, the Arabians refuſed to continue their annual payments, and after conteſting the matter in a legal way, entertained thoughts of taking up arms. Herod was fully appriſed of their proceedings: but leſt popular tumults ſhould enſue, he deemed it prudent to have recourſe to gentle rather than coercive meaſures.

In the ſeventh year of the reign of Herod, Cæſar made a journey into Syria, where the Gadarenes repaired to him with heavy accuſations againſt Herod, whom they repreſented as an inſupportable tyrant. Theſe charges were principally in conſequence of the inſtigations of Zenodorus, who had bound himſelf by an oath, never to diſcontinue perſecuting Herod till the Gadarenes ſhould be releaſed from their ſubjection to him, and again placed under the immediate authority of Cæſar.

However ſevere againſt Jewiſh offenders, no man could be leſs diſpoſed than Herod to avenge the injuries he received from ſtrangers. Notwithſtanding he was accuſed of plundering and oppreſſing the Gadarenes, and with prophaning and deſtroying their temples, Cæſar ſtill treated Herod with his uſual kindneſs. So evident was the partiality of Cæſar towards Herod, that being driven to deſperation by the fear of being delivered into the power of the king, and puniſhed with torture, on the following night ſome of the Gadarenes cut their own throats, ſome drowned themſelves, and others threw themſelves from the rocks and precipices.

dorus
at An-
ch.

Cæſar concluding them ſelf-condemned by theſe acts of ſuicide, acquitted Herod without any farther ceremony. In his favour there now likewiſe appeared another very ſingular providential circumſtance; and this was nothing leſs than the death of Zenodorus, which happened at Antioch, in Syria, in conſequence of a violent dyſentery. Hereupon Cæſar immediately put Herod in poſſeſſion of a very conſiderable eſtate, which had been the property of Zenodorus, and which was ſituated between Galilee and Trachonitis, comprehending Ulatha, Panium, and the adjacent country. He likewiſe conferred on him a ſupreme authority over the governors of Syria, and directed that his orders and commands ſhould be obeyed in every particular.

By this time the good fortune of Herod was advanced to ſo great a height, that as Cæſar and Agrippa were the two ſupreme governors of the empire, ſo he was equally a favourite with them both; for Agrippa loved him better than any other man except Cæſar; while the affection that Cæſar entertained for him was next to that eſteem which he had for Agrippa.

Cæſar makes
heroras a te-
rch in
Judæa.

In conſequence of this weight of intereſt, Herod prevailed on Cæſar to grant the commiſſion of a tetrarch of Judæa to his brother Pheroras, to whom he likewiſe allowed a revenue of a hundred talents out of his own private fortune, that he might not be deſtitute of a reſource in caſe of a change in his affairs; nor obliged to apply to his children for ſupport.

Herod erects
a temple to
Auguſtus.

This matter being adjuſted, Herod paid a conſtant court to Cæſar, whom he attended till he ſaw him embarked, and he returned to his own abode. The eſtate which had belonged to Zenodorus, Herod now ſet about erecting a magnificent temple of white marble, in honour of Cæſar, and in grateful remembrance of his benefactions. This building was erected near the cave which is called Panias, ſituated at the bottom of a mountain celebrated for the river Jordan taking its riſe there. At the bottom of this mountain is a cavern of prodigious depth, in which are ſprings of water that are continually bubbling. The proſpect for this mountain is remarkably delightful; but the mountain itſelf is ſtill more remarkable from this temple in honour of Cæſar, than for any other circumſtance.

On this occaſion Herod ſought the means of ingratiating himſelf with his ſubjects; and to this end he releaſed them from a payment of a third of their taxes, under pretence of relieving them from the diſtreſs occaſioned by the famine: but his true motive was to conciliate their affections: for he had done ſo many things ſcandalous to religion, and in violation of the laws of good manners, that the people in general were extremely diſguſted with him; nor did they ſcruple to ſpeak againſt his conduct in the moſt public manner. This laid him under a neceſſity of taking yet other methods to keep his people in ſubjection: the principal of which were, the commanding that every man ſhould attend only to his own buſineſs, and that there ſhould be no popular meetings held. He appointed ſpies to watch the motions of all companies, and commiſſioned officers to take into cuſtody all perſons who ſhould act in diſobedience to his commands. In conſequence hereof many people were apprehended, and committed to the fort of Hyrcana, where they were rigorouſly puniſhed. The roads, ſtreets, lanes, and all other avenues were cloſely beſet with ſpies, and Herod frequently went among his ſubjects by night in diſguiſe, in order to learn what opinion they entertained of his government. He contrived means for having all perſons put to death, who were ſevere in their remarks upon his conduct; but thoſe who ſpoke with more caution, it was his cuſtom to diſmiſs, after adminiſtering to them an oath of allegiance. The oath was offered to Pollio, the Phariſee, and to Sameas, as well as to their reſpective diſciples: but upon their declining to make the depoſition, Herod urged them no further on the ſubject, on account of the eſteem he entertained for Pollio. Nor was his conduct leſs generous towards the Eſſenes, a ſect whoſe principles bore a great reſemblance to thoſe of the Pythagoreans among the Greeks.

The prophecy of Manahem.

While Herod was a boy, an Eſſene, named Manahem, a man of ſtrict integrity, and celebrated for poſſeſſing the gift of prophecy, obſerving the youth at play with his ſchool-fellows, addreſſed him in the following words; "Hail king of the Jews." Upon this, Herod ſaid he was not deſcended from a family that would qualify him for the royal ſtation, and that he either did not know him, or meant to make him an object of ridicule. Manahem ſaid it was irrevocably determined he ſhould be advanced to a throne, and that it would be a duty incumbent on him to govern according to the rules of righteouſneſs and equity, but that he was ſecretly impelled to declare, that he would diſregard this advice, and that he foreſaw he would neither ſerve God, nor act towards his ſubjects as his duty required, though he would be fortunate in other reſpects, and acquire great reputation; adding, that no part of his conduct could be concealed from the Moſt High, and that he would die by a dreadful judgment from Heaven.

This prediction was paid little attention to by Herod, nor for a conſiderable time did it again enter into his mind; but when he came to be advanced to the throne, and was in the utmoſt ſplendor of his circumſtances, he cauſed Manahem to be brought to him, and queſtioned him how long he thought his reign would continue. To this Manahem returning a dubious reply, Herod again cloſely queſtioned him, whether it was his opinion that he would reign ten years; "Yes, replied the other, twenty, and even thirty;" on ſaying which words he ſtopped, and declined to mention the preciſe period. Herod, however, appeared to be ſatisfied with what he had ſaid, diſmiſſed him in the moſt affectionate manner, and, ever after that period, held the Eſſenes in the higheſt degree of eſteem. If any part of this narrative ſhould ſeem to exceed the juſt bounds of credibility, the reader will recollect that there are innumerable inſtances of righteous men having been favoured with particular revelations of the ſecret counſels and purpoſes of the Divine Will.

CHAP. XIV.

Herod propoſes to conſtruct a temple. The building is compleated and dedicated.

IN the eighteenth year of his reign, Herod formed the reſolution of erecting a temple to the honour of God, which he propoſed ſhould be a much larger and more ſplendid building than the former. This work he intended ſhould redound to the credit of his name, and tend more effectually to perpetuate his memory, than all he had done before; which proved to be actually the caſe: but leſt the people ſhould conceive that he propoſed a plan which would be too difficult in its execution, he cauſed them to be ſummoned together, to try what the force of reaſon would do towards removing of that objection: and when they were met, he repreſented to them the practicability of compleating the plan he had deviſed, ſince in addition to the advantages of an ample ſupply of ready caſh, he was upon terms of inviolable friendſhip with the Romans, who were the maſters of the world; adding, that his view in this undertaking was to advance the glory of God.

This propoſition was highly alarming to the public, who were apprehenſive that the old temple would be demoliſhed, without any aſſurance being given for ſupplying its place with another edifice; and, indeed, they rather hoped than expected that a new building would be formed. Being informed of the uneaſineſs of the people, the king ſolemnly promiſed that the preſent temple ſhould remain entire till the materials for the new one ſhould be provided; and in this circumſtance his performance kept pace with his promiſe.

Deſcriptio of the ſupe temple bui by Herod,

For the completion of this work, a hundred carriages were provided to remove ſtones and other materials: of artiſts and handicraftsmen there were ten thouſand and of theſe the beſt in each kind that could poſſibly be procured; and for the ſuperintendance of them, a thouſand prieſts that underſtood the buſineſs of maſonry; and theſe prieſts were ſupplied with robes and veſtments at the king's expence. When the workmen were engaged, and the ſtones, timber, and other materials all provided the firſt work they began upon was to clear the old foundation, and lay a new one in its ſtead: and on this they elevated a ſuperſtructure of a temple, the length of which was a hundred cubits, * and the height one hundred and twenty; but as it afterwards happened that the odd twenty cubits ſunk, it fell ſo much ſhort of the original deſign; and our forefathers, in the time of Nero, had an intention of ſupplying the defect. The whole building was a compoſition of durable white ſtone, each ſtone being eight cubits high, twelve broad, and twenty-five in length.

The principal front of this extraordinary building had very much the appearance of a palace, the center part of which was much higher than the ſides. The proſpect it afforded towards the fields was extremely agreeable, and this proſpect extended into the country ſeveral furlongs: nor was the view of the building itſelf leſs pleaſing to thoſe who had their reſidence oppoſite to it, or ſuch as were travelling towards it. The porch of the temple was a curioſity no leſs ſingular than the reſt of the building; the upper part of it being adorned with an abundance of the richeſt tapeſtry hanging, variety of beautiful purple flowers, and pillars appearing to be interwoven; round the pillars a golden vine crept and entwined itſelf, and branches of which ſuſpended cluſters of grapes that deſcended in elegant negligence from the cornices of the room; the whole exhibiting a piece of workmanſhip no leſs valuable for the materials with which it was formed, than the admirable ſkill with which it was executed.

---

* An hundred cubits amounted to ſomething more than one hundred and eighty two Engliſh feet, that is, ſixty yards and two feet; and an hundred and twenty to ſomething more than ſeventy two yards; twenty cubits being full thirty ſix feet.

Large galleries extended round the temple, which were equally ſuperb and magnificent with the reſt of the work; but, for the elegence and beauty of their ſtructure, greatly ſurpaſſing any thing that had been ſeen before of that kind. Two ſtrong walls formed the ſupport for two of theſe galleries, and were of themſelves deemed pieces of work of remarkable excellence.

Near this city nature had placed a ſteep rocky hill; but on the eaſtward ſide the deſcent was gently ſloping. Now Solomon, in former ages, had by the particular command of God, ſurrounded this hill with a wall, and the lower extremity of it was encompaſſed by another wall, under which, towards the ſouth, was a deep valley. This was compoſed of ſtones of immenſe ſize cramped together with irons round the whole work, and extending down to the botom of the hill. This work was built in a ſquare form, and was deemed a moſt extraordinary piece of architecture allowance being made for its depth and magnitude. The beſt judgment was to be formed of the ſize of the ſtones wherewith it was built by viewing it on the outſide, ſince within they were jointed and let into each other for the purpoſe of guarding them being from ſeparated by the inclemency of the weather.

The ſpace between the wall and the hill was filled with earth, ſo as to bring the ſurface to a level; and then four galleries were built, each being deemed a furlong in extent. Within the ſquare a ſtone wall was built, extending round the top of the hill; and it was ornamented to the eaſtward with a double porch, oppoſite the portal of the temple ſtanding in the middle. Different princes liberally contributed to the adornment of this portal; and round the temple were hung the ſpoils and trophies obtained from the Barbarians, which Herod cauſed to be dedicated anew, adding to them many of a latter date, which he had gained in his wars with the Arabians.

Upon one of the angles of the north ſide ſtood a ſtrong and well fortified building, the work of ſome of the Aſmonean line, a family that for a long ſucceſſion of years, had executed the joint offices of prince and high-prieſt. This place was called Baris, or the tower, and therein were depoſited the pontifical habits, which, agreeable to ancient cuſtom, were never to be brought forth, but when the high-prieſt had occaſion to make to uſe of them in the diſcharge of his duty. Herod applied the building to the ſame uſe: but upon his deceaſe, it fell into the hands of the Romans, with whom it remained till the time of Tiberius, during whoſe reign the government of Syria was given to Vitellius. In return for the honourable reception he had experienced at Jeruſalem, Vitellius ſolicited Cæſar to give the Jews poſſeſſion of the ſacred veſtments, which he accordingly did. The building remained in poſſeſſion of the Jews till the death of king Agrippa, when Caſſius Longinus, governor of Syria, and Cuſpius Fadus, lieutenant of Judea, cauſed the holy garments to be removed to Fort Antonia, alledging that it was proper they ſhould as formerly remain the cuſtody of the Romans.

Hereupon the Jews diſpatched meſſengers to Claudius Cæſar entreating the interpoſition of his authority in their behalf. The young king Agrippa, who had ſucceeded his father, being at this time at Rome, he requeſted that the veſtments might be committed to his care, and in compliance with his deſire, Cæſar diſpatched orders to Vitellius to deliver them to him. In ancient days the ſacred veſtments were kept under the ſeals of the high-prieſt and the treaſurer of the temple; and in the courſe of the day preceding that of any ſolemn feſtival, theſe officers applied to the perſon having the command of the Roman fort, and upon producing their ſeal, they were allowed to take the holy robes into their cuſtody: and when the ſervice of the day was concluded they depoſited them in the place from whence they had been taken, and ſealed them up in preſence of the governor. It would not have been neceſſary for me to have been ſo particular in the deſcription of this ceremony, but that there have been many alterations from time to time in the mode of proceeding. The fort abovementioned was already a place of no ſmall degree of ſtrength, but very conſiderable additions were made to its fortifications by Herod, who while he was engaged in this work, he fortified the temple, on which he beſtowed the name of Antonia in teſtimony of reſpect to Antony, heretofore emperor of the Romans, who had honoured him with very diſtinguiſhed marks of his friendſhip. The following is a deſcription of that part of the temple, which was called the firſt encloſure. There were four gates on the weſt ſide of the wall, one of which led acroſs a valley to the court that lay on the oppoſite ſide. Another of theſe gates led to the city, and two to the ſuburbs: from each gate was a large flight of ſteps down into the valley, and there was an equal number by which to aſcend on the oppoſite ſide. There was another gate in the middle of the ſquare, at an equal diſtance from the two angles:

The firſt encloſure.

a tariple

a triple gallery extended from the eaſt ſide of the gallery, which was the greateſt extent of length that the place would admit. It is impoſſible to conceive an idea of any thing more aſtoniſhing than this view afforded: for ſo very great was the depth of the valley, and ſo great the height of the building erected on the borders of it, that it was almoſt impoſſible for a perſon to look from the top to the bottom without his head ſwimming ſo that he would imagine his brain was turned. The galleries were ſupported by four rows of pillars, equally diſtant each from the other; and between thoſe of the fourth rank a ſtone wall was built. The pillars themſelves were built on a double baſe, and were twenty-ſeven feet in length, and ſo large that three men could but juſt encompaſs them. The whole number of theſe pillars was no leſs than one hundred and ſixty two, the chapiters of which were beautiful and elegant beyond deſcription; and the carved work was of the Corinthian order. There were three galleries between theſe four rows of pillars, two of which bore an exact reſemblance to each other, being each of them thirty feet wide, fifty in height, and in length a furlong; but the middle gallery was double the height of the other two, and forty-five feet in width. An abundant variety of curious figures was wrought in the wainſcotting. A piece of ſtone-work ſo admirably formed, cemented, and compacted together, as to have the appearance of one entire ſtone, ſupported the roof of the middle gallery.

Another encloſure.

Having ſaid thus much by way of deſcribing the firſt encloſure we, muſt now remark, that not far from it was another, formed by the erection of a ſtone wall, towards which the aſcent was by two ſteps, and there was a partion of ſtone, on which was an inſcription, intimating, that if any ſtrangers preſumed to enter there, they ſhould be puniſhed with death: this diviſion formed an inward encloſure, to which were three gates, towards the north and ſouth, at equal diſtances each from the other. To the eaſtward there was another gate conſiderably larger than the former, at which ſuch men as had been purified were permitted to enter, if they came in company with their wives; but it was not lawful for the women to proceed any farther.

The mi encloſu

Between the two encloſures abovementioned, there was a third place where it was lawful only for the prieſts to enter; and this was called the middle encloſure. In this place the temple was erected, before which was placed the altar, where the prieſts offered up their ſacrifices. This place was ſo ſacred that, even Herod himſelf durſt not enter it, ſince the law prohibited him from ſo doing, as he was not a prieſt. For this reaſon Herod committed the care of this part of the ſacred work to the prieſts; and they compleated it in the ſpace of eighteen months; whereas Herod himſelf, in ſuperintending the completion of the reſt, employed no leſs a time than eight years.

The completion of this great undertaking was the cauſe of great joy to the people, who united in returning thanks to the Almighty for the bleſſing he had beſtowed on their endeavours, and likewiſe ſpoke in the higheſt terms of the king, for the laudable zeal he had ſhewn in the promotion of the worſhip of God.

The temp dedicated

On occaſion of the reſtoration of the temple three hundred oxen were ſacrificed on account of the king, beſides a ſurpriſing number upon that of perſons of all ranks in life. The ceremony of the dedication of the temple was performed with great ſolemnity, and it took place on the anniverſary of Herod's acceſſion to the throne.

From Fort Antonia, Herod cauſed a ſubterraneous paſſage to be formed, leading to the eaſtern gate of the temple, where another fort was erected; and the intention of this paſſage was to ſecure a private retreat, in caſe of any treaſonable practices, either againſt himſelf or his ſucceſſors. A tradition is extant, that while the temple was building, no rain fell in the day, but that the earth was ſufficiently refreſhed with moiſture during the night; and this was deemed to be in conſequence of the particular interpoſition of Providence; that the progreſs of the work might not be impeded. This has been tranſmitted from father to ſon; and in a caſe where the worſhip of the Almighty was concerned, ſuch interpoſition appears by no means inconſiſtent with the laws of Divine Providence.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK XVI.

From the Year of the World 3955 *to* 3961.

CHAPTER I.

A law eſtabliſhed for puniſhing houſe-breakers. Herod viſits Cæſar at Rome, and returns to Jeruſalem, accompanied by his two ſons. The malevolence of Salome towards the Princes.

CONSIDERING himſelf bound in duty to provide for a proper adminiſtration of public juſtice, Herod enacted a law, purporting, that offenders convicted of houſe breaking ſhould be ſold into ſlavery either to natives or foreigners. The people judged this law to be an inſult upon the cuſtoms and inſtitutions of their nation, rather than as proceeding from a regard to public juſtice, and that the ſubjecting men to the juriſdiction of people living under different laws and regulations was not meant ſo much as a puniſhment to the criminal as an affront and injury to religion. It is enacted by our ancient laws, that a felon be condemned to make four-fold reſtitution, provided he be poſſeſſed of property; that, in caſe of being inſolvent, he be ſold into ſlavery, but not to ſtrangers; and that upon the expiration of ſeven years, he be reſtored to liberty. The new law was conſidered as tyrannical, and as being deliberately paſſed in contempt of the ancient practice.

Herod takes a journey to Rome.

Cæſar graciouſly receives him, and reſtores him his two ſons.

The king about this time went to Italy, in order to viſit his two ſons, and pay his reſpects to Cæſar. The princes were of tall and graceful perſons, and there was a dignity in their manners and converſation that ſeemed to prove them of royal deſcent. The emperor preſented the princes to their father, who found they had attained great proficiency both in literature and the knowledge of buſineſs. Having paid his reſpects to Cæſar, Herod returned to Jeruſalem, accompanied by his ſons, who were joyfully received by the people.

The diſtinction which the Jews in general paid to the princes was a circumſtance highly diſpleaſing to Salome, and thoſe who had been concerned with her in effecting the deſtruction of Mariamne; and they conſidered the royal youths as the inſtruments reſerved by Providence whereby they were to be puniſhed for having cauſed the death of their mother. To provide for their own ſafety, they determined to attempt the ruin of the princes by ſuch ſlanderous inſinuations as might alienate the affections of their father from them; and therefore they induſtriouſly progagated a rumour purporting that the ſons enterteined an implacable enmity towards their father for having put their mother to death.

CHAP. II.

Ariſtobulus married to Berenice, and Alexander to Glaphyra. Agrippa viſits Herod.

NOtwithſtanding the conſpiracy of Salome and her adherents, Herod continued an unreſerved tenderneſs for his ſons; and through his negociation Ariſtobulus eſpouſed Berenice, daughter of Salome, and Alexander married Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.

Being informed that Marcus Agrippa was returned from Italy into Aſia, Herod repaired to him, and earneſtly intreated that he would confer upon him the honour of a viſit. This invitation being accepted, Herod exerted his utmoſt endeavours for entertaining his gueſt in a manner correſponding with his exalted rank. He conducted, him to Sebaſte, the port of Cæſaria, the forts of Alexandrion, Herodian, Hyrcania, and in ſhort to all the remarkable cities, palaces and other places, which he had built or repaired, where he entertained him and his friends with all poſſible magnificence and ſplendor. Having made this expedition, Herod conducted Agrippa to Jeruſalem, where the people received him with expreſſions of joy, and the acclamations and other ceremonies uſual on a ſolemn feſtival. On this occaſion Agrippa dedicated to the Lord an hecatomb, which is a ſacrifice of an hundred victims, and feaſted the multitude. The behaviour of Herod proved ſo agreeable, that Agrippa was deſirous of prolonging his viſit: but as the winter approached, and the ſeas were dangerous in that ſeaſon, he embarked, after having received many honours and valuable preſents, and returned with his troops to Ionia.

Agrippa honourably entertained by Herod.

CHAP. III.

Embarking for Leſbos, Herod is driven to Chios. Meeting Agrippa at Sinope, they go in company to Samos.

EARLY in the ſpring, Herod embarked for Leſbos, expecting to meet his friend Agrippa there; for he had received intelligence that he was leading an army toward the Boſphorus. Having paſſed Rhodes and Coas, he was forced by the northern winds upon the iſle of Chios, and detained there ſeveral days. During his reſidence in this place, he received viſits from many perſons of diſtinction, whom he complimented with magnificent preſents: and obſerving that, from a ſcarcity of money, the public edifices which had been deſtroyed in the Mithridatic war ſtill remained in ruins, he gave the inhabitants credit for a ſum ſufficient to defray the expence of the neceſſary reparations, expreſsly charging them to compleat the work with all poſſible expedition.

Herod pro vides for th repair of buildings d moliſhed by Mithridat

Upon the wind changing to a ſavourable point, Herod embarked and ſailed to Mitylene, and thence to Byzantium. Having received intelligence that Agrippa had paſſed the Cyanean rocks, he made all poſſible ſpeed in purſuit of him, and at length joined him at a city of Pontus called Sinope. Agrippa was no leſs rejoiced than ſurpriſed at the unexpected arrival of Herod; and on the meeting of theſe princes, they gave every demonſtration of an honourable and reciprocal friendſhip. Agrippa made grateful acknowledgments to Herod for the ſingular inſtance of kindneſs he had ſhewn in poſtponing the concerns of his own government, and joining him with a powerful fleet at a point of time when his affairs were in the moſt preſſing exigency. Agrippa repoſed an unlimited confidence in Herod, to whoſe advice in council he paid the greateſt deference; and theſe princes were ſo ſtrongly united, that they jointly partook of labours, dangers and difficulties, as well as the pleaſurable relaxations from the arduous concerns annexed to their ſituation.

Having diſpatched the buſineſs that had called him to Pontus, Agrippa accompanied by Herod, returned over land. They directed their courſe through Paphlagonia, Cappadoica and the greater Phrygia; and arriving at Epheſus, they there took ſhipping for Samos. During their progreſs, Herod afforded divers proofs of the generoſity of his diſpoſition, by liberal donations on his own account, and by ſolciting from Agrippa favours in behalf of the inhabitants of the places through which they paſſed. At the inſtance of Herod he granted a pardon to the Illienſians, who had given him great cauſe of provocation. He alſo diſcharged a conſiderable arrear which the people of Chios had incurred to the emperor. And in ſhort, through the interceſſion of Herod, he gave full ſcope to the natural benevolence of his diſpoſition to the inhabitants of all the places he viſited.

Various ac of generoſi by Herod a Agrippa.

CHAP. IV.

Agrippa grants a hearing to the Jews of Ionia, in whoſe favour a determination is paſſed.

UPON their arrival in the province of Ionia, Herod and Agrippa found a great number of Jews aſſembled there, who vented bitter complaints againſt the inhabitants for having interrupted them in the exerciſe of their religion and laws. They ſtated, that the officers were accuſtomed to diſperſe their public meetings; to compel them to attend the courts of juſtice on the Sabbath; to intercept the conveyance of the holy treaſure to Jeruſalem; to oblige them to take up arms; and alſo to exact duties out of their ſubſiſtence money; contending that theſe oppreſſions were inflicted in direct violation of the privileges granted them by the Romans. At the inſtance of Herod, Agrippa conſented to hear the cauſe of the Jews, and accordingly ſummoned a council of honourable Romans, ſeveral princes, and other perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank. Herod retained his friend Nicolaus to plead in behalf of the complainants, before the court, where Agrippa was to preſide.

olaus ſuc-
ſfully
ds the
ſe of the
s of Ionia
fore
grippa.

The advocate pleaded the cauſe of his clients with great powers of eloquence, enumerating the hardſhips impoſed upon them as well as the exemptions and privileges granted by the Romans, and recorded upon the tables of braſs in the capitol; and a confirmation of thoſe rights, he ſaid, was the whole object the petitioners had in view; adding, however, that the league of amity ſubſiſting between Agrippa and Herod induced him to hope for an increaſe, rather than to fear a diminution of the favour hitherto ſhewn towards the Jews.

The Greeks made no attempt to invalidate what had been advanced by Nicolaus; for the matter in agitation was not a judicial trial of right, but a petition for redreſs of grievances. They urged, however, that the Jews were foreigners, and a burthen upon the natives. On the other hand, it was contended, that being entitled to the privileges of citizens, the Jews could not come under the deſcription of foreigners; that they were a people under the regulation of their own laws, and living in conformity to the will of the Almighty, and at peace with mankind.

Convinced of the juſtice of their cauſe, Agrippa declared himſelf in favour of the Jews and ſignified, that if their deſires had not been confined within ſuch moderate bounds, he ſhould have complied with them, provided he could have done it conſiſtent with a due regard to the dignity of the ſtate of Rome. "Since the requiſition of the Jews, ſaid Agrippa, are ſo reaſonable, from a regard to common juſtice, and a reſpect to their ſovereign, I pronounce a full ratification of the privileges, which by previous grants, they have an undoubted right to claim; and I promiſe, that as long as they continue within the limits of good order, the neceſſary meaſures ſhall be taken for guarding them againſt future vexations of this kind." Having delivered this ſpeech, Agrippa diſſolved the aſſembly; and in the name of the whole nation, Herod expreſſed the warmeſt acknowledgments to him for his generous conduct, and theſe princes departed from Leſbos, after an interchange of profeſſions of friendſhip.

CHAP. V.

Returning to Jeruſalem, Herod informs the people of the advantages obtained in behalf of their friends reſident in Aſia.

Herod calls an aſſembly at Jeruſalem, and tells the people what had been done for them in Aſia.

EMbarking for Cæſaria, Herod ſoon reached that place, and in a few days after arrived in Jeruſalem, where he ſummoned a general aſſembly of the people, and informed them of all the material occurrences during his late expedition, particularly mentioning that Agrippa had ſecured the Jewiſh inhabitants of Aſia in the poſſeſſion of perſonal liberty, and the free exerciſe of their laws and religion. He ſaid the people had been ſingularly proſperous under his government, and that their future welfare was the firſt wiſh of his heart. To convince the multitude of his regard, he excuſed them the payment of one fourth of the cuſtomary tribute, which act of generoſity was acknowledged with loud and repeated acclamations.

CHAP. VI.

Salome and Pheroras calumniate Alexander and Ariſtobulus to Herod, who thereupon determines that Antipater ſhall ſucceed him in the government. Antipater accompanies Herod to Rome.

INſpired with confidence by the ſucceſs attending her detractions of Mariamne, Salome determined upon attempting their deſtruction of Ariſtobulus and Alexander, who ſhe was apprehenſive might revenge the death of their mother. Partly from an abhorrence of the cruelty exerciſed upon Mariamne, and partly from the ambitious deſire of attaining to the powers of the ſovereignty, the brothers were far from behaving with due reſpect towards Herod; which conduct, in ſome degree, ſerved to give countenance to the plot concerted for their ruin.

The princes diſcharged the moſt bitter and vehement reproaches againſt Salome and Pheroras: who on the other hand, reflected with equal ſeverity upon the youths though in a more cautious and artful manner, having recourſe to every ſtratagem they could deviſe, for betraying them into ſuch unguarded and intemperate conduct, as might facilitate the project they had in view.

The princes declared that they conſidered it as an honour to have derived their exiſtence from ſo excellent a queen as Mariamne, whom, they inſiſted, had been barbarouſly murdered. This declaration was taken advantage of by their enemies, who propagated it ſo aſſiduouſly, that it ſoon became the prevailing ſubject of converſation among the people, the generality of whom, however, lamented the indiſcretion of the young men, in ſuffering their paſſions to precipitate them into ſuch deſperate liberties of ſpeech. The youths were frequently heard to lament their own fate, as only inferior in miſery to that of their deceaſed mother; for that they were compelled to live with thoſe who had imbrued their hands in her blood, and that they were, therefore, partakers in ſome meaſure, of their iniquity.

Salome and Pheroras caution Herod againſt his own ſons, and inſinuate a conſpiracy againſt the father's life.

The abſence of Herod was a circumſtance exceedingly favourable to the conſpiracy. A ſhort time having elapſed after the return of the king, Salome and Pheroras, with a well affected plauſibility, inſinuated to him that it was neceſſary he ſhould guard againſt the danger which threatened him in the perſons of Alexander and Ariſtobulus, who had publicly denounced vengeance againſt the murderers of their mother; and they falſely repreſented, that through the intereſt of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, they expected to compel Herod to abide the event of a judicial enquiry before the emperor. Herod was induced to place more confidence in theſe inſinuations, as they were frequently repeated, and communicated to him through a variety of channels. He reflected on the unhappy ſituation to which he had already been reduced by diſſentions in his family, and lamented that theſe diſagreements had proved deſtructive to his moſt valuable friendſhips, and deprived him of a wife, towards whom he entertained the moſt tender affection. He recalled to his imagination the events which had occurred, and thence pictured in idea of what might probably enſue in the preſent inſtance; and the proſpect was ſo alarming as nearly to drive him to a ſtate of diſtraction. His foreign concerns proved ſucceſsful to the utmoſt extent of his ſanguine hopes, while thoſe of a domeſtic nature were involved in all the difficulties which could unite to render him completely miſerable. It is to be queſtioned whether his ſplendid ſtation in life was a ſufficient counterbalance to the diſorders which prevailed in his family; and whether he would not have enjoyed a greater ſhare of happineſs in a private ſtation, than he experienced while ſurrounded with all the magnificence annexed to the regal character.

Herod tre Antipater his ſucce

Herod remained ſome time under great embarraſſment, not knowing what courſe it would be moſt eligible to purſue in the diſtracted ſtate of his affairs; but, at length he reſolved to receive into his family a ſon, named Antipater, whom he had cauſed to be privately educated, and to entertain the youth with particular reſpect; judging that ſuch conduct would prove a check to the ambition of his other ſons. Agreeable to this intention he inveſted Antipater with conſiderable authority, and repoſed great truſt in him, ſignifying by his whole behaviour towards him, that he meant the youth to be his ſucceſſor in the government. But the king's only motive in ſhewing ſuch diſtinction to Antipater was to reduce the inſolence of his ſons by Mariamne, whom he imagined would be more obſervant of their duty, when they perceived that the favour they had enjoyed was transferred to Antipater, who, in conſequence of their own diſobedience was likely to be appointed the ſucceſſor to the ſevereignty. The reſpect ſhewn to Antipater ſerved to increaſe the paſſions of the brothers, who conſidered the deference paid to him as an affront offered to themſelves.

To maintain the conſequence he had ſo unexpectedly acquired, Antipater ſought every opportunity of traducing his brothers, by means of agents who were in the confidence of the king, and otherwiſe qualified to impoſe upon his credulous temper. By the artifices employed by Antipater, Herod was induced to ſend for his mother to court, and to write letters in his favour to Cæſar.

After an adminiſtration of ten years in Aſia, Agrippa ſet out on his return to Rome; and Herod, accompanied by Antipater, embarked, in order to give him the meeting, and compliment him with rich preſents. Herod requeſted Agrippa to permit Antipater to accompany him to Rome, and that he would introduce him to Cæſar, to whom he ſent valuable preſents, as a means of ſecuring a favourable reception for his ſon.

CHAP. VII.

Herod accuſes Alexander and Ariſtobulus before Cæſar.

WHILE at Rome, Antipater was unhappy in having no longer the opportunity of gratifying his rancour towards the ſons of Mariamne by injurious repreſentations to Herod, who he was apprehenſive might be prevailed upon to reſtore them to favour. Under the pretext of extreme ſolicitude for his father's ſafety, he wrote letters containing ſuch malicious accuſations as induced Herod to conſider Alexander and Ariſtobulus as his moſt inveterate enemies.

Leſt the violence of his diſpleaſure ſhould tranſport him to ſome act of raſhneſs againſt the youths, he determined to exhibit complaints of their conduct before Cæſar. Repairing to Rome, he found the emperor was abſent from the capital; but proceeding to Aquileia he produced his ſons before Cæſar, and accuſed them of an attempt to deprive him of life by poiſon, urging that the ambition of obtaining poſſeſſion of the government had inſpired them with the horrid and unnatual deſign. He ſaid their malice was ſo inveterate that, though defeated in their rebellious attempt upon the crown, they would ſtill enjoy a cruel ſatisfaction in the inhuman murder of their father. He mentioned the ſpace of time he had indured the diſobedience of his ſons, ſaying that now, in the laſt extremity, he was compelled to the cruel neceſſity of ſubmitting his cauſe to the determination of Cæſar.

Herod accuſes his ſons before the emperor.

While their father was delivering his charge, the Princes frequently wept, but when he had concluded, their grief burſt forth in a torrent of tears. They were not, however, affected by a conſciouſneſs of guilt, but by the conſideration of the affecting circumſtances to which they were reduced; for while a principle of filial duty reſtrained them from oppoſing their father, they were urged to that meaſure by the deſire of vindicating themſelves from unmerited imputations of guilt. Cæſar put a juſt conſtruction upon their diffidence, as indeed did the whole aſſembly, the princes being univerſally compaſſionated, and even their father being greatly affected at their diſtreſs.

CHAP. VIII.

Alexander addreſſes Cæſar in behalf of himſelf and Ariſtobulus. The princes are declared innocent. Returning to Jeruſalem, Herod appoints Antipater his ſucceſſor.

THE grief of the princes having ſomewhat ſubſided, they obſerved that the emperor was much affected, that many of the auditors wept in compaſſion of their misfortunes, and that even the heart of their father was ſoftened towards them. Judging this to be a favourable opportunity, Alexander, the eldeſt of the brothers, addreſſed himſelf to Cæſar, ſaying Herod had afforded a ſignal inſtance of impartiality in diſpenſing with the exerciſe of his authority as a king and a father, and ſubmitting the determination of the cauſe to the emperor. He obſerved, that in ſupport of the accuſation, no accomplices had been mentioned, no poiſon, or deadly inſtruments produced nor was it pretended that any traiterous correſpondence had been held! He ſaid, that parricides could never hope to be acknowledged the ſovereigns of a pious and well-regulated people; nor could the murderers of Herod expect to eſcape the vengeance of Cæſar. Admoniſhed by the unhappy fate of their mother, himſelf and his brother were convinced of the expediency of conducting themſelves with moderation, and of the danger of proceeding to acts of outrage. After ſaying it was unneceſſary to multiply arguments to controvert an accuſation in ſupport of which no evidence had even been attempted to be adduced, he declared that they wiſhed not their lives to be preſerved, if they were to remain under the ſuſpicion of ſuch horrid wickedneſs as had been imputed to them.

Alexander's defence of himſelf and his brother.

Upon the charge being exhibited againſt the princes, the emperor concluded it to be without foundation; and in this opinion he was confirmed by Alexander's addreſs. The auditors were ſtrongly prejudiced in favour of the youths, and reſolved to render them every ſervice in their power. After a pauſe, Cæſar addreſſed the aſſembly ſignifying, that the ſons were in ſome degree deſerving reprehenſion for thoſe intemperate expreſſions that had given riſe to their father's diſpleaſure and ſuſpicions; but he pronounced them guiltleſs of the crime alledged againſt them. Cæſar recommended the parties to conſign all their animoſities to oblivion, and to manifeſt their reconciliation by an immediate interchange of profeſſions of friendſhip. Upon the emperor intimating by a ſign, that the ſons were to approach, with the greateſt humility in their deportment, and with features expreſſive of the anguiſh of their minds, they came forward and were preparing to throw themſelves at the feet of their father, who, however, prevented their intended humiliation, and taking them in his arms, embraced them with the utmoſt tenderneſs. This inſtance of kindneſs in Herod was equally unexpected and ſatisfactory to the whole court. Having made due acknowledgments to Cæſar, Herod departed, accompanied by Alexander, Ariſtobulus and Antipater, the latter affecting an exceſs of joy on occaſion of the happy agreement.

Alexander and Ariſtobulus declared innocent of the crime charged againſt them.

Some days ſubſequent to the reconciliation between Herod and his ſons, Auguſtus gave an entertainment to the people; and at this time Herod made the emperor a preſent of three hundred talents, in return for which Cæſar granted him a moiety of the profits ariſing from the mines of Cyprus, and full power of diſpoſing of the reſidue of the income: he alſo confirmed the right of

The princes declared that they conſidered it as an honour to have derived their exiſtence from ſo excellent a queen as Mariamne, whom, they inſiſted, had been barbarouſly murdered. This declaration was taken advantage of by their enemies, who propagated it ſo aſſiduouſly, that it ſoon became the prevailing ſubject of converſation among the people, the generality of whom, however, lamented the indiſcretion of the young men, in ſuffering their paſſions to precipitate them into ſuch deſperate liberties of ſpeech. The youths were frequently heard to lament their own fate, as only inferior in miſery to that of their deceaſed mother; for that they were compelled to live with thoſe who had imbrued their hands in her blood, and that they were, therefore, partakers in ſome meaſure, of their iniquity.

Salome and Pheroras caution Herod againſt his own ſons, and inſinuate a conſpiracy againſt the father's life.

The abſence of Herod was a circumſtance exceedingly favourable to the conſpiracy. A ſhort time having elapſed after the return of the king, Salome and Pheroras, with a well affected plauſibility, inſinuated to him that it was neceſſary he ſhould guard againſt the danger which threatened him in the perſons of Alexander and Ariſtobulus, who had publicly denounced vengeance againſt the murderers of their mother; and they falſely repreſented, that through the intereſt of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, they expected to compel Herod to abide the event of a judicial enquiry before the emperor. Herod was induced to place more confidence in theſe inſinuations, as they were frequently repeated, and communicated to him through a variety of channels. He reflected on the unhappy ſituation to which he had already been reduced by diſſentions in his family, and lamented that theſe diſagreements had proved deſtructive to his moſt valuable friendſhips, and deprived him of a wife, towards whom he entertained the moſt tender affection. He recalled to his imagination the events which had occurred, and thence pictured in idea of what might probably enſue in the preſent inſtance; and the proſpect was ſo alarming as nearly to drive him to a ſtate of diſtraction. His foreign concerns proved ſucceſsful to the utmoſt extent of his ſanguine hopes, while thoſe of a domeſtic nature were involved in all the difficulties which could unite to render him completely miſerable. It is to be queſtioned whether his ſplendid ſtation in life was a ſufficient counterbalance to the diſorders which prevailed in his family; and whether he would not have enjoyed a greater ſhare of happineſs in a private ſtation, than he experienced while ſurrounded with all the magnificence annexed to the regal character.

Herod tre Antipater his ſucce

Herod remained ſome time under great embarraſſment, not knowing what courſe it would be moſt eligible to purſue in the diſtracted ſtate of his affairs; but, at length he reſolved to receive into his family a ſon, named Antipater, whom he had cauſed to be privately educated, and to entertain the youth with particular reſpect; judging that ſuch conduct would prove a check to the ambition of his other ſons. Agreeable to this intention he inveſted Antipater with conſiderable authority, and repoſed great truſt in him, ſignifying by his whole behaviour towards him, that he meant the youth to be his ſucceſſor in the government. But the king's only motive in ſhewing ſuch diſtinction to Antipater was to reduce the inſolence of his ſons by Mariamne, whom he imagined would be more obſervant of their duty, when they perceived that the favour they had enjoyed was transferred to Antipater, who, in conſequence of their own diſobedience was likely to be appointed the ſucceſſor to the ſevereignty. The reſpect ſhewn to Antipater ſerved to increaſe the paſſions of the brothers, who conſidered the deference paid to him as an affront offered to themſelves.

To maintain the conſequence he had ſo unexpectedly acquired, Antipater ſought every opportunity of traducing his brothers, by means of agents who were in the confidence of the king, and otherwiſe qualified to impoſe upon his credulous temper. By the artifices employed by Antipater, Herod was induced to ſend for his mother to court, and to write letters in his favour to Cæſar.

After an adminiſtration of ten years in Aſia, Agrippa ſet out on his return to Rome; and Herod, accompanied by Antipater, embarked, in order to give him the meeting, and compliment him with rich preſents. Herod requeſted Agrippa to permit Antipater to accompany him to Rome, and that he would introduce him to Cæſar, to whom he ſent valuable preſents, as a means of ſecuring a favourable reception for his ſon.

CHAP. VII.

Herod accuſes Alexander and Ariſtobulus before Cæſar.

WHILE at Rome, Antipater was unhappy in having no longer the opportunity of gratifying his rancour towards the ſons of Mariamne by injurious repreſentations to Herod, who he was apprehenſive might be prevailed upon to reſtore them to favour. Under the pretext of extreme ſolicitude for his father's ſafety, he wrote letters containing ſuch malicious accuſations as induced Herod to conſider Alexander and Ariſtobulus as his moſt inveterate enemies.

Leſt the violence of his diſpleaſure ſhould tranſport him to ſome act of raſhneſs againſt the youths, he determined to exhibit complaints of their conduct before Cæſar. Repairing to Rome, he found the emperor was abſent from the capital; but proceeding to Aquileia he produced his ſons before Cæſar, and accuſed them of an attempt to deprive him of life by poiſon, urging that the ambition of obtaining poſſeſſion of the government had inſpired them with the horrid and unnatual deſign. He ſaid their malice was ſo inveterate that, though defeated in their rebellious attempt upon the crown, they would ſtill enjoy a cruel ſatisfaction in the inhuman murder of their father. He mentioned the ſpace of time he had indured the diſobedience of his ſons, ſaying that now, in the laſt extremity, he was compelled to the cruel neceſſity of ſubmitting his cauſe to the determination of Cæſar.

Herod accuſes his ſons before the emperor.

While their father was delivering his charge, the Princes frequently wept, but when he had concluded, their grief burſt forth in a torrent of tears. They were not, however, affected by a conſciouſneſs of guilt, but by the conſideration of the affecting circumſtances to which they were reduced; for while a principle of filial duty reſtrained them from oppoſing their father, they were urged to that meaſure by the deſire of vindicating themſelves from unmerited imputations of guilt. Cæſar put a juſt conſtruction upon their diffidence, as indeed did the whole aſſembly, the princes being univerſally compaſſionated, and even their father being greatly affected at their diſtreſs.

CHAP. VIII.

Alexander addreſſes Cæſar in behalf of himſelf and Ariſtobulus. The princes are declared innocent. Returning to Jeruſalem, Herod appoints Antipater his ſucceſſor.

THE grief of the princes having ſomewhat ſubſided, they obſerved that the emperor was much affected, that many of the auditors wept in compaſſion of their misfortunes, and that even the heart of their father was ſoftened towards them. Judging this to be a favourable opportunity, Alexander, the eldeſt of the brothers, addreſſed himſelf to Cæſar, ſaying Herod had afforded a ſignal inſtance of impartiality in diſpenſing with the exerciſe of his authority as a king and a father, and ſubmitting the determination of the cauſe to the emperor. He obſerved, that in ſupport of the accuſation, no accomplices had been mentioned, no poiſon, or deadly inſtruments produced nor was it pretended that any traiterous correſpondence had been held. He ſaid, that parricides could never hope to be acknowledged the ſovereigns of a pious and well-regulated people; nor could the murderers of Herod expect to eſcape the vengeance of Cæſar. Admoniſhed by the unhappy fate of their mother, himſelf and his brother were convinced of the expediency of conducting themſelves with moderation, and of the danger of proceeding to acts of outrage. After ſaying it was unneceſſary to multiply arguments to controvert an accuſation in ſupport of which no evidence had even been attempted to be adduced, he declared that they wiſhed not their lives to be preſerved, if they were to remain under the ſuſpicion of ſuch horrid wickedneſs as had been imputed to them.

Alexander's defence of himſelf and his brother.

Upon the charge being exhibited againſt the princes, the emperor concluded it to be without foundation; and in this opinion he was confirmed by Alexander's addreſs. The auditors were ſtrongly prejudiced in favour of the youths, and reſolved to render them every ſervice in their power. After a pauſe, Cæſar addreſſed the aſſembly ſignifying, that the ſons were in ſome degree deſerving reprehenſion for thoſe intemperate expreſſions that had given riſe to their father's diſpleaſure and ſuſpicions; but he pronounced them guiltleſs of the crime alledged againſt them. Cæſar recommended the parties to conſign all their animoſities to oblivion, and to manifeſt their reconciliation by an immediate interchange of profeſſions of friendſhip. Upon the emperor intimating by a ſign, that the ſons were to approach, with the greateſt humility in their deportment, and with features expreſſive of the anguiſh of their minds, they came forward and were preparing to throw themſelves at the feet of their father, who, however, prevented their intended humiliation, and taking them in his arms, embraced them with the utmoſt tenderneſs. This inſtance of kindneſs in Herod was equally unexpected and ſatisfactory to the whole court. Having made due acknowledgments to Cæſar, Herod departed, accompanied by Alexander, Ariſtobulus and Antipater, the latter affecting an exceſs of joy on occaſion of the happy agreement.

Alexander and Ariſtobulus declared innocent of the crime charged againſt them.

Some days ſubſequent to the reconciliation between Herod and his ſons, Auguſtus gave an entertainment to the people; and at this time Herod made the emperor a preſent of three hundred talents, in return for which Cæſar granted him a moiety of the profits ariſing from the mines of Cyprus, and full power of diſpoſing of the reſidue of the income: he alſo confirmed the right

of

of appointing a ſucceſſor to the government in the ſon who he ſhould moſt approve, or dividing the government between them, at his own diſcretion: but theſe liberties were granted on the condition, that he ſhould maintain the natural authority of a father over his children, and the ſovereignty of his kingdom during the turn of his life.

Herod goes back with his ſons to Judea.

Thus were matters circumſtanced when Herod and his three ſons proceeded on their return to Judea. During the abſence of Herod, the people of Trachonitis, who formed a conſiderable part of his ſubjects, engaged in a rebellion: but the vigilant and ſpirited behaviour of the officers to whom the king had entruſted the management of public affairs, reſtored them to allegiance. At Eleuſa, a city in Cilicia, now called Sabaſte, Herod and his ſons met Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, who expreſſed much ſatisfaction on the re-eſtabliſhment of a friendly underſtanding in the family of Herod, to whom he gave an hoſpitable and generous reception; and after an interchange of preſents and profeſſions of friendſhip, theſe ſovereigns parted.

Returning to Jeruſalem, Herod ſummoned the people to aſſemble in the temple; and he there related to them an account of his late expedition, particularizing the ſeveral honours which had been conferred upon him by Cæſar, and dwelling upon other paſſages which he was deſirous to impreſs upon their minds: he then adverted to his ſons, and recommended unanimity and moderation to his ſubjects in general. He then pronounced Antipater to be his ſucceſſor in the government, which was to devolve from him to Alexander, and then to Ariſtobulus. "During the term of my life, ſaid he, you are to acknowledge myſelf only as your ſovereign. I make this declaration to the ſeveral perſons of my family, my officers civil and military, and and my ſubjects in general. Age produces experience, whereby men are inſtructed in wiſdom; my increaſe of years, therefore, rather than proving an obſtacle, will render me more equal to the important duties of adminiſtration." He concluded with exhorting his people ſteadily to preſerve their allegiance, as the moſt certain means of ſecurity and happineſs, and then diſmiſſed the aſſembly. The majority of the people were perfectly ſatisfied with his conduct, but many were apprehenſive that the deſire which they conceived the ſons would reſpectively entertain of being advanced to the throne, would prove the ſource of future troubles.

CHAP. IX.

Cæſaria dedicated. Herod builds Antipatris and other places. He rebuilds the temple of the Pythian Apollo. Proviſion made for the olympic games. Character of Herod.

IN the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Herod, and in the olympiad one hundred and ninety-two, the city of Cæſaria was compleated, this being in the tenth year from the time of laying the foundation. The city was dedicated with every poſſible magnificence and ſplendor. On this occaſion, muſicians, wreſtlers, ſwordſmen, and perſons ſkilled in various other exerciſes, were procured from diſtant parts, and appointed to contend for prizes in their reſpective profeſſions. There were likewiſe horſe-races, exhibitions of wild beaſts, and various other kinds of ſpectacles and entertainments, that were then in faſhion at Rome and elſewhere. This ſolemnity, which was inſtituted in honour of Cæſar, received the appellation of *Cartamen quinquennale*; and it was appointed to be obſerved every fifth year. On this occaſion, the king expended an immenſe ſum, and Julia, the wife of Cæſar, contributed about five hundred talents for the purpoſe of procuring curoſities from different parts of Italy. The entertainments conſiſted of public ſpectacles and exhibitions in the day, and ſumptuous feaſts and revellings in the evening. It was the intention of Herod to ſurpaſs all his former acts of magnificence; and he ſo far ſucceeded as to gain an extraordinary ſhare of reputation, both Cæſar and Agrippa, when ſpeaking of the dedication of Cæſaria, being frequently heard to ſay, that Herod was deſerving of the government of both Syria and Egypt, and that the contracted revenues of Judea were greatly diſproportioned to the unbounded liberality of his diſpoſition.

Herod bui Antipatris, Cypron, P ſael, and other plac

After the feſtival of the dedication of Cæſaria, Herod undertook to build another city, upon the plain of Capharſaba: the ſituation was admirably choſen; for it was in a part of the country exceeding pleaſant, and the ſpot had all the advantages ariſing from a happy combination of wood and water, being almoſt ſurrounded by a delightful river, and having a plantation of very fine trees in its neighbourhood.

To this city he gave the name of Antipatris, in honour of his father Antipater: and not long afterwards he cauſed a caſtle to be erected beyond Jericho, on which he beſtowed the name of Cypron, in pious remembrance of his mother: this place was exceedingly well built and fortified, and was ſingularly pleaſant and agreeable in its ſituation. Nor did Herod forget to celebrate his regard for his beloved brother, ſince he erected ſeveral ſplendid and monumental ſtructures, which he dedicated to his memory; and among the reſt he cauſed a tower to be conſtructed within the city, to which he gave the name of Phaſael; and this was as ſtrong, and as extenſive a building as the Pharos of Alexandria. In the next place he built a town on the north ſide of the valley of Jericho, which likewiſe received the ſame name. Hitherto the adjacent country, which had been altogether abandoned, was ſoon ſtocked with a competent number of inhabitants, and received the name of the province of the Phaſaelites.

To recite the hiſtory of the bounties of Herod would be a moſt tedious taſk. He was, in every place, and on all occaſions, a pattern of liberality. In Syria, in Greece, and in fact, wherever his buſineſs or inclination led him, he uſed to furniſh aids to ſome perſons, to promote the advancement of public works for others; and to ſupply money where it was wanted, for the perfecting of ſuch ſchemes as had been begun, and could not otherwiſe be compleated.

ilds the ple of the ian A-

One of the moſt ſuperb and magnificent of all his undertakings remains yet to be ſpoken of; which is the temple of the Pythian Apollo at Rhodes. This Herod rebuilt at his own particular expence, and preſented the people of Rhodes with a very conſiderable number of talents of gold, to be by them expended in building of a number of ſhips. He gave likewiſe an immenſe ſum of money towards repairing and beautifying ſeveral public buildings in the city of Nicopolis near Actium, which were originally erected by Cæſar. In Antioch, which is the largeſt city in all Syria, he cauſed two galleries to be erected, which had a walk betweenthem, and extended the whole breadth of the city. Theſe galleries were ornamented in the moſt curious manner, and a pavement of ſmooth poliſhed ſtone covered the ſtreets. The convenience of the inhabitants, and the ſplendid appearance of the city were equally conſulted in theſe elegant improvements.

ovides the olym- games.

When the ſeveral works above mentioned were compleated, Herod allotted a conſiderable ſum annually, out of his own revenue, towards ſupporting the expences of the olympic games, which for ſome time paſt had been evidently in a declining ſtate, as they had not been ſupplied with ſums ſufficient to defray the charges of ſacrifices, and other expenſive ceremonies, proper on the meeting of ſuch numbers as uſed to aſſemble on occaſions of this kind: and he acquired name of a perpetual maſter of the revels, on account of the liberality he exerted in this particular inſtance.

The general character of Herod.

But notwithſtanding the many great and ſplendid actions performed by Herod, his general character appears to be a compound of the moſt abſolute contradictions. If we conſider his liberality on a variety of occaſions, and the inſtances he afforded of a deſire to do good to all mankind, it might ſeem reaſonable to conclude, that he was one of the moſt generous and benevolent men that ever exiſted; but, on the contrary, if but for a moment, we reflect on the extreme rigour of ſome of his proceedings even towards his neareſt relations, as well as his ſubjects in general, we cannot but condemn him as being deſtitute of compaſſion and ſhame, and a ſtranger to the common feelings of humanity. Ambition appeared to abſorb every other faculty of his ſoul; and to acquire a ſplendid reputation was doubtleſs the great and ultimate object he had in view. The equitable and legal modes of taxation being wholly inadequte to the enormity of his ſuperfluous expences he impoſed intolerable burdens upon his ſubjects; and therefore, he determined to convert to his own advantage the popular diſcontents that his oppreſſions had excited, which he effected by firſt provoking his people beyond all bounds of patience, and then puniſhing them with as much ſeverity as if they had been his moſt inveterate enemies; and being inflexibly determined to maintain his authority to its utmoſt extent in every inſtance whatever, he indiſcriminately exerciſed his tyranny upon friends and foes, relations and ſtrangers. The turn and diſpoſition of his mind was ſufficiently apparent from his conduct towards Cæſar and Agrippa; for by the honours and diſtinctions he paid to thoſe and others of his friends of high rank, he meant to furniſh an example of the adulation he expected from his own ſubjects. The homage Herod paid to his ſuperiors was, however, by no means a proper precedent for the Jews to copy; it was a mode of procedure diametrically oppoſite to their laws and cuſtoms, whereby they were inſtructed in obedience merely from motives of goodneſs, without any regard to their perſonal intereſts. But for this conſcientious reſtraint, the Jews might have eaſily ingratiated the favour of their vain and ambitious ſovereign, by the dedication of the temples and ſtatues to his honour, and other arts of flattery. What we have ſaid above ſufficiently explains the cauſe of Herod's unlimitted bounty to ſtrangers, and his inexorable cruelty to his ſubjects.

CHAP. X.

The Greeks complain againſt the Jews to Cæſar. The Jews confirmed in their privileges.

THE

Several edicts and other teſtimonies in favour of the Jews.

THE Jews of Aſia and thoſe of Cyrene in Africa, were at this time cruelly oppreſſed by the Greeks, on the pretence that they carried their money out of the country, and were in many other reſpects a troubleſome people. In reply to this application, Cæſar diſpatched letters to the provinces, importing that, it was his ſovereign will and pleaſure, that the Jews ſhould remain in the full and uninterrupted enjoyment of all the rights and immunities granted them by former ſovereigns. He likewiſe iſſued an edict expreſſing, that in conſideration of the fidelity of the Jews to the Romans, and the inſtances of loyalty they manifeſted towards Cæſar, his royal father, during the pontificate of Hyrcanus, they ſhould be allowed the free exerciſe of their laws, cuſtoms, and ceremonies; that their temples ſhould be conſidered as places of ſanctuary and refuge; that they ſhould have liberty to tranſmit what money they might contribute for ſacred uſes to the treaſury at Jeruſalem, without moleſtation; that they ſhould not be compelled to appear before the magiſtrates on their Sabbath, nor later than nine o'clock in the evening preceding that day; that ſtealing their religious books, or the treaſure depoſited in their holy places, ſhould be deemed ſacrilege, and puniſhed with confiſcation of goods; and that the petition in behalf of the Jews preſented by Caius Marcus Cenſorinus, together with the decree in confirmation of their privileges, ſhould be fixed up at that diſtinguiſhed place called Ancrya, which the whole body of the people of Aſia had combined to erect to the honour of Cæſar. On one of the pillars of the temple an inſcription addreſſed to Narbonus Flaccus was fixed, prohibiting all perſons from interrupting the Jews in conveying their money collected for ſacred purpoſes to Jeruſalem.

Agrippa alſo wrote to the magiſtrates, ſenate, and people of Epheſus, commanding that no annoyance ſhould be offered the Jews while ſending their money to Jeruſalem for the ſervice of the temple, and that whoever ſhould rob them of any part of their treaſure, and fly to the altar for ſanctuary, ſhould, notwithſtanding, be ſeized and delivered up to the Jews, in order for baniſhment, as being guilty of ſacrilege.

Agrippa likewiſe wrote to the magiſtrates and ſenate of Cyrene, ſignifying it to be his will, that the Jews ſhould have the full enjoyment of all their privileges, and appointing commiſſioners to reſtore to them all the treaſure of which they had been wrongfully deſpoiled, under the groundleſs pretence of their tribute being in arrear.

Caius Narbonus Flaccus, the proconſul, wrote to the magiſtrates of Sardis, importing the abſolute command of Auguſtus to be, that no moleſtation ſhould be offered to the Jews, either in collecting, or ſending their treaſure to Jeruſalem. And the proconſol Julius Antonius diſpatched letters to the magiſtrates, ſenate and people of Epheſus, ſignifying his hearty concurrence in the determination of Cæſar and Agrippa in behalf of the Jews, and that thoſe people ſhould be allowed the peaceable enjoyment of all the rights and immunities granted them. Theſe inſtances are mentioned that the Greeks may be informed of the honours conferred upon the Jewiſh nation in the remote ages of antiquity, and alſo that their privileges, cuſtoms, diſcipline, and worſhip have been, from time to time, authorized by different powerful princes.

CHAP. XI.

Herod rifles David's ſepulchre. In the ſacrilegious act two of his guards are deſtroyed by a judicial fire. Great diſorders pervail in the family of Herod, who becomes weary of his life.

AFTER his extravagancies had involved him in great pecuniary embarraſſments, Herod was informed that his predeceſſor Hyrcanus had obtained no leſs a ſum than three thouſand talents of ſilver[*] from the ſepulchre of David, and that the ſame repoſitory ſtill contained more than ſufficient to gratify the wiſhes of any future viſitant. Having for ſome time revolved this intelligence in his mind, Herod, at length, determined to have recourſe to the tomb of the deceaſed king for the ſupply of his neceſſities. Having communicated his deſigns to ſome perſons in whom he repoſed confidence, they accompanied him with all poſſible ſecrecy by night to the ſepulchre, from whence they conveyed plate and veſſels of gold and ſilver to an immenſe value: but in their ſearch after money they were diſappointed, Hyrcanus having made booty of the whole of that article.

Herod's ſucceſs, however, was conſiderable enough to induce him to make a ſtricter ſearch than he had at firſt intended; and he proceeded ſtill farther into the vault, till he came to the place in which were depoſited coffins containing the bodies of David and Solomon. The hiſtory which we have of this affair informs us, that a flaſh of fire ſuddenly broke out of the receſs, and killed

---

[*] Three thouſand Hebrew talents weighed three hundred forty two thouſand one hundred, and eighty ſeven pounds ſix ounces, and their value in ſilver amounted to one million, twenty ſix thouſand, five hundred and ſixty two pounds ten ſhillings of our money.

f He- guards ned by while giouſly g the of Da- where- he ſtop- up the nce.

two of Herod's guards on the ſpot. This was looked upon as an evident denunciation of the vengeance of Heaven, for the temerity and glaring impiety of the action. Herod was ſo aſtoniſhed and terrified at this apparent token of the divine wrath, that partly through his fear and partly from motives of conſcience, he immediately abandoned the farther proſecution of his deſign. He likewiſe came to a reſolution to atone, in ſome meaſure, for the ſacrilege of which he had been guilty, and thereupon determined to erect a moſt ſuperb and ſtately monument of white marble, to block up the entrance into the ſepulchre; and ſoon afterwards he gave orders for the forwarding of this work, which was accordingly carried into execution.

Nicholaus, who lived at the time of theſe tranſactions, ſpeaks of the marble monument abovementioned, but he does not recite a ſingle circumſtance of the king's deſcent into, and robbery of the vault, which it is probable he looked upon to be ſo diſgraceful, profane, and impious an undertaking, that he was unwilling or afraid to make it publicly known; for as he was a cotemporary with Herod, he was under a kind of neceſſity of recording only ſuch circumſtances as might gratify the king; ſuch, in fact as redounded to his honour; and of omitting ſuch as would have proved only the teſtimonies of his diſgrace. In the ſame fallacious manner he writes concerning the murder of Mariamne, and the undeſerved ſeverities exerciſed upon her ſons; for he artfully inſinuates, that the queen had violated her huſband's bed, and that the ſons ſought the deſtruction of their father. In other parts of his writings he either endeavours to extenuate, or in total ſilence paſſes over the reprehenſible parts of the king's conduct, but he ſeizes every occaſion to extol thoſe actions that would admit of praiſe. In ſhort, if he did not write an authentic hiſtory, he produced a panegyric that could not fail to yield gratification to his patron.

Having ſpoken with the freedom of truth reſpecting a former writer, it becomes me to aver, that, having the honour to be deſcended in the royal Aſmonæan line, and being likewiſe of the race of the prieſthood, I ſcorn to record a falſehood.

Herod's domeſtic unhappineſs.

After he had ſacrilegiouſly plundered the ſepulchre of David, the king's domeſtic concerns were daily involved in greater unhappineſs, inſomuch that it appeared as if Heaven had determined to avenge ſo flagitious an act by unuſual calamities. Feuds and animoſities diſtracted the royal family; ſome branches whereof were outrageous in their contentions, while others carried on their treacherous projects by the moſt artful inſinuations and calumnies.

The artifice and hypocriſy of Antipater.

The artifice and hypocriſy of Antipater were carried to a great exceſs; while he bribed agents to repreſent his brothers in ſuch a manner as was moſt likely to exaſperate the king againſt them, he, on the other hand, became an advocate to the king in their behalf, pretending to excuſe and palliate the miſconduct falſely imputed to them; and by aſſuming this double diſguiſe he hoped more effectually to work their ruin. The diſſimulation and contrivances of Antipater had ſuch an effect upon the king, that he conſidered him as his moſt faithful friend, and as acting from motives wholly diſintereſted; and therefore he directed Ptolomy, his prime miniſter to conſult the young man in all the important concerns of government. No ſooner was Antipater informed of the ſecrets of ſtate, than he communicated them to his mother; and they joined in ſo concerting matters as to give public affairs a turn ſuitable to their views and inclinations.

Alexander and Ariſtobulus, who were men of ambitious ſpirits, could not endure the idea of being degraded beneath the dignity of their birth, and inſulted by thoſe who were in every reſpect their inferiors; nor were their wives agitated with paſſions leſs violent than thoſe which diſturbed their huſbands.

Herod offers his daughter to Pheroras, and he refuſes her.

About the ſame time, another unfortunate circumſtance occurred, whereby Pheroras, the king's brother, was engaged in a contention, which produced likewiſe a violent and mutual averſion. Herod applied himſelf to Pheroras, to whom he voluntarily made an offer to give him his daughter in marriage; but the latter excuſed himſelf from accepting the intended favour, alledging, that he was violently in love with his own ſervant-maid, and he could not bring himſelf to think of forming another attachment.

The king was exceedingly mortified at this refuſal, which affected him in much the greater degree, as it came from a brother to whom he had given very uncommon marks of his kindneſs and benevolence; and had even proceeded ſo far in the proof of his fraternal regard, as in a manner, to ſhare his government with him. Herod, however finding all the inſtances of his generoſity thus requited and conceiving that there was no other way of reducing the brother to reaſon he thereupon offered his daughter to the ſon of Phaſael, his elder brother, to whom, in a ſhort time afterwards, ſhe was married.

He offers him his other daughter Cypras.

Some conſiderable time after this, Herod applied again to Pheroras, and having repreſented to him the indignity that had been offered him, by his refuſal of the former match, reſolved to give him yet another proof of his affection, by offering him in marriage his other daughter Cypras. Pheroras, having reflected for a while, went to conſult Ptolemy on the ſubject: when the latter without heſitation, told him that, if he had the leaſt regard to his own intereſt, he would not refuſe ſuch an offer from his brother and king; which refuſal would not only hazard his future fortune and peace of mind, but would occaſion the loſs of the king's favour, and make him an enemy, who had ſo long been a friend; and all this for the gratification of a lawleſs paſſion for one who was greatly his inferior in point of rank. In purſuance of the advice of Ptolemy, Pheroras beſought the king's pardon, promiſing to diſmiſs the woman with whom he was engaged in an illicit intercourſe, and by whom he had one child and to eſpouſe his daughter before the expiration of a month. But not withſtanding he had ratified his promiſe of marrige with an oath, and likewiſe to have no further correſpondence with his concubine, in the courſe of the month he relapſed into his former fondneſs, and again took her home to cohabit with him as before.

Pheroras violates his promiſe and oath.

Enraged by this treatment, Herod diſcharged the moſt bitter reproaches againſt Pheroras; and there were many perſons about the court, who maliciouſly contrived ſtill further to inflame the king's diſpleaſure towards his brother. In ſhort, diſorders, jealouſies and contentions were perpetually encreaſing in the royal family, which appeared to be in a ſtate of civil hoſtility.

Salome artfully prevailed upon her daughter to betray to her the ſecrets of her huſband Ariſtobulus, and when ſhe found any caſual diſagreement had ariſen between them, ſhe endeavoured to foment it into a ſerious and inveterate quarrel: and in a word, her whole conduct proved that ſhe harboured an implacable and moſt rancourous hatred towards the ſons of Mariamne. She prevailed upon her daughter to divulge the private converſations that had paſſed between the brothers reſpecting Mariamne, wherein they had ſpoken diſreſpectfully of the king's ſons by other women; and ſhe was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of this intelligence, than ſhe imparted the whole to the king, who, though exceedingly diſguſted, was rather deſirous of an amicable adjuſtment of the prevailing differences, than of proceeding to extremities. He therefore contented himſelf with reproving his ſons for the unwarrantable liberties they had taken; and upon their making a proper ſubmiſſion he was tolerably reconciled.

Pherora lumniat Herod Alexand

But the domeſtic diſtreſſes in which this unhappy family was involved were ſtill farther aggravated by the following circumſtance: Pheroras ſought an occaſion of addreſſing himſelf privately to Alexander the huſband of Glaphyra, to whom he related an odd kind of tale, which he ſaid Salome had told him, the ſubſtance of which was, that Herod had become moſt violently enamoured of Glaphyra, and that the paſſion preyed upon his mind to ſo great a degree, that he found it altogether impoſſible to live at eaſe. Now Alexander, who was by nature of a jealous diſpoſition, and ſubject to the impulſe of the moſt violent paſſions, was inflamed beyond all deſcription at this unexpected piece of information; ſo that, from that time forward, the ſlighteſt circumſtances furniſhed freſh food for his jealouſy; and every little favour that Herod thereafter conferred on Glaphyra, though for the ſake of his ſon, was by him conſtrued into a full proof of the reality of what Pheroras had told him.

This imagination wrought ſo powerfully on the mind of Alexander, that at length, unable any longer to bear the weight of his own reflections, he repaired immediately to his father, and told him all the circumſtances of which he had been informed by Pheroras, while the tears flowed plentifully down his face as he related the melancholy tale. Previous to this, Herod had met with family misfortunes ſufficient to harrow up the peace of his mind; but this piece of information drove him almoſt to diſtraction. To be traduced by the imputation of ſo enormous a crime, and this by one of his own family, was a circumſtance that he could not think of with the leaſt degree of patience. He diſpatched a meſſenger to command the immediate attendance of Pheroras; and on his arrival, reproached him with great ſeverity for having falſely accuſed him of a moſt atrocious and abominable wickedneſs, and having thereby endeavoured to provoke his ſon to conſpire againſt his life. After upbraiding him as being the moſt ungrateful and perfidious man in exiſtence the king commanded Pheroras to depart, ſaying he would take no other revenge than that of leaving him to the ſtings of his own conſcience; and adding, that contrary to their ungrateful example, he would obtain the nobleſt ſuperiority over his relations by returning kindneſs for their wicked actions and intentions.

Pheroras acuſes Salom

Being thus explicitly accuſed, Pheroras ſaw no other means of exculpating himſelf than by transferring the guilt to Salome; and therefore he declared her to be, as ſhe in reality was, the propagator of the ſcandalous ſtory. Being within hearing, Salome burſt into the moſt violent exclamations,

tions, and with correſponding geſtures, declared the whole to be an infamous forgery, calculated for taking away her life, in revenge for her zealous endeavours for the preſervation of the king, who ſhe declared to be in a more perilous ſituation than he had been at any former period of life. She ſaid, that through her perſuaſions, Pheroras had diſmiſſed the abandoned woman on whom he had fixed his affections, and eſpouſed the king's daughter; and thence aroſe his inveterate hatred to her. While ſpeaking, ſhe tore her hair, beat her breaſt, and had recourſe to ſuch geſtures as ſhe thought could not fail to give the appearance of truth to her aſſertions.

In the mean time, Pheroras was under inexpreſſible embarraſſment; he was agitated by a variety of contending paſſions, and involved between two difficulties, equally threatening. He could not retract the report he had made to the king, nor was he able to prove what Salome had related to him. The contentions between Salome and Pheroras were long and violent: but, at length, the king diſmiſſed them from his preſence, and retired to his apartment.

When Herod came to reflect on all the circumſtances attending the above affair, he highly extolled his ſon's mode of proceeding, and conceived that the coming to him ſo frankly with a recital of the whole ſtory, diſplayed ſomething of a candour and integrity of conduct that was very praiſe-worthy. The effect of the above diſpute was, that Salome was univerſally reputed to have been the author of the calumny; and the king's wives were very ready to propagate the report that this was really the caſe; for her diſpoſition was ſuch, that ſhe had few friends: ſhe was of an unequal and moſt diſguſting temper; and the other women of the royal family greatly diſliking her, they omitted no opportunity of repreſenting her diſadvantageouſly to the king: and an incident happened at this time extremely favourable for the ſucceſs of their deſigns.

llæus, the ime miniſ- of the g of Ara- falls in e with me.

Obodas, king of Arabia, was a prince remarkable only for the inactivity of his diſpoſition. Syllæus, his prime miniſter, was a man in the vigour of life, of diſtinguiſhed abilities, admirable addreſs, and of a perſon ſingularly graceful and elegant. Syllæus being ſent to Herod on public buſineſs, he had the honour to ſup with the king, when Salome happened to make one of the company. Struck with her perſon, and the manner of her behaviour, he conceived a particular affection for this princeſs; and having made ſome enquiries reſpecting her, and finding ſhe was a widow, he ſoon afterwards ventured to addreſs her with a propoſal of marriage.

Salome, finding that her life grew daily more and more diſagreeable in her preſent ſituation, and being well pleaſed with the perſon and behaviour of Syllæus, took ſome time to reflect on the affair, and then ſeemed well diſpoſed to liſten to the propoſal. From this time forwards the parties were frequently in company with each other; and as they became more intimately acquainted, all that paſſed between them ſeemed to be cloſely regarded by others. Their looks, their hints, their actions, and many other little circumſtances, were conſtrued as proofs of the growing amour. All that paſſed was immediately made known to the king; and the ladies of the court entertained themſelves with the particulars of the affair. Herod, however, was not ſo fully convinced by what the women ſaid to him, conceiving that malice might have ſome ſhare in their inſinuations. He therefore directed Pheroras to keep a watchful eye on the ſuppoſed lovers; and after a very careful regard to their proceedings, he informed the king that, as far as he was able to form a judgment the parties were mutually inſpired with the paſſion of love. Herod no longer entertained any doubt of the matter; and in a ſhort time after, Syllæus departed into Arabia.

In about two or three months, Syllæus again came to the court of Herod upon public buſineſs, and then made propoſals to him for eſpouſing his ſiſter, repreſenting that the alliance would materially promote the commercial intereſts of Herod, and likewiſe prove advantageous in other reſpects. Hereupon, the king demanded of Salome, whether the propoſal met with her approbation; and ſhe replied in the affirmative. Syllæus was now informed, that if he would embrace the Jewiſh religion, the king would conſent to the propoſed marriage, but that otherwiſe, it could not take effect, ſince the lady was reſtrained by the laws of her country from contracting an alliance with any perſon of a different religious perſuaſion. Syllæus anſwered, that he was bound by obligations equally ſtrong, and that if he ſhould tranſgreſs the rules and ordinances of his religion, the Arabians would inevitably ſtone him to death. This declaration put an end to the treaty.

The treaty broke on the ſcore of religion.

From the above circumſtance, Pheroras took frequent opportunities of intimating to the king, that his ſiſter had expoſed her character to very ſevere cenſure in conſequence of her acquaintance with the Arabian miniſter: but Herod's wives carried their reflections to a much greater length, making no ſcruple to declare, that the freedoms in which ſhe indulged Syllæus, were ſufficient to juſtify a charge of incontinency againſt Salome.

His ſiſter now became very importunate to obtain Herod's conſent to the marriage of his daughter that Pheroras had rejected, with one of her ſons by her deceaſed huſband Coſtabarus. Herod would have acceeded to this propoſal, but for the perſuaſions of Pheroras, who aſſured him that the young man bore towards him a deadly and mortal hatred, on account of having cauſed his father to be put to death. Pheroras then propoſed his own ſon, who was to ſucced him in his government, as a huſband for the daughter of Herod, who accepted the offer, and upon the marriage being ſolemnized, he gave the bride one hundred talents as a wedding portion. Herod forgave every affront offered him by Pheroras, and all the diſagreements that had ſubſiſted between them were buried in oblivion.

Herod's daughter married to the ſon of Pheroras.

The contentions and unhappineſs in Herod's farmily continued daily to increaſe. Among the perſons compoſing the king's houſhold were three eunuchs, who were young men of very engaging perſons. One of theſe was Herod's cup-bearer, another was his ſteward, and the third was a gentleman of his bed-chamber. Of the fidelity of theſe young men he had ſo high an opinion, that he frequently conſulted them reſpecting the affairs of ſtate.

Now it happened, that ſome perſon had given intelligence to Herod, that Alexander had been endeavouring to prevail on theſe eunuchs to betray him, in conſideration of their receiving a ſum of money from him. Herod having acquired this information, had not long reflected on it before he gave orders that they ſhould be put to the tortune, in order to extort from them a confeſſion of what had paſſed between them and Alexander. At firſt they acknowledged that they had been in company together: but denied all knowledge of any treacherous deſign that Alexander might have on the life of his father. The officers employed to torment them being of Antipater's faction they treated them with ſuch unuſual rigour and ſeverity, that at length, in the extremity of their pain and anguiſh, a declaration was extorted from them, purporting that Alexander had uſed his utmoſt endeavours for ſeducing them from their allegiance to the king, who he had repreſented as ſuperannuated, and incapable of the admimiſtration of public affairs and as having recourſe to coſmetics and other artifices for diſguiſing the ravages that time had made in his conſtiution. They further ſaid, that Alexander had promiſed, on condition of their eſpouſing his cauſe, that he would provide for their ſpeedy advancement, ſince excluſive of the right of ſucceſſion to the throne, the king's friends had formed a conſiderable party in his favour, and that they were determined, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, to ſupport him in carrying into effect the plan he had concerted for aſſuming the powers of the ſovereignty.

Three of the king's eunuchs, while under torture accuſe Alexander of treaſon.

No ſooner was Herod informed of the ſubſtance of the declaration of the eunuchs, than he was ſeized with a moſt violent fit of rage and trembling: rage on account of the contempt, and trembling on account of the threats that were expreſſed in it. He remained for a while in a diſtracted ſtate of mind, and in utter uncertainty how to behave in caſe of immediate ſurpriſe: he doubted whether he ſhould endeavour to avoid the danger which threatened him, or bravely defy it. After a long deliberation, he came to a reſolution not to bring the matter to a judicial enquiry, but to employ ſpies and informers to procure ſuch intelligence as he thought it imported him to be acquainted with.

Herod was now in ſuch a ſtate of mind that whoſoever he ſuſpected he conſequently hated; and his ſuſpicions frequently fell on thoſe who did not deſerve them, as well as on thoſe that did. The ſuſpicions and jealouſies of Herod were without bounds; and he was particularly apprehenſive of thoſe who were related to him, conceiving them to have the power of doing more eſſential injury than ſtrangers. As to the perſons with whom he was entirely unconnected, the ſlighteſt hint to their prejudice was ſufficient to effect their certain deſtruction; for the moſt trifling and inſignificant circumſtances gave him the greateſt alarms for his perſonal ſafety.

The ſituation of his domeſtics was more miſerable than that of the reſt of his ſubjects, they having no means of preſerving their lives but by traducing their companions. Thoſe who provided for their own ſafety by accuſing others, thereby drew upon themſelves the full meaſure of deteſtation; and it generally happened that, in the end, they ſuffered by the ſame means they had employed for the ruin of others.

The king's conſcience ſometimes upbraided him for cauſing the death of ſo many innocent perſons, without even allowing them the form of a trial: but he, notwithſtanding, perſevered in the ſame practice. After a great number of innocent people had been deſtroyed, Herod cauſed the witneſſes who had falſely accuſed them to be put to death.

Language is too weak to explain with what diſtraction the court of Herod was agitated, many perſons who had even been conſidered as his moſt confidential friends, and were ſuppoſed to have rendered him greater ſervices than others, were baniſhed from the palace; and among theſe were Andromachus and Gemellus, who had honourably ſerved their country in quality of ambaſſadors at different foreign courts and as members of Herod's council; they had likewiſe ſuperintended the education of his ſons, and acquitted themſelves with great reputation in many other important public employments. Andromachus was diſmiſſed on account of the eſteem that Alexander had expreſſed for his ſon Demetrius; and Gemellus was diſcarded for his friendſhip to Alexander, whom he had accompanied to Rome as his governor and companion. Herod's ſeverity towards Andromachus and Gemellus would have been carried to a greater length, but that the reputation they had acquired with the public operated as a reſtraint upon his conduct towards them.

Antipater was the principal author and contriver of all theſe unaccountable proceedings; for obſerving that Herod was filled with ſuſpicions, and alarmed by his fears, he endeavoured, by a crafty compliance with his diſpoſition, to inſinuate himſelf into his councils; which being done, he inſtigated him to acts of cruelty and inhumanity, conſtantly inculcating to him, as an infallible maxim of ſtate, the abſolute neceſſity of working the deſtruction of thoſe who were poſſeſſed of power to do him any injury! and on the principles of this ſavage policy it was that Herod proceeded; for he had no ſooner diſmiſſed Andromachus, and ſuch of his friends and adherents as had the honour and reſolution to ſpeak the true ſentiments of their minds than he gave orders that all the partizans of Alexander ſhould be put to the torture, and examined as to what plots or contrivances they were privy to.

This conſtancy and uniformity of behaviour being interpreted into a contumacious obſtinacy, their torments were greatly increaſed, and much wonder was expreſſed that ſuch variety of aggravated puniſhment ſhould not be able to extort from them the ſlighteſt confeſſion, or even a hint that expreſſed the leaſt diſloyalty towards their ſovereign: and many of theſe unfortunate people expired under the ſeverity of their ſufferings. Hereupon Antipater intimated that they conſidered it rather as a point of honour to deny than to confeſs the truth; as by ſuch confeſſion they ſhould violate that faith and good confidence that had been repoſed in them by their friends. He therefore alledged this as a reaſon why others ſhould be put to the torture, and pretended not to entertain the leaſt doubt but that, in the end, ſome one would be found that would confeſs the truth of what they wanted to be informed of.

An information upon the torture againſt Alexander.

At length it happened that a poor wretch oppreſſed with the weight of torture, and ſinking under the extremity of his pain, declared that when the people extolled Alexander as a man of uncommon elegance, an excellent markſman, and one poſſeſſed of other ſuperior qualifications, he had frequently heard him declare, that he had every reaſon to conſider theſe natural endowments rather as a misfortune than an advantage to him; for that his father's diſpoſition was ſuch, that he hated him for his very perfections; that when they were talking together, he was obliged to ſtoop, leſt he ſhould appear taller than the king; and that when they were engaged in hunting he was compelled to refrain from ſhooting at the mark, for that his father bore ſo great an antipathy to him, that he could neither endure to ſee him excel in any action, nor hear him praiſed for ſuch excellence.

This pretended diſcovery being made, the torments of the poor ſufferer were reſpited for a while; and then he proceeded with his narrative, relating that Alexander and Ariſtobulus had formerly entered into a conſpiracy againſt the life of their father, when he was out on a party of hunting; and that it had been determined between them, that if they ſhould be ſucceſsful in their enterpriſe, Alexander was immediately to repair to Rome, to claim to ſucceed Herod in the government. A number of letters were likewiſe produced, written by Alexander to his brother, their general contents being a complaint againſt his father for giving to Antipater an eſtate in land to the annual value of two hundred talents.

Herod being now extravagantly enraged againſt Alexander, ordered him to priſon. Immediately after this, the king cauſed ſeveral of the moſt particular friends of Alexander to be tortured, and then put to death, and this he did to inſinuate to the public, that his ſon was guilty of the crime alledged againſt him. They died without making any confeſſion.

A young man, while nearly expiring under the torture, declared, that Alexander had written to ſome friends at Rome, requeſting them to inform Cæſar, that a conſpiracy was fomented againſt him, the particulars of which he would divulge, if the emperor ſhould command him to repair to Rome; that his father had abandoned the intereſts of the Romans, and engaged in a treaty with Mithridates, king of the Parthians, and had cauſed a poiſon to be prepared at Aſkalon, with a deſign of having it adminiſtered to Cæſar.

Notwithſtanding the improbability of the above relation, it received confidence from Herod, who gave orders for an enquiry to be made for the ſuppoſed poiſon: but after the moſt vigilant ſearch, no ſuch thing could be found, nor did any circumſtance tranſpire to juſtify a ſuſpicion that any had been prepared. Herod was ſtill ſurrounded by a number of court flatterers, who endeavoured to ſooth his afflictions, and convince him that his outrageous conduct was conſiſtent with the rules of prudence and juſtice.

Alexander's fortitude.

So far was Alexander from ſinking under the preſſure of his misfortunes, that he diſdained either to deny the charge exhibited againſt him, or take any meaſures for his juſtification. This he did partly to inſpire his father with a deteſtation of the violent outrages that had been committed, and partly to prevent his liſtening to ſuch idle and improbable tales as had lately been told him. He diſpatched to Herod four pieces of writing, in which he informed him, that there could be no kind of neceſſity for putting any of his people to farther torture, in order to make them anſwer ſuch queſtions as might be propoſed to them, by way of diſcovering the truth: for he might rely upon it, as an indiſputable fact, that there was a conſpiracy in agitation againſt his life; and that Pheroras and ſeveral other perſons, of whom he had not the leaſt ſuſpicion, were among the principal conſpirators. He farther informed the king, that Salome had ſtolen in ſecrecy to his bed one night, and had lain with him; abſolutely inſiſting that ſhe would not be rejected. He likewiſe acquainted Herod, that the people in general were clearly of opinion that it was abſolutely neceſſary that he ſhould fall a ſacrifice to their reſentments; without which neither happineſs nor freedom was to be expected: and he named Ptolemy and Saphinnius, two perſons in whom Herod placed the moſt implicit confidence, as principally concerned in the conſpiracy.

Alexander accuſes Salome of incontinency.

The court of Herod now became a ſcene of the moſt extravagant diſorder and contention; and the perſons reſiding there one day appeared to be on terms of the moſt cordial friendſhip, and the next diſpoſed to deſtroy each other, without any ground of provocation. Some of theſe unhappy people were confined in chains; others were ſacrificed to the immediate impulſe of malicious jealouſy; and a third ſort remained in a painful ſuſpence and deſpair, than which death itſelf could not have been more intolerable. Nothing now remained in the palace to indicate the ſplendor of its former ſtate: but in the place of that gaiety and elegance by which it had been heretofore diſtinguiſhed, there were now only to be ſeen the moſt melancholy proofs of dejection of mind, and a weight of ſorrow that admitted of no conſolation. Herod himſelf was at this time ſo totally abandoned to deſpair, that he grew as weary of his own life, as the cruelty of his conduct had rendered others of theirs. He had not a ſingle perſon near him in whom he could confide: his preſent ſituation was miſerable beyond the power of language to deſcribe, and his future proſpects were replete with intolerable horror and confuſion. It was impoſſible for him to take any reſt. His ſleeping and his waking hours were equally attended by the moſt diſagreeable ſentiments, and frightful imaginations. At one time he uſed to conceive that his ſon was aiming a dagger at his heart; and at others he was impreſſed with ſuggeſtions if poſſible ſtill more ſhocking; and, in ſhort, Herod had the painful taſk of ſuſtaining every miſery of which human nature is capable.

CHAP. XII.

Through the mediation of Archelaus, Herod is reconciled to Alexander. The king pardons Pheroras. The differences between Archelaus and Titus compromiſed. Herod goes to Rome.

Through the addreſs of Archelaus, peace is reſtored to the family of Herod.

WHILE Herod was labouring under the moſt extreme anguiſh of mind, Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, viſited him, with the deſign of exerting his endeavours for reſtoring peace to his unhappy family. Unwilling to hazard a quarrel with Herod by cenſuring the impropriety of his late proceedings, Archelaus intimated, that he underſtood Alexander to have acted imprudently; adding, that he would not only for ever diſown Glaphyra, Alexander's wife, for his daughter, but alſo diſſolve her marriage, ſhould it appear, that ſhe was acquainted with the conſpiracy againſt the life of the king, and if ſhe did not immediately, and without heſitation, avow every circumſtance thereof that had come to her knowledge. So greatly was Herod affected by the diſcourſe of Archelaus, that burſting into tears, he requeſted him no longer to entertain the idea of invalidating the marriage, nor to ſuffer his reſentment to be inflamed againſt the young man for his raſh and inconſiderate conduct. Finding he had ſuch influence over Herod as to be able to appeaſe the turbulency of his paſſions; Archelaus artfully ſhifted the ſubject, palliating the conduct of Alexander, and attributing his miſtakes to bad advice. He repreſented the prince as being of an eaſy and conceding diſpoſition, but declared that from the ſtricteſt obſervation he was capable of, he could not diſcover that he was addicted to malice, or any other evil propenſity; and obliquely hinted, that Pheroras was the principal agent in producing all the late unfortunate occurrences.

By this time Pheroras, having reflected on his ſituation, was ſenſible that he had totally loſt the good opinion of Herod; and conſidering that Archelaus was the moſt proper perſon he could apply to for effecting a reconciliation, he dreſſed himſelf in a ſuit of deep mourning, and went to him with the air of a moſt penitent petitioner, beſeeching him, in all humility of ſubmiſſion, to intercede for him to the king.

Archelaus did not fail to treat him with all the reſpect due to his rank: but informed him, that greater difficulty would probably attend the removal of Herod's diſpleaſure than he might poſſibly conceive: yet if he might preſume to adviſe him as a friend, he would recommend that he ſhould go and make a proper ſubmiſſion to his brother, and humbly ſolicit his pardon, having firſt confeſſed himſelf the original cauſe of all the misfortunes that at preſent attended the family. A confeſſion and behaviour of this kind, he ſaid, would be the moſt likely means of facilitating a perfect reconciliation.

Pheroras acted in purſuance of this advice, and the ſucceſs anſwered his moſt ſanguine expectations; for Alexander was exculpated from all ſuſpicion of the crime alledged againſt him; and Archelaus ſpeaking in behalf of Pheroras, the king likewiſe was reconciled to him. The obligations that Herod now conceived himſelf under to Archelaus, made ſo ſenſible an impreſſion on his mind, that he deemed him one of the moſt valuable friends he had in the world. Things being thus happily adjuſted, Archelaus returned into Cappadocia, loaded with preſents, and pleaſed that the purpoſe of his voyage had been crowned with ſucceſs. It was now determined that Herod ſhould repair to Rome, in order to lay before Cæſar, an account of the preſent ſtate of his family; as he had formerly written to the emperor on its diſtracted ſituation. Theſe kings went in company as far as Antioch, where through the mediation of Herod, a diſagreement that for ſome time had ſubſiſted between Archelaus and Titus was reconciled. Repairing to Rome, Herod informed the Emperor of the reſtoration of peace to his family, and then returned into Judea.

CHAP. XIII.

The Tranchonites revolt. Herod applies to Syllæus for the fugitives to be given up; and his requeſt is ordered to be complied with by Saturninus and Volumnius.

SOON after the return of Herod from Rome, a war broke out between him and the Arabians, in conſequence of what we are now proceeding to relate. It has been mentioned in a former part of this work, that after removing Zenodorus, Cæſar appointed Herod to the government of the province of Trachon. Finding they were no longer at liberty to purſue their uſual practice of robbery, the Trachonites employed themſelves in cultivating the earth: but being naturally averſe to honeſt induſtry, and very unſkilful huſbandmen, they derived neither pleaſure nor profit in the purſuit of their new occupation.

For ſometime after they came under his government, Herod exerciſed his authority with ſo much ſucceſs, as to keep them in tolerable order, and prevent thoſe barbarous incurſions which they had been accuſtomed to make upon their neighbours. But upon the king going to Italy to promote Antipater, and accuſe Alexander, a rumour of his death was circulated; in conſequence of which the Trachonites, conſidering themſelves as diſcharged from all allegiance, renewed their former irregular practices. The king's troops being directed to march againſt them, the inſurgents were ſoon diſperſed; and about forty of them, who were leading men in the revolt, fled for refuge into Arabia, which country was then under the government of Syllæus. Reſentment ſtill rankling in the mind of Syllæus, on account of a negative having been given to his propoſal for eſpouſing Salome, he favourably received the fugitive Trachonites, and aſſigned for their reſidence a ſtrong and well fortified place; from whence they made frequent inroads upon the countries of Judea and Cœle-Syria, carrying off great numbers of cattle, and other property.

On his return from Rome, Herod was informed of the affronts offered to him in his abſence, in revenge of which, he immediately made an incurſion into the country of the Trachonites, of whom he put whole families to the ſword, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or condition; and in return, the people of Trachon made frequent and deſperate inroads upon the territories of Herod.

Being perpetually annoyed by the enemy, Herod applied to Saturninus and Volumnius,

nius, the governors of the two Arabian provinces under Cæſar, requeſting that they would deliver the fugitives into his power, in order that puniſhment might be inflicted upon them proportioned to their demerits. This demand ſo exaſperated the Trachonites, that about a thouſand of them aſſembled, and then dividing themſelves into parties, they ravaged the towns and country, and put to death ſuch of the adverſe party as they met with; ſo that theſe encounters, or ſkirmiſhes had all the deſtructive effects of an open war.

Herod ſtill continued to inſiſt that the thieves ſhould be delivered up; and on this occaſion he likewiſe demanded the payment of ſixty talents, which he had lent to Obodas, by the hands of Syllæus, the payment whereof had been due a conſiderable time.

Syllæus, who had uſurped the government formerly in the poſſeſſion of Obodas, not only heſitated to pay the ſixty talents above-mentioned, but abſolutely inſiſted, that not any of the thieves had taken refuge in Arabia. Hereupon Saturninus and Volumnius directed that the fugitives on both ſides ſhould be immediately given up, and that the money which was due to Herod ſhould be paid within the ſpace of thirty days. Theſe orders diſcovered the treachery of the conduct of Syllæus, for a great number of the free-booters had taken refuge with the Arabians, while Herod had not ſo much as a ſingle Arabian under his protection.

CHAP. XIV.

Syllæus breaks his contract, and Herod has recourſe to the force of arms. He marches to Trachonitis.

UPON the expiration of the thirty days, Herod demanded payment of the ſixty talents, and the ſurrender of the fugitives, but Syllæus refuſed to comply, and proceeded on a voyage to Rome.

Herod finding this want of fidelity on the part of the Arabian, and perceiving that he could not obtain his right by an equitable mode of proceeding, applied to Saturninus and Volumnius, for permiſſion to do himſelf juſtice by the law of arms: and thoſe governors having complied with his requeſt, he immediately collected an army together, proceeded into Arabia, and marched ſeven ſtages in the courſe of three days. At length he arrived at the caſtle of Repta, to which the robbers had retreated. He loſt no time in aſſaulting this place, which he was fortunate enough to take on the firſt attack. The conqueſt being made, he demoliſhed the ſeveral fortifications, but abſtained from doing any farther miſchief. While theſe tranſactions were going forward, Nacebus, the general of the Arabians, marched to the relief of his countrymen; and was no ſooner arrived, than a battle enſued, in which very few, if any, of the troops of Herod were loſt; but the Arabian general was ſlain on the ſpot, together with five and twenty of his people; and the reſt of them were diſperſed, and compelled to ſeek their ſafety in flight.

Herod conquers Repta by aſſault.

Having avenged the affronts offered him by the free booters, Herod led an army of three thouſand Idumeans to Trachon, in order to keep the mal-contents in thoſe parts under ſubjection. In juſtification of his conduct, the king tranſmitted a faithful narrative of the late occurrences to the Roman governors preſiding in Phœnicia, informing them, that in his late contentions with the rebellious Arabians, he had not exceeded the authority with which he was inveſted; and upon making enquiry into all the circumſtances that had occurred, the governors were convinced, that the aſſertions of Herod were founded in truth.

CHAP. XV.

Cæſar threatens Herod. The inſolence of the Arabians. Abodas dies; and is ſucceeded by Aretas.

WHAT we have related in the preceding chapter, is a candid repreſentation of facts: but the Arabians tranſmitted to Syllæus at Rome, a narrative wherein, by ſuppreſſing ſome circumſtances, and artfully diſguiſing others, the truth was groſsly perverted. By this time, Syllæus had contrived to inſinuate himſelf into a perſonal acquaintance with the emperor.

A falſe account ſent to Syllæus, who reports the ſame to Cæſar.

While walking one day before the royal palace, Syllæus received by expreſs a packet containing the partial narrative above alluded to; and after reading the diſpatches, he cloathed himſelf in deep mourning, and repaired to Cæſar, to whom he told a melancholy ſtory, which was frequently interrupted by tears and other expreſſions of ſorrow. He ſaid, that at the head of a powerful army, Herod had made an incurſion into Arabia, ſubverted the government, and ſpread deſolation through the country; that he had put two thouſand five hundred noble Arabians to the ſword, the general Nacebus, his friend and relation, being among the number of the ſlain, and that he had plundered the caſtle of Repta of treaſure to an immenſe amount. He attributed theſe misfortunes jointly to the neglect of Obodas, and his not having an army ſufficiently powerful to oppoſe the invader, nor a general qualified to command the troops that were upon the ſpot; adding that if he had been preſent, he truſted Herod would have had ample cauſe to repent his undertaking.

Hereupon, Cæſar made enquiry as to whether Herod had lately marched his army beyond the limits of his own juriſdiction; and being anſwered in the affirmative, he gave credit to the whole report communicated by Syllæus. He therefore, ſent an angry and menacing letter to Herod, which was directed in the following ſingular manner: "To Herod, formerly my friend, hearafter my ſubject."

ſar writes
letter
Herod.

At the ſame time Syllæus wrote letters to the Arabians, informing them of the particulars of what had paſſed. When the Arabians, on the information of theſe letters, found that Herod was in diſgrace with Cæſar, their inſolence exceeded all bounds, and they became much more untractable than they had heretofore been. They abſolutely refuſed to deliver up the malefactors or even to pay their debts; nay they went farther; they denied the payment of their rents, and refuſed to diſcharge all thoſe common obligations which, by the mutual faith of ſociety, one man owes to another.

The Trachonites likewiſe took adantage of the particular ſituation of affairs, and joined with the Arabian ravagers againſt the garriſons of Idumea which belonged to Herod. They deſtroyed and plundered wherever they came; and this more from motives of revenge than from thoſe of advantage.

Herod having now loſt the friendſhip of Cæſar, was compelled to ſubmit to the above and many other indignities; for by this time his credit began to fail him, and he was abandoned by his natural courage.

On two ſeveral occaſions did he ſend ambaſſadors to Cæſar, to endeavour to exculpate himſelf from the charges againſt him; but the firſt time the emperor refuſed to admit the ambaſſadors to his preſence, and on the ſecond application, he would not receive their diſpatches.

rod's am-
ſſadors to
ſar denied
ence.

In the mean time Herod had every thing to apprehend from the arts of Syllæus, who ſought all opportunities of turning to his own benefit the anxiety of mind in which he found Cæſar involved. Syllæus, fortunately for his own purpoſes, was near enough to Cæſar to take every advantage of the change of his diſpoſition; and finding that he was credulous, and eaſy to be wrought upon, he diſpoſed him to give ſuch directions as were conſiſtent with his own intereſt: and, excluſive of all this, Syllæus had in contemplation other projects for promoting his intereſt.

In the interim king Obodas departed this life, and was ſucceeded by Æneas, who took the name of Aretas. Syllæus was no ſooner informed of this circumſtance, than he exerted himſelf in a ſingular manner to procure Aretas to be depoſed, and and to engroſs the whole power to himſelf; and the methods he made uſe of were the propagation of calumnious reports, the giving bribes at court, and making large promiſes to Cæſar. What principally encouraged him to an attempt of this kind was, a diſguſt that Cæſar had conceived againſt Aretas for entering on the adminiſtration of government without obtaining his conſent, or even making him acquainted with his intentions.

Aretas had no ſooner aſcended the throne, than he diſpatched meſſengers to deliver complimentary letters to Cæſar, together with preſents of conſiderable value, one of which was a crown of gold purchaſed at a prodigious expence. Theſe letters contained a poſitive accuſation againſt Syllæus for uſurping the authority of Obodas during his life, and then cauſing him to be deſtroyed by poiſon; as likewiſe with violating the chaſtity of the wives of the Arabians, and wrongfully taking up large ſums of money, as a means of ſecuring ſucceſs to his pretenſions upon the government. But as Cæſar had before denied audience to Herod's ambaſſadors, ſo he now treated theſe meſſengers in the ſame manner, refuſing to attend to their diſpatches, and to accept their preſents.

The affairs both of Arabia and Judea were every day plunged into greater perplexity. The king of the former country could not yet by any means deem himſelf ſecure in the poſſeſſion of his new dignity, and Herod's power over his ſubjects was ſo diminiſhed, that he was under the neceſſity of ſubmitting to the greateſt indignities.

At length, Herod reſolved to exert his own intereſt, as well as that of his friends with Cæſar; and therefore he diſpatched a third embaſſy to Rome, Nicolaus being appointed to execute that commiſſion.

Herod ſends Nicolaus of Damaſcus upon a third embaſſy to Cæſar.

CHAP. XVI.

Eurycles becomes the confidant of Alexander. He is baniſhed from Lacedemon. Tyrannus and Jucundus put to torture. Torture inflicted upon the governor of Alexandrion. Counterfeit letters produced to criminate Alexander. Falſe witneſſes againſt the brothers ſtoned to death. Alexander and Ariſtobulus are put into bonds, and exa-

mined on the information of Salome. Cæſar and Herod reconciled. Syllæus accuſed, and ordered to be put to death.

THERE was at this time at the court of Herod, a Lacedemonian named Eurycles, a man of noble deſcent, but of the moſt malicious turn of mind; prone to acts of ſenſuality, and vain to an exceſs; but he was ſo conſummate an hypocrite, that it was not an eaſy matter to diſcern that he poſſeſſed any of theſe faults. By that admirable addreſs of which he was maſter, Eurycles had inſinuated himſelf into an acquaintance with Herod, with whom he interchanged preſents, and to whom he rendered ſeveral good offices. By theſe means, and by being frequently in company with Alexander, he became familiarly acquainted with that prince alſo. Now Eurycles would frequently hint what an extraordinary degree of friendſhip ſubſiſted between him and Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and how profound a reſpect the latter entertained for Glaphyra. Thus, by rendering himſelf an entertaining companion to every one about him, and by acting the part of an eaſy and general friend, he had an opportunity of hearing all that was ſaid, and ſeeing every thing that was done; ſo that he failed not of collecting a number of idle ſtories, which he applied to his own purpoſes whenever he found it convenient. He had the art of perſuading all people with whom he engaged in converſation, that their reſpective intereſts was the principal object of his wiſhes, and that to render them ſervice was his view in the correſpondence he held with others.

Eurycles gains the confidence of Alexander, and betrays him.

By a mode of addreſs thus arfully managed, he ſo far inſinuated himſelf into the eſteem and affection of Alexander, that he placed the utmoſt reliance on him, and confided in him as the keeper of all his moſt important ſecrets, thinking him the only man he could truſt in the full aſſurance that he ſhould not be betrayed. In this perfect confidence of friendſhip, he related to him the whole hiſtory of his misfortunes; made him acquainted with the unkindneſs of his father; informed him of all the particulars relating to the death of his mother, and of the credit and influence that Antipater had gained with the king.

Eurycles, from time to time, communicated to Antipater all the information received from Alexander. He ſaid, he conceived himſelf bound in duty to report this diſagreeable intelligence, ſince the concealment of it might produce dangerous conſequences; recommending Antipater to look with an eye of caution upon Alexander, who, he pretended, had of late aſſumed a great degree of confidence, and, thinking a longer diſguiſe of his ſentiments unneceſſary, made no ſcruple to avow his enmity to his father, and the project he had concerted for taking away his life.

Suppoſing Eurycles to have acted from a principle of diſintereſted friendſhip, Antipater made him preſents of conſiderable value, and then haſtened to inform the king of the particulars he had lately learnt. Antipater having introduced Eurycles to Herod, a converſation took place in relation to Alexander, which had the effect of more violently exaſperating the king againſt his ſon. Deeming Eurycles deſerving of recompenſe for his ſuppoſed ſervices, Herod preſented him with fifty talents, which he had no ſooner received, than in the true ſpirit of hypocriſy, he repaired to Archelaus, and ſpoke to him in terms of the higheſt commendation of the virtues of Alexander; intimating, that he had uſed his beſt endeavours for effecting a reconciliation between that prince and his father, and was extremely happy in the ſucceſs that had already attended his negociation. This artful ſtory was ſo ſatisfactory to Archelaus, that he preſented the impoſtor with a large ſum of money. Having enriched himſelf by his villanies, Eurycles retired into his own country, where for ſome time he continued to practice a variety of deceptions. At length, however, an enquiry was made into the conduct of Eurycles, and his iniquities being proved, he was baniſhed from Lacedemon.

Eurycles baniſhed from Lacedemon.

An occurrence now took place more fatal to the repoſe of the princes than any preceding one. Jucundus and Tyrannus, formerly belonging to Herod's life-guards, who were men of extraordinary ſtature and ſtrength, had been lately baniſhed from court. Knowing the merit of theſe men, Alexander took them into his ſervice, as a guard to his perſon, and behaved to them in a very liberal manner.

This circumſtance gave ſuch extreme offence to the king, that he gave orders for them to be immediately put to the torture. This being done, they bore up under the ſeverity of the torments as long as human nature could ſuſtain the extremity of pain; but being at length unable to endure any more, they made a declaration purporting that Alexander had ſolicited them to ſeek ſome favourable opportunity of killing the king, while he was engaged in a party of hunting; that he ſaid this matter might be the more eaſily effected, under pretence that the king had fallen from his horſe upon his own arms; a pretence that would have the greater weight, becauſe that, on a former occaſion, he had very narrowly eſcaped with his life from a ſimilar accident. The ſufferers farther dedeclared, that a ſum of money was ſecreted in the ſtable; and they ſaid, that in purſuance of an order given to the principal game-keeper, by Alexander, his ſervant had received a number of the king's darts and lances.

The governor of Alexandrion put to the torture.

The governor of Alexandrion was the next man that was put to the torture. The charge exhibited againſt him was that he had given his promiſe to the brothers to receive them into the caſtle, and likewiſe to deliver into their hands all ſuch of the royal treaſure as was therein depoſited. During the time that the governor was under the torture, he poſitively denied every particular of this charge; but, on the contrary, his ſon ſaid that it was founded on fact, and produced a writing to the following effect, which he pretended was under the hand of Alexander: "If God permit, you need not entertain the leaſt doubt of hearing from us, as ſoon as we have prepared matters ſo as to be ready for you; therefore remember your promiſe, and do not fail to be ready to receive us into the caſtle." Herod having peruſed this paper, had no farther doubt of the exiſtence of the conſpiracy: but Alexander, during all this time, poſitively inſiſted that the whole charge was founded on a mere fiction, and the contrivance of Antipater, and that the writing was forged by the ſecretary Diophantus, who had heretofore diſtinguiſhed himſelf by exploits of this nature; and who was afterwards apprehended while perpetrating a ſimilar act, and received the puniſhment due to his crime.

Falſe witneſſes ſtoned to death.

At this time, Herod was at Jericho; and after the witneſſes had been tormented, he had them conducted to that place, in order to accuſe his ſon publicly before the people; but before they could have an opportunity of doing this, they were ſtoned to death by the multitude, who, in the firſt tranſports of their rage would have treated Alexander and Ariſtobulus in the ſame manner, but that Herod, aſſiſted by Ptolemy and Pheroras, interpoſed in their behalf. But the king ordered them into cloſe confinement and appointed ſpies to obſerve all their words and actions, They expected to be ſoon put to death, and the ſame opinion was entertained by the people in general.

Being reduced to this extremity, Ariſtobulus entertained the hope of being able to inſpire Salome, his aunt and mother-in-law, with compaſſion for his ſufferings, and a juſt indignation againſt the author of them. He therefore diſpatched a letter to her, wherein the following queſtion was propoſed: whether ſhe could conſider herſelf ſecure under a charge of holding a private correſpondence on ſtate affairs with Syllæus, in the hope of obtaining him for a huſband? Salome having delivered the paper to Herod, he was ſo enraged, that he gave orders for his ſons to be ſeparated and bound, and that they ſhould commit to writing the particulars of the treaſon with which they were accuſed. The accounts written by the princes exactly correſponded. They denied ever to have entertained the idea of conſpiring againſt their father; but acknowledged that they had formed the deſign of eſcaping from their confinement; and ſaid they preferred death to living under perpetual jealouſy and ſuſpicion.

At this time, Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, ſent Mela, a man of high rank in that country, in quality of ambaſſador to Herod. Having taken offence againſt Archelaus, and being willing he ſhould know it, Herod ordered Alexander to be brought out of priſon, and examined in the preſence of Mela. Being queſtioned reſpecting his intended eſcape, Alexander frankly avowed, that had he ſucceeded in that deſign, he ſhould have repaired to Archelaus, his father-in-law, in conſequence of his having promiſed to conduct him to Rome. He expreſſed a wiſh that Tyrannus and his aſſociates had been more particularly examined; and ſaid that the populace had been ſpirited up to take away their lives by the agents of Antipater, who was fearful of their making ſuch diſcoveries as would operate to his diſadvantage.

Alexander and Glaphyra examined before Mela.

Herod now ordered Mela and Alexander to be conducted to Glaphyra, and that ſhe ſhould be queſtioned in regard to the ſuppoſed treaſon. Upon beholding her huſband in chains, the princeſs tore her hair, and bitterly deplored her unhappy fortune, while Alexander appeared to be equally affected.

At length Ptolemy, to whoſe care the prince had been committed, interrogated him, requiring to know whether his wife had been concerned in the plot; to which Alexander, in a kind of ironical manner, replied, "How can you entertain the leaſt doubt of that? Wherever I am, ſhe muſt undoubtedly be preſent." And then in a more ſerious tone, he ſaid, "She is a woman dearer to me than my own exiſtence; ſhe is one of the wortbieſt of wives, and the moſt excellent of mothers; nor can the whole world produce her ſuperior in either of theſe characters." He had no ſooner pronounced theſe words, than the princeſs declared that her conſcience acquitted her of all idea of guilt; but that if the acknowledging herſelf culpable would tend, in any degree, to the preſervation of her huſband, ſhe would not heſitate to make ſuch acknowledgment, even though ſhe was ſure to die without an opportunity of retracting her declaration. But Alexander hearing what ſhe ſaid, eagerly exclaimed, “No, no, we are not guilty of a ſingle circumſtance that hath been alledged againſt us; and we have merited a very different kind of treatment from thoſe who have been baſe enough to injure us by their ſuſpicions. With regard to the reſolution we had formed of getting away to our father, and then of eſcaping to Rome, if that is to be conſtrued into treaſon, we have nothing to do but to plead guilty.”

The circumſtances that tranſpired in the above examination, ſerved to increaſe Herod's ſuſpicion of Archelaus, to whom he diſpatched letters to Eleuſa, a city in Phœnicia, by Olympus and Volumnius, they being inſtructed to expoſtulate with him on the preſumption of his being engaged in a confederacy with Alexander and Ariſtobulus.

After delivering their letters, their orders were to ſail for Rome; and to enquire of Nicolaus of Damaſcus, if Cæſar was more diſpoſed to favourable ſentiments than he had heretofore been. If this happened to be the caſe, they were to preſent other diſpatches to him, giving an account of the proceedings againſt Alexander and Ariſtobulus, and likewiſe copies of the evidence on which their conviction had been founded.

Archelaus informed the ambaſſadors, that he had expreſſed a readineſs to receive the princes, whereby he imagined that he he ſhould confer an obligation both upon the father and ſons; ſaying that he was apprehenſive Herod might in the impetuoſity of his rage compleat their deſtruction He diſclaimed the intention of ſending them to Cæſar, and of any deſign to yield them countenance and ſupport in ſuch proceedings as were contrary to the intereſts of their father.

Cæſar reconciled to Herod.

Syllæus accuſed before the emperor.

Upon their arrival at Rome, Olympus and Volumnius found Cæſar very favourably diſpoſed towards Herod; and therefore they delivered their diſpatches, according to their orders. Nicolaus being introduced to the Emperor, he exhibited a formal accuſation againſt Syllæus, as having been guilty of a variety of the moſt flagitious practices, having procured materials for that purpoſe from the Arabians. When the cauſe came to be heard, Nicolaus, aſſiſted by ſome agents from Aretas, charged Syllæus with having cauſed king Obodas and a great number of his Arabian ſubjects to be murdered; with taking up large ſums of money, and employing the ſame in diſturbing the public tranquillity; with being a notorious violator of the chaſtity of women, both at Rome and in Arabia, and with having traduced the character of Herod in a fallacious account delivered to the emperor reſpecting his Arabian expedition. In ſupport of the charge of the murder of Obodas and many of his ſubjects, different letters written by Syllæus, which had been intercepted, were produced.

Nicolaus was proceeding to authenticate the allegations he had made, when he was interrupted by Cæſar, who deſired him to confine himſelf to the laſt charge. “Explain to me, ſaid the emperor, what was the conduct of Herod in Arabia. Did he not ravage that country, put two thouſand five hundred of the inhabitants to the ſword, and carry off a great number of priſoners?” Nicolaus declared that the conduct of Herod had been groſsly miſrepreſented. He then ſtated the circumſtance of Herod lending to Syllæus five hundred talents, on the ſecurity of his bond, ſaying, that after the time ſtipulated for the payment had elapſed, he had an unqueſtionable right to ſue the country for the money due. The body of men which Syllæus had repreſented as an army, he ſaid, did not come under that appellation, the number being no more than ſufficient to put a legal claim into execution. So far from acting in a raſh and violent manner Herod appealed to Saturninus and Volumnius, then governors of Syria, when, in their preſence, at Berytus, Syllæus ſolemnly ſwore by the fortune of Cæſar to pay the money due to Herod, and to ſurrender to him all the fugitives within thirty days: when that time had expired, the debt was undiſcharged, and the fugitives were ſtill detained. Being thus deceived, he made a ſecond application to the governors, who declared their opinion to be, that he had a right to ſeek redreſs by whatever means might appear moſt likely to be attended with ſucceſs; in conſequence of which, he went into Syria: but ſurely he was not to be conſidered as making war againſt that country, ſince he acted under the ſanction of its governors, the object of his journey being the recovery of his right. Nicolaus ſaid, that the fugitives were originally about forty of the leaders of the robbers of Trachonitis: but that the number was ſoon increaſed; for the free-booters, who had committed great depredations in Judea, were received into the protection of Syllæus who aſſigned them lands, and accepted part of the property they had ſo unjuſtly acquired. He declared that Herod had taken no other priſoners in Arabia than thoſe very robbers, and that even ſeveral of thoſe had effected an eſcape. He further ſaid, that Herod's people being attacked by a party of the Arabians, he was under the neceſſity of repelling force by force, and that during the conflict only ſix and twenty of the enemy were killed, Nacebus, their general, being among the number; adding, that Syllæus had falſely aſſerted the ſlain to amount to two thouſand five hundred.

When Nicolaus had concluded, the emperor in an angry tone, demanded of Syllæus, how many of his people were ſlain in the action with Herod: when, after heſitating for ſome time, he acknowledged that he had miſrepreſented the number. The conditions of the bond given by Syllæus to Herod, the arbitrations of the governors, and the remonſtrances from the different cities and towns reſpecting the depredations committed by the robbers were now read.

læus con- [illegible] to death.

Being fully convinced of the iniquitous practices of Syllæus, Cæſar condemned him to ſuffer death, and reſtored Herod to favour, acknowledging himſelf to have been deceived by the calumnies propagated againſt him. Orders were given for conducting Syllæus back into Arabia, where, after diſcharging the debts he had contracted, he was to ſuffer the ignominious puniſhment pronounced againſt him.

Cæſar was much diſguſted with Aretas for having aſſumed the royal authority without applying for his approbation, and conceived the deſign of transferring the government of the province to Herod: but he declined that intention, upon reading the letters delivered by Olympus and Volumnius, which contained the moſt bitter invectives againſt Alexander and Ariſtobulus.

The emperor now gave audience to the ambaſſadors from Aretas, to whom he addreſſed himſelf in a ſtile of reproof againſt the temerity of their maſter in aſſuming the ſovereignty, without being authoriſed ſo to do; after which he accepted their preſents and confirmed Aretas in his authority.

Cæſar writes a condoling letter to Herod.

Cæſar wrote a letter to Herod, condoling him on the vexation he experienced on account of his ſons, and inveſting him with power to proceed againſt them as parricides, if it ſhould appear that they were actually engaged in the ſuppoſed treachery; but, if, upon further enquiry, they ſhould be proved no otherwiſe criminal than with reſpect to the intended eſcape, he recommended him to moderate his diſpleaſure, and let ſeverer puniſhment be ſuperceded by a proper reprehenſion of their conduct. Upon the whole, the advice of Herod was, that a council ſhould be ſummoned at Berytus, where a great number of Romans reſided; that Herod ſhould demand the aſſiſtance of the governors of the adjacent provinces, requeſt the attendance of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and that of a number of perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank; and that this aſſembly, ſhould maturely conſider, and finally decide upon the matter in controverſy between Herod and his ſons.

CHAP. XVII.

Herod accuſes his ſons before a council at Berytus, and it is determined that he may diſpoſe of them at his pleaſure. They are condemned to ſuffer death. Tyro's vindication of the princes. Tyro and his adherents impriſoned Several perſons put to torture. Tyro his ſon, and three hundred others put to death by the populace. Alexander and Ariſtobulus ſtrangled.

IN conformity with the advice of Cæſar, Herod aſſembled a council at Berytus, conſiſting of the different perſons mentioned in the Emperor's letter, excepting Archelaus, who was exempted, on account of the apprehenſion that his preſence might fruſtrate the ſanguinary project conceived againſt the unfortunate princes.

Herod deemed it not convenient to his purpoſe to bring his ſons before the council; but left them at the village of Plantane in Sidon, a ſmall diſtance from Berytus, from whence they might be brought up, if their preſence ſhould be neceſſary.

Herod accuſes his ſons before a council convened at Berytus.

The court, compoſed of one hundred and fifty perſons, being aſſembled, Herod entered the council chamber wholly unattended, and with great vehemence and acrimony, and in language very ill ſuiting his character of a father, delivered ſeveral charges of high criminality againſt his ſons. His countenance and deportment were violent and menacing, his arguments inconſiſtent and confuſed, and his diſcourſe was incoherent, unconnected and, for the moſt part unintelligible. Some letters written by the princes were produced: but they afforded no proof of diſloyalty, or that the parties accuſed had harboured any intentions inimical to the ſafety and honour of the king. From theſe letters it appeared that they had concerted the means of effecting an eſcape, and that they were diſſatisfied with their father's conduct towards them. Herod inſiſted that the letters contained the moſt indubitable proofs of the conſpiracy. The king deſired the council to recollect, that the law of the Jews declared."* If a man have a ſtubborn and rebellious ſon, which will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of his mother, all the men of his city ſhall ſtone him with ſtones, that he die." He ſaid he was willing to decline the authority wherewith the law had inveſted him, and to abide by the determination of that reſpectable aſſembly, whoſe award he truſted would deter others from ſuch enormous crimes as his ſons had committed.

---

* Deut. chap. xxi.

Being unwilling to oppoſe the views of Herod, which were now ſufficiently apparent, the council voted that he had a right to diſpoſe of his ſons in what manner might be agreeable to him. This vote being paſſed, Saturninus roſe, and ſaid, that though the princes ought to be ſubjected to ſome kind of puniſhment, his opinion was, that taking away their lives would be a ſeverity that the nature of the caſe would not juſtify.

Herod's ſons ſentenced to die.

The three ſons of Saturninus, who acted as deputies to their father, were the next who ſpoke, and they concurred with him in opinion. Volumnius now aroſe to deliver his ſentiments, which were, that nothing leſs than death could atone for a crime of ſuch enormous magnitude; and the majority of the company coinciding with him, the matter was decided to the prejudice of the brothers.

As ſoon as the ſentence was paſſed, Herod took his two ſons with him to Tyre, where meeting Nicolaus, who was on his return from Rome, he informed him of the proceedings that had taken place at Berytus, and enquired what opinion the people of Rome had formed with reſpect to the princes. To this Nicolaus anſwered, that they were univerſally cenſured for the impropriety of their conduct; that the people ſaid they ought to be confined in chains for what they had been guilty of; nay, that death itſelf would not be too great a puniſhment, if the fact were clearly proved againſt them; ſince in caſe they were puniſhed in a ſlighter degree, the public voice would declare, that the proſecution was not ſo much founded in juſtice and reaſon, as in ſpleen and reſentment: yet that, if Herod ſeemed more diſpoſed to extend his mercy to them, he would do well to grant them their liberty, rather than by perſiſting in an act of ſeverity, to perpetrate a deed which he might hereafter wiſh had never taken place.

Having received this information, Herod continued for a conſiderable time totally ſilent, in deep meditation and as not knowing how to act; at length he invited Nicolaus to proceed to ſea with him, and they departed for Cæſarea.

On their arrival at that place, they found that the general converſation turned on the ſtory of Herod and his ſons: the people ſeemed to be extremely anxious to know the event of the proſecution: it was the univerſal apprehenſion that the death of the brothers would be the conſequence of the hatred that had been conceived againſt them. Pity for their ſituation ſeemed to penetrate every heart; but no one dared to ſpeak his own ſentiments, or to liſten to thoſe of others; ſo that the general reſentment appeared to be ſmothered, and every emotion, whether of grief or compaſſion, to be ſuppreſſed.

Tyro's ge
rous inte
rence in ſ
vour of A
ander and A
riſtobulus.

In the king's army was a veteran ſoldier named Tyro, whoſe ſon, about the age of Alexander, had been honoured with the friendſhip of that prince. This man, with a noble independency of ſpirit, publicly averred, that fraud and chicanery had been practiced to effect the ruin of the princes; and all who heard him approved his courage and virtue, though they had not reſolution openly to avow their ſentiments.

Tyro ſolicited an audience of the king, which being granted, after adverting to the misfortunes that had happened in the royal family, he ſaid the profound aſtoniſhment of the people was to be conſidered as a ſevere, though a tacit reproach to his majeſty for his unprovoked ſeverity towards his ſons, who were objects of univerſal commiſeration; adding that the army were unanimous in perpetually diſcharging execrations againſt the authors of the calamities in which the princes were involved.

Offended at the boldneſs of Tyro's expoſtulations, the king demanded to be informed of the names of the officers who had ſpoken of his conduct with the freedom he had deſcribed. Tyro made no ſcruple to mention the names, where upon the king immediately commanded that the informer and the perſons accuſed by him ſhould be committed to priſon.

Tryphon ac
cuſes Tyro
of a deſign
to murder
Herod.

This event had no ſooner taken place than Tryphon, the king's barber, repaired to Herod, to whom he ſaid that Tyro had repeatedly made him offers of money, and promiſed him the friendſhip of Alexander, if, when he went to ſhave the king, he would take an opportunity of cutting his throat. As ſoon as this information was given, Tyro and his ſon, together with the barber, were put to the torture. Tyro's ſon obſerving the ſeverity of his father's ſufferings, and the fortitude with which he bore them, together with the little hope that there was of a mitigation of his pains, called to thoſe who were employed to inflict the torture, ſaying, that if his father and himſelf were removed from the rack, he would divulge all the particulars of the treachery that he was acquainted with. This requeſt being complied with, he averred that, in order to promote the views of Alexander, his father had promiſed to murder the king, to whom he had frequent opportunities of private acceſs.

After this, Tyro was relieved from the torture: but whether the declaration of the ſon was founded in fact, or in order to procure preſent eaſe, ſtill remains a matter of doubt

Herod now cauſed the people to aſſemble, and ordered three hundred captains of his army, together with Tyro, his ſon, and Tryphon, who is mentioned above, to be brought forth.

Tyro and his ſon, together with Tryphon and three hundred captains, deſtroyed by the populace.

The barber having publicly accuſed the others of treaſonable practices, the populace aſſaulted and put every one of them to immediate death.

Alexander and Ariſtobulus ſtrangled.

Alexander and Ariſtobulus were conducted to Sebaſte, where they were ſtrangled by the command of their father. The bodies of theſe unfortunate princes were depoſited in the family ſepulchre at Alexandrion, near the remains of their grandfather, and by the ſide of thoſe of their mother.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK XVII.

From the Year of the World 3961 *to* 3973.

CHAPTER I.

Antipater deteſted by the public. He is counteracted by Salome. Herod compels Salome to eſpouſe Alexas. Herod ſends Glaphyra, and the portion given on her marriage back to Archelaus.

HIS treachery and artifices having occaſioned the death of Alexander and Ariſtobulus, Antipater conſidered himſelf as having made a conſiderable progreſs towards the accompliſhment of the plan he had concerted for taking away the life of his father.

Though Herod ſat upon the throne, the executive powers of the government were exerciſed by Antipater, and as all public affairs were entruſted to his management, it may be ſaid that he was king in every thing but in name.

The very crime for which he ought to have ſuffered death, was deemed an inſtance of his loyalty and regard, as if in taking away the lives of the princes, he had conſulted the honour, welfare, and preſervation of the king: whereas, in fact, in the injury he did the ſons, he gratified his ill-will againſt the father; and his antipathy was of ſo rancorous a kind, that it was principally on account of the father that he entertained ſuch an inveterate malice towards them.

Antipater conceived it would tend to promote his intereſt to compleat the deſtruction of every perſon who could either give evidence reſpecting his treaſon, prevent his carrying it into execution, or be able to aſſiſt Herod in the fruſtration of his deſigns; and as he was now deeply embarked in the plot, he thought it would be dangerous for him to leave any part of his intended deſign unfiniſhed.

It is a fact that, after the death of Herod, he conſidered the government as his own of courſe; but then he was apprehenſive of the danger that might ariſe from delay, becauſe that if, in the interim, his real deſigns ſhould by any means be made known to his father, his ruin would undoubtedly be compleated. For this reaſon he was exceedingly aſſiduous to obtain the good opinion of his father's friends, which he ſought to obtain by making them preſents of conſiderable value, and by conferring upon them every favour that he thought might tend in any degree to remove the impreſſions they had received to his diſadvantage. He was particularly attentive to Saturninus, governor of Syria, and his brother, and other friends who reſided at Rome. He even conceived a hope of bringing over Salome to his intereſt. Now Antipater was a perſon of a moſt ſingular good addreſs, and admirably ſkilled in the art of conferring an obligation; beſide that he exceeded almoſt every man exiſting, in a plauſibility of behaviour, which diſguiſed the real ſentiments of his mind: yet all the artifice of his conduct was inſufficient to impoſe upon his aunt. Salome, who penetrated the depth of his deſigns kept an attentive eye on all his motions, and countermined one artifice by another. He ſo managed affairs, that the daughter of Salome, the widow of Ariſtobulus, was eſpouſed to his uncle by the mother's ſide, and the other daughter was married to Calleus; but theſe connections, however artfully contrived, did not ſerve to render him an object of leſs abhorrence than was due to his complicated crimes.

Salome had' contracted a ſtrong affection for Syllæus: but Herod propoſed that ſhe ſhould eſpouſe Alexas; and in this he was ſeconded by the Empreſs Julias, who was very peremptory with her to comply with the king's advice, ſaying, that if ſhe acted in oppoſition thereto, ſhe would infallibly forfeit the good opinion and friendſhip of her brother, he having ſolemnly ſworn, that if ſhe ſhould refuſe to accept Alexas for a huſband he, would ever after diſclaim her as his ſiſter. Conſcious that danger would attend a refuſal, Salome gave her hand to Alexas.

alome mar-
ied to A-
exas.

Soon after the marriage of Salome and Alexas, Herod ſent Glaphyra, the widow of Alexander, back to her father, Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, at the ſame time returning to him the ſum he had given as her marriage portion. He reſtored the money, in order that its detention might not prove the cauſe of future controverſy. The king gave particular orders, that great care ſhould be taken in the education of his grand-children. By Glaphyra, Alexander had two ſons; and Ariſtobulus had three ſons and two daughters by Berenice, the daughter of Salome.

Herod frequently ſpoke to his frends in terms of great kindneſs towards the children, lamenting the unhappy fate of their fathers, and praying to Heaven, that their offspring might not meet ſimilar misfortunes, and that their goodneſs might increaſe with their years. He propoſed hereafter to give the daughter of his brother Pheroras in marriage to the eldeſt ſon of Alexander, and the daughter of Antipater to the eldeſt ſon of Ariſtobulus; he likewiſe intended that one of the daughters of Ariſtobulus ſhould eſpouſe the ſon of Antipater, and that his own ſon, named Herod, whom he had by the daughter of the high-prieſt, ſhould marry the other daughter. It may not be here improper to obſerve, that polygamy is allowable among the people of our nation.

Herod's view in theſe intended alliances was founded in compaſſion for the unhappy orphan children, for whom he was exceedingly deſirous of ſecuring the friendſhip of Antipater. However, the tenderneſs of Herod increaſed Antipater's averſion to the children of the deceaſed princes, who he thought might become formidable rivals to him, and particularly ſo, if their cauſe ſhould be eſpouſed by Archelaus and Pheroras, the tetrarch, whoſe ſon he conſidered as the future huſband of one of the princeſſes.

That his nephews might be leſs likely to attain a ſhare in the government, Antipater exerted all his influence to prevail upon the king to abandon the idea of the marriages he had propoſed; and in this he ſucceeded, though not without ſome difficulty. He alſo obtained Herod's conſent, to eſpouſe the daughter of Ariſtobulus, and that his ſon ſhould marry the daughter of Pheroras.

Herod's wives and children.

At this time king Herod had no leſs than nine wives: by the firſt he had his ſon Antipater; the ſecond was the daughter of Simon the high-prieſt, who bore him a ſon, that was called by the name of Herod; the daughter of his own brother was the third; the fourth was his couſin german; but by theſe two he had no children; a woman of Samaria was the fifth, by whom he had two ſons, called Antipas and Archelaus, and a daughter named Olympias, who afterwards became the wife of Joſeph, a relation to the king. The ſixth wife was Cleopatra of Jeruſalem, who, was the mother of Herod and Philip, which latter received his education at Rome. Ballas was the name of the ſeventh wife, who made Herod the father of Phaſael; the eighth was named Phedra; and the ninth Elpis, by which laſt he had two daughters named Roxana and Salome. With regard to the two other daughters of Herod, the children of Mariamne, and ſiſters of Alexander and Ariſtobulus, thoſe who had been refuſed in marriage by Pheroras, he wedded one of them to Antipater, the ſon of his ſiſter Salome; and the other to the ſon of his brother Phaſael, as hath been already mentioned.

CHAP. II.

Upon the invitation of Herod, Zamaris and his followers ſettle in Bathanea. Zamaris dies. Upon the death of Jacimus, his ſon Philip is appointed general of Agrippa's army.

TO ſecure himſelf from the incurſions of the Trachonites, Herod determined to build an extenſive village in the middle of the country, and to fortify the place with a ſtrong garriſon. While he was projecting this undertaking, he was informed that a Jew named Zamaris had quitted Babylon, and, accompanied by five hundred horſemen, armed with bows and arrows, a fifth of them being related to him, had croſſed the Euphrates, and was proceeding to the neighbourhood of Daphne, in Syria, where the governor Saturninus had aſſigned for his reſidence a caſtle named Valatha. Upon this, he invited Zamaris to ſettle in the diſtrict of Bathanea, bordering upon the land of the Trachonites, promiſing him and his people the poſſeſſion of the lands, and an exemption from duties, taxes, and tributes, on the condition only of protecting that part of the country from the inroads of the plunderers. Zamaris accepted this offer, and built a town in the land aſſigned him by Herod, giving it the name of Bathyra.

Zamaris and his people ſettle in Bathyra.

Zamaris was joined by an immenſe number of Jews, who were rigid obſervers of the laws and religion of their anceſtors. In a ſhort time the place became extremely populous; and the people enjoyed all their privileges and immunities during the remainder of Herod's reign. Philip, the ſucceſſor of Herod, ſubjected theſe people to the payment of ſome ſmall taxes: but, inconſiderable as they were, thoſe burdens were ſoon removed. During the reign of Agrippa the Great, and that of his ſon, their taxes were very oppreſſive; nor were thoſe afterwards impoſed upon them by the Romans more favourable: but they were not abridged of their perſonal freedom, as will hereafter appear.

Zamaris lived many years, and was eminent for his righteouſneſs and virtue, and a ſtrict regard to the laws of honour. His children inherited all the amiable qualities of their father. Among the deſcendants of Zamaris was a ſon named Jacimus, who was celebrated for his intrepidity, and eſteemed one of the moſt accompliſhed men of his time. Jacimus ſerved among the guards of the king of Babylon; and upon his deceaſe, at a very advanced age, he left a ſon named Philip, for whom king Agrippa had a great eſteem, and in reward for his courage and integrity, that ſovereign appointed him general of his army.

CHAP. III.

The women of Herod's court devoted to the Phariſees. The people of that Sect fined, and the money paid by the wife of Pheroras.

PHeroras and Antipater appeared to live upon terms of friendſhip; the former being deceived, and induced to be on friendly terms with him, by the arts of the women who were in the faction of Antipater. Now Pheroras did not dare to act in oppoſition to the ſentiments of his wife, his mother-in-law, or his ſiſter; though in fact he had an utter averſion to them all, on account of the indignities they had heretofore offered his virgin daughters. But it would have been a point of great imprudence to quarrel with people ſo neceſſary to the principal buſineſs, who were likewiſe acquainted with ſo many ſecrets of importance, and conſequently bound to keep thoſe of each other. Excluſive of all this, Antipater maintained the moſt intimate correſpondence with them, both on his own account, and on that of his mother; for between theſe women there was a moſt perfect coincidence both of ſentiments and conduct.

However, there were frequent quarrels about trifles, between Pheroras and Antipater; but theſe happened chiefly at the inſtance of Salome, who was perpetually exciting their jealouſies of each other. Salome was well informed of the nature of the plot from the beginning to the end; and had nearly reſolved in her own mind to make a diſcovery to Herod of the whole conſpiracy. Now at this time the conſpirators had obſerved that their meetings were watched, that their correſpondence was ſuſpected to be carried on in a myſterious manner, and that the king was jealous of and diſpleaſed with their proceedings: wherefore they had a conference together, and reſolved that, for the future, their meetings ſhould not be held in ſo public a manner, but that they would pretend to have diſputed and quarrelled, and would frequently mention each other with diſreſpect in company, particularly when Herod was within hearing, or any other perſon that was likely to carry news to the king.

Salome informs Herod of the proceedings of the conſpirators.

It was the practice of Salome to communicate to Herod all the information ſhe was able to collect, in regard to the converſations that took place in the private meetings of the conſpirators; and likewiſe to adviſe him to purſue proper meaſures for his ſecurity, ſince no doubt could remain of his life being in imminent danger. She averred, that their diſputes and the opprobrious language they addreſſed to each other in public were artifices for concealing their wicked deſigns; adding, that the moſt perfect harmony prevailed when they were by themſelves. Judging that the malicious diſpotion of his ſiſter might very probably inſtigate her to exaggerate the reports ſhe had heard, Herod did not place implicit confidence in what ſhe ſaid, though he ſuſpected it to have ſome foundation in truth.

he women Herod's rt devoted the Pha- ees.

The ladies of Herod's court were wholly devoted to the Phariſees, a ſect among the Jews, though cunning, vain, and arrogant, and priding themſelves in treating regal authority with contempt, yet affecting an oſtentation of greater righteouſneſs than other people poſſeſſed. Orders being iſſued for the whole Jewiſh nation to take an oath of allegiance to Cæſar and Herod, the Phariſees, to the number of ſeven thouſand refuſed to comply, in conſequence of which a fine was impoſed upon them, when the wife of Pheroras paid the money. The Phariſees had acquired the reputation of poſſeſſing the gift of prophecy; and in return for the ſingular favour conferred upon them in the diſcharge of the fine, they propagated a rumour, that the ſovereignty would be transferred from Herod and his family to the deſcendants of the princeſs and her huſband Pheroras.

Salome informed the king of the above circumſtance, and aſſured him that bribery had been uſed to procure the pretended prediction. Hereupon, ſeveral of the Phariſees were apprehended and put to death, as being the principal abettors of the ſeditious prophecy; and among theſe was Bagoas, the eunuch, and a youth named Carus, who was a particular favourite of Herod, on account of the ſingular beauty and elegance of his perſon. Excluſive of theſe, ſeveral perſons belonging to Herod's own family were convicted of being concerned in the conſpiracy; and theſe convictions aroſe from the teſtimony of the Phariſees themſelves. Now, previous to this, the Phariſees had flattered Bagoas that he ſhould be conſidered as the parent and benefactor of the prince that was hereafter to fill the throne; they predicted too that the new king ſhould be proſperous in all his undertakings, and that the government ſhould be eſtabliſhed in his family by the perpetuity of a race of legal deſcendants.

everal Pha- ees pu- ſhed with ath.

Within a little while after the Phariſees had been executed, Herod cauſed a number of his friends to be ſummoned in council, before whom he exhibited a complaint againſt the wife of Pheroras, in which it was alledged, that "It was owing to her council and advice that his brother had rejected the offer of the royal virgins to him in marriage, in ſo contemptuous a manner as he had done; that contrary to all law, and in a moſt unnatural manner, ſhe had, to the utmoſt of her power, promoted a quarrel betwixt brethren, not only by her words, but by her actions; that ſhe had taken part with the obſtinate and rebellious Phariſees, by diſcharging for them the fine which Herod had ordered them to pay; and that ſhe was, in a greater or leſs degree, concerned in the whole conſpiracy." For theſe reaſons Herod was of opinion that Pheroras would but act agreeable to his duty, if he were to diſmiſs ſo abandoned a woman, one that had fomented ſuch differences between thoſe who were nearly related: and this he thought ought to be done without farther difficulty or entreaty; eſpecially as affairs were now advanced to ſuch a length, that Herod would never hereafter acknowledge Pheroras for his brother, if he did not diſown that woman for his wife.

Pheroras could not but be very ſenſibly affected by what Herod advanced on this occaſion: but nevertheleſs he made a public declaration, that though he was willing to pay all poſſible duty and reſpect to his prince and brother, yet he could not entertain the thought of abandoning his wife; that nothing ſhould induce him to part with her, and that death itſelf was preferable to the idea of living without her. This refuſal gave great uneaſineſs to Herod: but for the preſent he concealed his reſentment and contented himſelf with enjoining Antipater and his mother not to have any correſpondence with Pheroras, and forbidding the ladies of the court to indulge themſelves in their accuſtomed converſations. They readily promiſed to pay obedience to the orders of the king; but nevertheleſs met privately and conferred in the uſual manner; and Antipater and Pheroras were more frequent in converſation than ever. A report was propagated at this time, that a love-intrigue ſubſiſted between Antipater and the wife of Pheroras; and that their acquaintance and connection was promoted by the mother of Antipater.

CHAP. IV.

Antipater goes to Rome. Syllæus charged with treaſon, and the complaint appointed to be heard at Rome.

THE ſuſpicions of Herod, and the reſentment he had expreſſed, proving the cauſe of much uneaſineſs to Antipater, he wrote to his friends at Rome, requeſting them to procure an order for him to wait upon Cæſar. This being obtained, the king diſmiſſed him with preſents of great value, and likewiſe entruſted him with his laſt will and teſtament, wherein Antipater was declared his ſucceſſor ; but in caſe of his death, the government was to deſcend to Herod, his ſon by the daughter of the high-prieſt.

Syllæus accuſed of treaſon.

Having neglected to tranſact ſome buſineſs in conformity with the command of Cæſar, Syllæus, the Arabian, at the ſame time repaired to Rome, where Antipater accuſed him before Auguſtus, as Nicolaus had done before. He was alſo charged by Aretas with having put to death, at Petra, ſeveral perſons of unblemiſhed integrity, among whom were Sohemus, a man of ſtrict honour and virtue, and Fabatus, a ſervant to Cæſar. The particulars of this affair are as follow : among his guards was a Corinthian, in whom the king repoſed great confidence. Syllæus offered this man a conſiderable ſum of money, on condition of his aſſaſſinating the king, and he accepted the propoſal. Syllæus having mentioned the intended murder to Fabatus, the latter gave immediate information thereof to the king. The Corinthian being put to the torture, he confeſſed the charge to be true, and gave information againſt two Arabians as being concerned in the conſpiracy, one of them being a man of high rank, and the other a perſon known to be in the confidence of Herod. Being put to the torture, theſe people avowed, that they had come thither for the purpoſe of urging the Corinthian to aſſaſſinate the king, and if neceſſary, to aſſiſt them in that act. Informations being taken of all that had been advanced Herod ſent them to Saturninus, who tranſmitted them to Rome, where the matter was to be further inveſtigated and finally decided.

CHAP. V.

Pheroras returns to his government. Being ſick, Herod ſends for Pheroras, who declines to attend. The death of Pheroras.

FINDING that Pheroras had ſo great a tenderneſs for his wife, that he could not be prevailed upon to renounce her, Herod ordered him to return to his government, which he accordingly did, making an oath that he would never more viſit his brother. Being ſometime afterwards taken dangerouſly ill, Herod ſent to Pheroras, requeſting an interview with him, in order to communicate ſome ſecret inſtructions that would be found eſſential to the public welfare, in caſe of his death : but the latter declined his attendance, ſaying that he was bound by a ſolemn oath, which he could not think of violating. Herod, however, ſtill retained a tender affection for his brother, as will appear by the following circumſtance : Pheroras being in his turn ſeized with a fit of ſickneſs, the king went, without the ceremony of an invitation, to pay him a viſit. Pheroras dying of this diſorder, the king iſſued orders that his body ſhould be carried to Jeruſalem, where it was interred in a very diſtinguiſhed manner.

Pheroras dies.

Now Antipater was at this time at Rome : but this misfortune was productive of great miſchiefs to him ; for in a courſe of time the divine juſtice ſummoned him to a full account for the death of his brothers. I ſhall now relate, in the proper order, all the particulars reſpecting this affair, as they may prove a cautionary example to mankind, and ſerve to admoniſh after ages, for perſons to conduct themſelves, in every event of life, agreeable to the rules of virtue, and the ſtrict laws of juſtice.

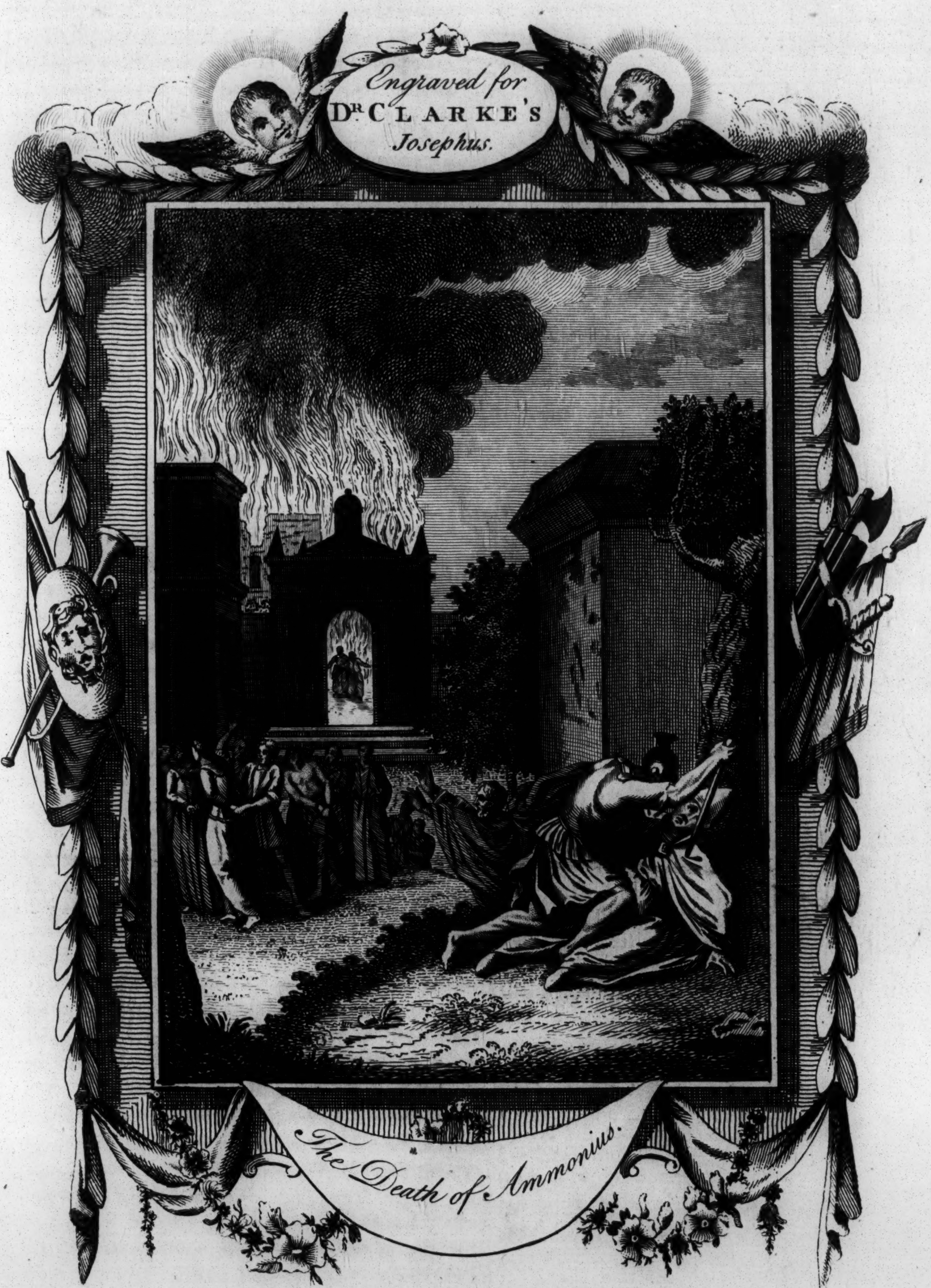
CHAP. VI.

Enquiry made concerning the death of Pheroras. Several women being put to torture, one of them accuſes the mother of Antipater, who is ſtripped of her jewels, and expelled the palace. Antipater accuſed of a deſign to poiſon the king. The widow of Pheroras makes diſcovery of the plot. Other people put to the torture. Herod diſmiſſes one of his wives. Bathyllus confeſſes to have brought poiſon from Rome.

UPON the deceaſe of Pheroras, two of his freemen, who were natives of Trachonites, applied to Herod, earneſtly entreating him to make particular enquiry reſpecting the cauſe of their maſter's death, and that, if it ſhould appear to have been the conſequence of unfair practices, ample vengeance might be executed upon the murderers. They informed the king, that on the evening when Herod was ſeized with illneſs, he had ſupped with his wife, when a mixed liquor, which ſeemed to be extremely nauſeous to the taſte, was given to him, under the deſcription of a love-potion. They ſaid this compoſition was prepared by an Arabian woman, and that it was a moſt ſubtle poiſon. Upon enquiry, it appeared, that the woman of whom the liquor was procured was the intimate friend and confidant of the miſtreſs of Syllæus, and that the mother and ſiſter of the wife of Pheroras had applied to her for the poiſon, and returned from her on the day preceding that whereon the fatal draught was adminiſtered.

This intelligence gave great diſturbance to Herod, who iſſued immediate orders for a number of women, free as well as ſlaves to

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
Dr CLARKE'S
Josephus.

The Death of Ammonius.

Publish'd as the Act directs, Octr 28; 1786, by John Walker, Paternoster Row.

Several women tortured.

to be put to the torture. For ſome time they ſuſtained their ſufferings in ſilence: but at length one of them declared that Antipater's mother was the cauſe of all the torments ſhe then endured. This diſcovery determined Herod to extort further information from the women: and they related the particulars of various converſations between the conſpirators, mentioning what had paſſed in different private interviews between Herod and Antipater, and even the circumſtance of an hundred talents being given for concealing their intention from Pheroras. They declared, that when in converſation with his mother, Antipater was accuſtomed frequently to ſay, "I believe the old fellow will never die," and virulently to exclaim againſt him on account of his cruelty to his ſons, who, though giving no provocation of diſpleaſure, were continually in danger of being deprived of life.

Doris baniſhed from court,

As the above account correſponded with what Salome had related, the king entertained no doubt of its authenticity; and he immediately ordered Doris, the mother of Antipater, to be ſtripped of her jewels, which were of great value, and to be turned out of the palace. This was accordingly done. The women of the family of Pheroras were treated with leſs ſeverity, in conſideration of the intelligence they had given.

Antipater accuſed of an attempt upon the king's life.

Among many other charges adduced againſt Antipater, the moſt heinous aroſe from the confeſſion of one of his officers of truſt, whoſe name alſo was Antipater. This man declared, that his maſter had delivered to Pheroras a moſt venomous poiſon to be adminiſtered in his abſence to the king, in order that he might be leſs liable to ſuſpicion. He ſaid this poiſon was brought from Egypt by Antiphilius, a friend to Antipater, whoſe uncle Theudion, the brother of his mother Doris, ſent it to Pheroras, who delivered it to his wife.

Hereupon, Herod ſent for the widow of Pheroras, in order to examine her reſpecting this extraordinary affair. She acknowledged the whole account given by Antipater to be true, and offered to produce the poiſon. Departing as for that purpoſe ſhe threw herſelf from one of the galleries of the palace into the court: but happening to light upon her feet, ſhe was not mortally hurt.

As ſoon as ſhe was tolerably well recovered, Herod again ſent for her, and promiſed pardon both to herſelf, and every branch of her family, on condition that they would make an ample confeſſion of the whole truth: but he threatened that if either through obſtinacy, or any other cauſe whatever, they ſhould ſecrete any part of the intended plot, he would puniſh them in the ſevereſt, and moſt exemplary manner. Hereupon the widow of Pheroras made a ſolemn oath that ſhe would relate the whole affair, with all its circumſtances; nor ſeek to conceal a ſingle particular; and it was the prevailing opinion that ſhe did not falſify her word. She then addreſſed to the king the following narrative. "The poiſon in queſtion was brought out of Egypt by Antiphilius, where it had been prepared by a brother of his, who practiſed as a phyſician. It was purchaſed by Antipater for the purpoſe of deſtroying your majeſty. It was delivered by Theudion to Pheroras, who committed it to my care. Some time afterwards, when my huſband fell ill, he was ſo deeply impreſſed with a ſenſe of your kind and generous behaviour, in the friendly viſit you were kind enough to make him on that occaſion, that he ſent for me to attend him, and addreſſed me as follows:--Antipater has ſeduced me to be concerned in a moſt horrid and inhuman plot to poiſon both my brother and his father. Now I am impreſſed with ſo deep a ſenſe of the king's unalterable regard and tenderneſs to me, and of my own ſituation as one on the verge of eternity, that I am determined, by the bleſſing of God, not to depart this life with the guilt and infamy of having been concerned in a conſpiracy big with ſuch aggravated enormity. I therefore charge you, that the poiſon be immediately brought hither, and thrown into the fire in my preſence. Hereupon, I produced the poiſon, and diſpoſed of it according to my huſband's command; excepting only a very ſmall quantity, which I reſerved for my own uſe, in caſe it ſhould happen that, after the death of my huſband, I ſhould be reduced to ſo miſerable a ſituation as to think of having recourſe to ſo deſperate an alleviator of my pains." She then produced the remaining part of the poiſon, and ſubmitted it to the examination of the people preſent.

The widow of Pheroras confeſſes the plot.

Soon afterwards, the mother and one of the brothers of Antiphilius being put to torture, they confirmed ſeveral circumſtances advanced by the widow of Pheroras, particularly that reſpecting the poiſon. An accuſation was exhibited againſt one of the king's wives, the daughter of the high prieſt; but ſhe made no confeſſion. However, the king diſmiſſed her, and expunged from his will both her name, and that of her ſon Herod, whom he had nominated as his ſucceſſor, in caſe of his ſurviving Antipater. He depoſed his father-in-law, Simon, the ſon of Boethus, from the office of high-prieſt, and conferred that dignity on Matthias of Jeruſalem, who was the

Herod diſmiſſes o his wive

ſon of Theophilius. In the mean time, Bathyllus, one of Antipater's free men, arrived from Rome, and upon being put to the torture, he acknowledged to have brought poiſon for Pheroras and the mother of Antipater, which was to be uſed, in caſe of that formerly provided failing of its intended effect. By the contrivance of Antipater, Herod received a great number of letters from Rome, mentioning that Archelaus and Philip were accuſtomed to utter very ſevere reproaches againſt the king for having cauſed Alexander and Ariſtobulus to be put to death; and ſuggeſting that they themſelves had been ſummoned back, only for the purpoſe of being treated with ſeverity ſimilar to that exerciſed upon the princes.

By writing obliging letters, and diſtributing preſents to the amount of three hundred talents, Antipater endeavoured to ingratiate the friendſhip of a great number of courtiers: but during the enquiry, which continued ſeven months, he received not the ſlighteſt intimation of the buſineſs in hand. The gates and all the avenues to the palace were carefully watched; and Antipater was ſo univerſally diſliked, that not a man would hazard his own ſafety, by communicating ſuch intelligence as might have enabled him to elude the effects of the king's diſpleaſure.

CHAP. VII.

Antipater goes to Sebate. Being admitted to Herod in council at Jeruſalem, he is accuſed of treaſon and murder. He is ordered into cuſtody. An account of Antipater's conduct tranſmitted to Rome.

A correſpondence between Herod and Antipater.

ANtipater wrote to the king intimating that he was on the point of adjuſting his buſineſs at Rome, and making preparations for his return, Herod ſent him, by way of anſwer, a complaiſant and artful letter, adviſing him to make what expedition he could towards home, leſt, during his abſence, any thing ſhould happen that might prove diſagreeable to him. This letter contained not a ſingle word that might tend to make him uneaſy, other than a few reflections on the conduct of his mother; but ſaid that all diſputes would be eaſily adjuſted on his arrival.

While he was in Cilicia, Antipater received his father's letter, and on his arrival at Tarentum other letters were delivered to him, mentioning the death of Pheroras; a circumſtance that gave him great uneaſineſs, though not on account of any affection he had entertained for the deceaſed, but becauſe the project for poiſoning the king had failed. Arriving at Celendris, a city in Cilicia, the upbraidings of his conſcience and the dread of puniſhment, occaſioned him to heſitate whether he ſhould proceed or return. His friends having ſuggeſted that his abſence gave his adverſaries an advantage over him, he proceeded to Sebate, where the people combined in diſcharging execrations againſt him, and imploring Heaven to avenge the fate of his brothers by puniſhing their murderer.

Herod accuſes Antipater bef a council Jeruſalem.

While Quintilius Varus, the ſucceſſor of Saturninus in the government of Syria, was ſitting in council with Herod in Jeruſalem, Antipater, cloathed in purple robes, approached the gates of the palace, which were immediately thrown open to him, but admittance was denied to his attendants. Upon his advancing to embrace his father, he was rejected with the greateſt indignation, and accuſed of treaſon and the murder of his brothers, for which crimes he was told he would the following day be brought to trial, when Varus, who was then preſent, would preſide as judge. Retiring from the apartment in aſtoniſhment and confuſion, in the paſſage he met his mother and wiſe, the latter of whom was daughter of Antigonus, Herod's predeceſſor, and after a converſation with them, he departed to prepare for his trial.

On the following day a numerous council aſſembled, of which Herod and Varus were the preſidents. Salome and many other witneſſes appeared in court, there being among them ſeveral of the domeſtics of the mother of Antipater, lately apprehended, on whom were found letters, to inform Antipater that the king had made a full diſcovery of his proceedings, and adviſing him not to return, but rather to apply for the clemency and protection of Cæſar.

Among other acts of munificence to Antipater the king informed the court that he had ſettled upon him an annual revenue of fifty talents, and preſented him with three hundred talents for defraying the expences of his late Journey to Rome: but notwithſtanding he was admitted to a ſhare in the honour and powers of royalty, he had attempted impiouſly to ſeize by violence the crown, which would have deſcended to him of courſe; and his guilt was ſtill aggravated by having exhibited falſe accuſations againſt his brothers, of whom he was to be conſidered the murderer. While the king was ſpeaking, he was ſo affected as to be incapable of continuing his diſcourſe and therefore he requeſted his friend Nicolaus to proceed in the cauſe, and examine the witneſſes.

Antipater ſpeaks in his own defence.

Antipater interrupted the proceedings towards his conviction, by addreſſing the court in juſtification of his conduct. He ſaid it was improble that he, who had given ſuch ſignal proofs of loyalty, ſhould diſgrace his character by the crimes imputed to him. In reward of his ſervices, he ſaid, the king had ſecured his ſucceſſion to the throne;

and as he was honoured with the executive powers of government, he could not form a wiſh that he had not ample means of gratifying. He avowed himſelf acceſſary to the fate of his brothers, declaring that ſo far from regretting his conduct towards them, he ſhould ever reflect upon it with ſatisfaction, ſince it afforded an indiſputable proof of his inviolable affection for and duty towards his father. He ſaid, that his enemies, taking advantage of his abſence, had propagated reports to his prejudice, which would not have been regarded had he been preſent to vindicate his character. Towards the concluſion of his ſpeech, he animadverted on the abſurdity of examining people by means of torture, which was as likely to extort falſehood as truth; for as the pains were continued till confeſſion was made, it was in the power of the tormentor to make the ſuffering party declare whatever he thought proper. Antipater's addreſs had a powerful effect upon the auditors, and even Herod was obſerved to compaſſionate his ſituation, though he uſed his utmoſt endeavours for concealing the emotions of his mind.

Nicolaus acts as the advocate for the king.

After Antipater had delivered his defence the witneſſes were examined, and then Nicolaus recapitulated the evidence that had been produced. He then proceeded to mention the king's bountiful temper, his care and tenderneſs in the education of his children, and how ill he had been requited. With regard to Alexander and Ariſtobulus, he ſaid, that though they were not influenced by motives of intereſt, they were actuated by ambition, and impelled by the ardour of youth, and the heat of blood; it was therefore the leſs to be wondered at, if the evil advice and example of bad company had ſeduced them to a departure from the ſtrict line of their duty: but with reſpect to the conduct of Antipater, he ſaid that it was worſe than brutal; for that beaſts, even of the moſt ferocious kinds, entertained a ſort of natural gratitude to thoſe who fed and protected them: whereas the young man in queſtion was ſo far from being influenced by the kindneſs and indulgence of a tender parent, that even the unfortunate examples that had been made of his brothers, could not deter him from copying their vices; but, on the contrary, he ſeemed to pride himſelf on the cruelty, and exemplary wickedneſs of his conduct. Nicolaus addreſſed a pathetic ſpeech to Antipater, enumerating and remarking upon his enormous villainies and conſummate hypocriſy, whereby he had involved a great number of people of both ſexes in the moſt deplorable calamities: and he then appealed to Varus, the judge, adjuring him by the dignity of the Roman empire, and as he reſpected his own honour, to vindicate the king from the inſults and injuries that had been offered him, by adjudging the priſoner to death, according to the laws inſtituted for the general tranquillity, ſafety and welfare of ſociety.

Nicolaus next adverted to ſome idle words which, in a diſpoſition to talk at random, had fallen from the mother of Antipater, with regard to prognoſtics and wizards that had been conſulted, and ſacrifices that had been offered, reſpecting the life of the king and the knowledge of who was to ſucceed to the crown. He then mentioned ſeveral circumſtances relative to the debauched life which Antipater had lived in the family of Pheroras; his drunkenneſs, and his immoderate attachment to women. Many particulars were urged againſt the priſoner, every article of which was proved, ſome by voluntary evidence, ſome by extorted confeſſion, and a third ſort on the recollection of the accuſing parties, who thought it their duty to ſtand forth on this occaſion; and this ſort of evidence was deemed of the moſt credible kind. Every circumſtance now tended to the conviction of Antipater; and thoſe who ſpoke with freedom on this occaſion, who, while he was in power, did not dare to utter their ſentiments. In a word, being univerſally deteſted by the people, they were free to reveal every ill action of his life.

The ſituation of Antipater was now wretched beyond deſcription: but the horrors of his mind aggravated every other calamity; ſince, he had not only the murder of the brothers to anſwer for, but the malice and rancour that had prevailed through the family, and the treaſonable plot he had ſuggeſted. His intereſt ſeemed to direct all his actions, whether of friendſhip or enmity, ſo that through the whole courſe of his life he was never known to gain or to loſe a friend, but from motives that were ſelfiſh in the higheſt degree: and this contractedneſs of ſentiment was ſo well known, that he ſeemed to be oppoſed by every honeſt man, as if it had been a matter of the moſt abſolute impoſſibility for virtue and Antipater to exiſt together. This reſentment was carried to ſuch a height, that as ſoon as it was known that his friends at court had abandoned his intereſt, and that he was left to the common courſe of juſtice, public informations were brought againſt him in great numbers, every one exclaiming that vengeance ought to take place: nor was it neceſſary, in this caſe, to ſuborn witneſſes, ſince, on the one hand, they could receive no advantage by flattering the court, nor, on the other, did they expoſe themſelves to danger by a ſuppreſſion of the truth.

From all parts was intelligence brought of the vileneſs of the conduct of Antipater, who was repreſented as a villain whoſe death was not ſo neceſſary through the ſingle view of preſerving the life of his father, as for the ſake of mankind in general, ſince ſo infamous a wretch ought not to exiſt in the world. Great numbers came voluntarily to give evidence againſt him, and brought ſuch clear and convincing proofs of his guilt, that, notwithſtanding his unuſual ſhare of effrontery, he found it impoſſible to make any reaſonable defence.

Antipater's hypocriſy.

No ſooner had Nicolaus ended his ſpeech, than Antipater was informed by Varus, that if he had any thing to urge in his favour, the court was ready to hear him, and that Herod and himſelf would be happy beyond deſcription to find him innocent. Immediately on this, Antipater threw himſelf on the ground, and uttered this ſhort exclamation: "Thou, O Lord, art the ſearcher of hearts; and I moſt humbly implore thee to teſtify my innocence with regard to any intention of evil to my father, by exhibiting ſome diſtinguiſhed ſignal from Heaven, that may be deemed a proof of the purity of my conduct."

Thus it is with men abandoned to wickedneſs and hardened in guilt: they firſt prove by their behaviour that they have loſt all fear of God, and then renounce or affront him by their hypocriſy yet, when by a courſe of impiety, they are brought into danger, they ſtill preſume to call upon the name of God, appeal to his righteous determinations, and make pretenſions of the moſt perfect obedience and ſubmiſſion to his divine will. Having lived the life of an atheiſt, diſregardful of that power and providence which directed all around him, it was the fate of Antipater to be oppreſſed by the weight of juſt vengeance: then indeed, when the laws had condemned, when friends failed him, and when no human aid was left, he pretended to caſt himſelf on the power and goodneſs of that God, who, according to his inſinuations, had ſpared him to preſerve and protect the life of his father.

An experiment made of the poiſon upon a man ſentenced to death.

Varus, finding that he could obtain no direct anſwer to his queſtions, but that Antipater made perpetual invocations and appeals to Heaven, conceived that by this mode of proceeding there would be no end to the buſineſs in hand: wherefore he gave orders that the poiſon intended for Herod ſhould be brought out, and ſome proof made of its efficacy. It was produced, and given to a man under ſentence of death, who immediately fell a ſacrifice to its power. This experiment being made, there ſeemed to remain no farther doubt: on which the court aroſe; and, on the following day, Varus departed to Antioch, the place where he generally lived, it being the common reſidence of the kings of Syria.

Antipate made a ſoner.

A conſultation reſpecting the paſt proceedings being held between Herod and Varus, Antipater was committed to priſon, whoſe fate was undetermined; but it was generally imagined, that the advice of Varus influenced the conduct of the king. Not long after Antipater's confinement, Herod diſpatched a meſſenger to Cæſar, with a verbal hiſtory of the trial, and a written account of the caſe and evidence againſt the delinquent.

It happened at this juncture that letters from Antiphilius, then in Egypt, directed to Antipater, were intercepted, the ſubſtance of which was as follows: "Herewith I tranſmit to you a letter mentioned to have been written by Achme, and you are not unacquainted with the danger I encounter in ſo doing, as I may be left to the mercy of two powerful families, both of which are my inveterate foes, and therefore be cautious leſt any accident ſhould happen." Nothing farther appeared in the letters; but Herod was extremely at a loſs for the letter written by Achme; and gave orders for the ſtricteſt ſearch and enquiry to be made after it; but after much trouble, no ſuch letter was to be found; and the ſervant who brought the diſpatches from Antiphilius being examined, denied any knowledge of ſuch letter being ſent.

Achme an accomplice with Alexander.

At length, a friend of the king happened to ſee a ſeam in the under coat of the meſſenger, who wore two garments, on which he imagined that poſſibly the letter might be encloſed within that ſeam: and this conjecture happened to be well founded, for in this place the letter was diſcovered. It was to this effect: "Achme to Antipater. Agreeable to your direction, I have written to your father, and have encloſed a forged copy of a letter, appearing to be a letter of Salome to my miſtreſs, the empreſs, and I have no doubt but that when Herod comes to ſee it he will conſider and treat her as a traitreſs."

Now the letter which appeared as if written by Salome, was of the contrivance and management of Antipater, who had affixed her name to it; but it was afterwards copied by Achme, who wrote to the effect following. "Achme to king Herod. From a ſincere and ardent deſire I have to do you ſervice, by making you acquainted with every thing that may concern your perſonal ſafety, I have copied, and herewith ſend you, a letter to your prejudice which I found as written by Salome to the empreſs my miſtreſs, requeſting her permiſſion that ſhe may be married to Syllæus. I beg that this letter may be deſtroyed, ſince the diſcovery that I had written it would endanger my life.

The above-mentioned letter from Achme to Antipater, ſeemed to reveal the whole contrivance, by ſhewing that ſhe acted under his immediate direction, in the letter ſhe wrote to Herod, and in ſending a copy of the ſuppoſed forged letter from Salome to her miſtreſs, intimating that there was a plot to his prejudice. Achme was by birth Jeweſs; ſhe lived in the ſervice of Julia, the wife of Cæſar, and was bribed to adhere to the intereſt of Antipater, and to aſſiſt him in his contrivances againſt both his aunt and his father.

The diſcovery of the abominable iniquities of Antipater ſo exaſperated Herod, that it was with difficulty he was able to reſtrain himſelf from giving orders for his immediate execution; and to induce him to this act, Salome beat her breaſts, and with other violent attitudes ſolemnly proteſted herſelf innocent, declaring that ſhe would be ready to ſubmit without complaint to the moſt tormenting death, if a ſingle act of diſloyalty could be proved againſt her.

Herod now ſent for Antipater and commanded him to ſay whether he had any thing to offer in his own vindication. The culprit remaining ſilent for ſome time, and appearing to be in great confuſion, Herod again deſired him to offer any thing that might look like an excuſe, or at leaſt to name who were his accomplices. Hereupon he heſitated a while, and then named Antiphilius, but ſaid no more. Herod conceived that there was ſo much inſult in this trifling kind of behaviour, that he was debating whether he ſhould not ſend him to Rome to take his trial before Cæſar: but on farther reflection, he was apprehenſive, either that the priſoner might be reſcued in the courſe of his journey, or be acquitted on his arrival at Rome: on which account he remanded him to priſon: but he drew up a ſtate of the caſe, and tranſmitted it by his ambaſſadors to the emperor; with the copies of letters that had been given in evidence; and, in particular, he ſent an account how far Achme had been concerned in the buſineſs.

CHAP. VIII.

Judas and Matthias exclaim againſt the golden eagle. They are taken priſoners, and ſent to Jericho. Jozar ſucceeds Matthias. The leaders of an inſurrection burnt alive.

BEING ſeized with an alarming illneſs, Herod, who was now near ſeventy years of age, made his will, whereby he appointed his youngeſt ſon his ſucceſſor, and bequeathed a thouſand talents to Cæſar, and five hundred talents to be divided between his wives, his children, friends, and freemen; and in acknowledgment of the affection of his ſiſter Salome, he left her very conſiderable poſſeſſions.

Judas, the ſon of Sariphæus, and Matthias, the ſon of Margolothus, men highly celebrated for their general learning and knowledge, and their ſkill in the practice of the law, being informed that the king was not likely to recover, they addreſſed the young people whoſe education they were appointed to ſuperintend, recommending them to deſtroy the works which Herod had erected, in defiance of the ancient laws of the country, aſſuring them, that if they proved themſelves reſolute champions in the cauſe of truth, they would infallibly meet with ample reward. They ſaid, the factions that had prevailed in the royal family, and the deſperate condition of the king's health, were judgments from Heaven, in conſequence of the innovations he had committed. Among other inſtances of impiety, they mentioned the dedication of a golden eagle placed over the portal of the temple, adviſing their diſciples to take that figure down, as being a diſplay of magnificence in direct contradiction to the Jewiſh law.

Herod's golden eagle deſtroyed.

A rumour being propagated that the king was dead, the young men haſtened to the temple, and pulled down the eagle, which they deſtroyed with axes and other inſtruments, in ſight of a vaſt number of ſpectators. Upon being informed of this diſturbance, the commander in chief of Herod's army aſſembled a body of troops, and with little difficulty diſperſed the multitude: but Judas and Matthias, and about forty of their adherents diſdained to fly, and being taken priſoners, were conducted into the preſence of the king, who demanded of them the cauſe of the outrage they had committed. They ſaid, that ſince they had acted in conformity with the laws of the Almighty, they were not to be conſidered in a criminal point of view: but yet if they were to be deemed guilty for having aſſerted the cauſe of righteouſneſs, they were ready to ſubmit to death or any other puniſhment.

The priſoners being ſent in bonds to Jericho, a numerous aſſembly of the Jews was held there, when Herod, who, being much indiſpoſed, was carried into the council-room in a chair, ſpoke to the following effect: "You are ſenſible that I have conſulted the public welfare with un-

unremitting attention; you know that at an immenſe charge, I have reconſtructed the temple, for the accommodation of the people: a work which in the ſpace of an hundred and twenty five years, the whole race of the Aſmonæan family were unable to accompliſh. You are apprized that I did not only rebuild this fabric, but endowed it, and enriched it with ornaments, and preſented it with ample donations, correſpondent with the magnificence of the work: yet at length, when I conceived that, after my deceaſe, my memory would have been preſerved by the diſtinguiſhed ſplendor of my works, and that the good offices I have done would have perpetuated my glory, I am inſulted while living; for benefits conferred, indignities are offered: the people are witneſſes of the affronts given to me at noon day: the gifts and ornaments I have beſtowed on the temple are torn from thence; and ſacrilege is the conſequence of a pre-determined malice; but it is not to me ſo much as to God, that the affront is offered."

The principal people of the council declared themſelves innocent of the fact complained of, and that according to their ſentiments, the rioters merited the ſevereſt puniſhment. This declaration was very pleaſing to the king, who deprived Matthias of the office of high-prieſt, preſuming that he was concerned in the tumult and beſtowed it on his brother-in-law Jozar. While the above-named Matthias exerciſed the pontifical office, it happened on the night preceeding a day appointed for faſting, that he dreant he ſlept with his wife; by which circumſtance he became unqualified for the diſcharge of his duty the next day, and therefore his near relation Joſeph, the ſon of Elemus, was commiſſioned to ſupply his place for that day. Herod having deprived Matthias of the office of high-prieſt, iſſued orders that the other Matthias, the principal in the late tumultuous proceedings, ſhould be burnt alive, together with all his aſſociates. This ſentence was executed, and the ſame night the moon was eclipſed.

The leaders of the ſedition burnt alive.

Herod's ſufferings were now dreadfully increaſed. He had an inward fever, which parched him to ſuch an exceſſive degree that it ſeemed as if his inſide was burning, his appetite was voracious as that of a dog; he was tormented with a cholic, and ulcers in the bowels; his feet and groin were ſwelled with tumors; his ſecret parts were filled with worms, and in a ſtate of putrefaction; he had a peſtilential and painful tentigo, with cramps, contractions of the nerves, and an aſthma; in a word, ſo extraordinary were his ſufferings, that men of ſkill, philoſophy, and religion, combined in the opinion that he was viſited by the immediate hand of God. Yet though his pains were as ſevere as his diſorder was hopeleſs of cure, he was himſelf the only perſon that deſpaired of a recovery.

The king croſſed the river Jordan, in order to make uſe of the hot baths of Callirhoe: the waters whereof take a courſe towards the lake of Aſphaltitis. Theſe waters are of a powerful mineral quality, and of a very agreeable taſte. While he was at the baths, his phyſicians ordered him to be placed up to the chin in oil; and during the operation, he was ſeized with a fainting fit, which occaſioned his attendants to ſuppoſe he was dead, but he was revived by the ſound of their lamentations.

Herod now began to ſuppoſe that he had flattered himſelf with the hope of a longer life than was reaſonably to be expected. Hereupon, he ordered fifty drachmas * be given to each of his ſoldiers, and conſiderable ſums to be diſtributed among his officers and friends.

Herod's exampled barbarity.

Returning to Jericho, Herod determined to conclude his life with an act more horrid than perhaps ever entered the imagination of another man. He iſſued an order for all the principal Jews of the country to attend him at Jericho, on the penalty of ſuffering death; and when they were aſſembled, he cauſed them all to be confined in the circus, or tilt-yard, without any enquiry being made as to their guilt or innocence. He then ſent for his ſiſter Salome and her huſband Alexas, and told them that he was convinced the time of his death was near, and it would give him concern to to ſuppoſe that he ſhould be denied the funeral honours uſually paid to ſovereign princes. He ſaid he was conſcious that he was deteſted by the Jews in general, and that they would rejoice upon hearing of his death. "I mean, ſaid the king, that my death ſhall be celebrated with a peculiar pomp of ſorrow; and in return for the favours I have conferred upon you, I truſt that you will be careful the commands I am about to deliver be carried into execution. When I ſhall be breathleſs, I enjoin you to cauſe the circus to be ſurrounded with ſoldiers, and that upon the word of command being given, every man in the place be put to death; and I farther charge you to conceal the knowledge of my death from the public till the maſſacre ſhall be compleated. He adjured Salome and Alexas, by all the ſacred ties of friendſhip, mutual confidence, and conſanguinity, to be punctual and faithful in the diſcharge of what he had committed to their care; and they ſolemnly promiſed him an unreſerved obedience to all his commands.

---

* An Hebrew drachma was of the ſame weight with the Grecian and the Roman, and weighed two penny weights, ſix grains, three fourths; and its value in ſilver amounted to ſixpence three farthings and three eighths: fifty therefore muſt amount to about one pound nine ſhillings of our money.

I am aware that ſome perſons, on recollection of the horrid barbarities of Herod to his neareſt relations in former inſtances, will be of opinion that the ſteps taken may be in ſome meaſure juſtified by the neceſſity of his being cruel in his own defence, to prevent the ill effects of their mutual jealouſies and competitions: but this laſt act brands him with the indelible infamy of being one of the moſt abominable monſters of barbarity that ever diſgraced human nature. When he found his life advancing haſtily to a period, he left orders to doom others to deſtruction, taking effectual care that the whole nation ſhould mourn for him, ſince, in obedience to his commands, it muſt happen that at leaſt one in each family would fall a ſacrifice to his ſhockingly barbarous command.

CHAP. IX.

Herod attempts to deſtroy himſelf. Antipater ordered to be put to death.

WHILE Herod was delivering his cruel commands to Salome and Alexas, his ambaſſadors arrived from Rome, with an anſwer to the letters they carried to Cæſar, the purport of which was that Achme had been put to death by the order of Cæſar, for having held a correſpondence with Antipater, but that the emperor left the death or baniſhment, or other puniſhment of Antipater to the diſcretion of the king his father. Herod ſeemed to be greatly pleaſed at the conſideration that Achme had received condign puniſhment, and much gratified by the permiſſiom to act as he thought proper with his ſon. But the pains of his illneſs ſoon encreaſed to a great degree; and in a fit of hunger, he aſked for a knife and an apple, it being his common cuſtom to pare his own apples, and eat them by degrees, as his inclination demanded them. He was no ſooner ſupplied with the knife, than he was obſerved to look about him, as if he entertained an idea of ſtabbing himſelf; but being attentively watched by his nephew Ahiab, he was prevented from perpetrating the deed, juſt as he had lifted his right hand to make the ſtroke; Ahiab ſeizing it, and making a loud exclamation. This alarm threw the court a ſecond time into confuſion, and it was again ſuppoſed that the king was dead.

Herod attempts his own life.

Believing his father to be no more, Antipater flattered himſelf that he ſhould not only obtain his liberty, but alſo gain poſſeſſion of the throne. He applied to the keeper of the priſon, promiſing, on condition of his releaſement, amply to reward him at preſent, and to give him preferment when he ſhould ſucceed to the government. But the man rejected his overtures, of which he gave immediate information to the king, who was ſo violently exaſperated, that notwithſtanding he was then in the agonies of death, he furiouſly ſtarted up, and with the utmoſt bitterneſs of language and vehemence of action, ordered one of his guards inſtantly to put Antipater to death; and that his body ſhould be privately buried in the caſtle of Hyrcania.

The king orders Antipater to be put to death.

CHAP. X.

Herod appoints Archelaus his ſucceſſor. The Jews diſcharged from the circus. Archelaus acknowledged king, but declines to aſſume the title of royalty, till Herod's will is ratified by Cæſar.

HEROD made a new will, and thereby appointed Archelaus his ſucceſſor in the government, and conſtituted Antipas, who by the former teſtament was declared his heir to the throne, tetrarch of Galilee and Perea. He bequeathed to his ſon Philip, the brother-in-law of Archelaus, the provinces of Trachon, Gaulon, Batanea and Panias, under the title of a tetrarchy. To his ſiſter Salome he gave Jamnia, Azotus and Phaſaelis, together with fifty thouſand pieces of coined money. He gave to Cæſar ten millions of pieces of coin, gold and ſilver to a great amount, and a large aſſortment of rich furniture. He left five millions in coin to the empreſs Julia; and he gave legacies in coin and lands to his different relations. Soon after he had executed the will, Herod expired, five days after the death of Antipater, thirty four years after the expulſion of Antigonus, and in the thirty-ſeventh year after being declared king of the Jews by the Romans.

Herod dies.

Sufficient proofs have been already given of the inexorable cruelty of Herod's diſpoſition. He was a ſlave to the moſt turbulent paſſions: and though arbitrary and tyrannical, he was, in general, ſucceſsful in his undertakings. From the condition of a private man, it was his fortune to be advanced to a throne. He encountered and ſubdued many and great difficulties, and lived to an advanced age. I cannot but conſider him as exceedingly unhappy, on account of the contentions and diſturbances continually prevailing in his family, but he thought himſelf not ſo, as he generally ſucceeded in his undertakings, and often in deſpite of very powerful oppoſition.

His character.

Before making the death of Herod public, Salome and Alexas went to the Jews confined in the circus, telling them, in the name of the king, that they were at liberty to depart, and purſue their lawful occupations, ſince there was no longer a neceſſity for detaining them. The liberation of theſe leading men among the Jews was a circumſtance highly ſatisfactory to the whole nation of that people.

It being now deemed proper to make the king's death public, the troops were ordered to aſſemble at the amphitheatre at Jericho, where Herod's letters to the army were read. Theſe contained the moſt liberal acknowledgments of the zeal and fidelity of their paſt ſervices, and they were requeſted to continue the ſame affectionate obedience to Archelaus, who was now appointed to ſucceed to the throne. This being done, Ptolemy, the keeper of the king's ſeal, read the will of Herod, in which was this particular clauſe, "That the will itſelf was not to be allowed valid or of force till it had received the ſanction of Cæſar's approbation." As ſoon as the will was read, the people ſhouted, with loud acclamations of "God ſave king Archelaus!" the officers and ſoldiers uniting in wiſhing him a happy reign, and promiſing that the ſame degree of duty and fidelity which had been paid to his predeceſſor, ſhould be continued to the new king.

The order of Herod's funeral.

Archelaus undertook the management of the funeral ſolemnity, on which occaſion he reſolved to attend in the character of the chief mourner. The body was placed on a litter adorned with gold, and embelliſhed with precious ſtones of great value: it was covered with purple, and on the head was a diadem, over which was a crown of gold, and in the right hand was a ſceptre. By the ſide of the corpſe marched the ſons and relations of Herod: theſe were followed by numbers of ſoldiers in different diviſions; the royal guards going firſt; next to them the troops of Thrace; then the Germans; after them the Galatians; all of them dreſſed and armed as if going to battle. Theſe were followed by the reſt of the army, each diviſion commanded by its proper officers; and five hundred domeſtics of the court, carrying ſpices and perfumes, brought up the rear. In this funeral pomp they proceeded to Herodium, eight furlongs * diſtant from Jeruſalem, where the body was interred, according to former orders given for that purpoſe.

Archelaus having, agreeable to the cuſtom of the country, devoted ſeven days to the celebration of the funeral rites of his father, and the cuſtomary term of mourning being ended, he entertained the people aſſembled on the occaſion, and then departed to the temple; where being ſeated upon a throne of gold, he received the congratulations and good wiſhes of the public. Theſe he anſwered in the moſt affable and reſpectful manner, ſaying that he deemed it a proof, after the ill treatment they had received from his father, of their great good-will, that they received him ſo favourably; aſſuring them that he would never forget this inſtance of their friendſhip. But he declined to aſſume the title of king, until his father's will had been ratified by Cæſar, ſaying he was reſtrained by the ſame conſideration, when the army urged him at Jericho to take that character upon himſelf; adding that when his claim ſhould be admitted by the emperor, the buſineſs of his life ſhould be to conſult the public welfare, and reign over the nation in a more gentle and ſatisfactory manner than his father had done.

The modeſty and affability of Archelaus greatly prepoſſeſſed the people in his favour; and they determined to put his liberality to the trial. Some of them therefore ſolicited a remiſſion of taxes, ſome pleaded for a reſtoration of liberty in behalf of ſuch of their friends as were impriſoned by command of the late king, and others were urgent for a diminution of the duties upon various articles of the neceſſaries of life that were brought to the public markets for ſale; and in order to preſerve the public tranquillity, Archelaus gratified them in all their deſires.

CHAP. XI.

An alarming tumult, in which a number of the troops of Archelaus are deſtroyed. Archelaus diſperſes the inſurgents with great ſlaughter. Archelaus departs for Rome. Antipas claims a right to the Roman crown. Archelaus accuſed of uſurpation and tyranny: but he is favourably treated by Cæſar.

At this time, a formidable body of the Jews, combined in an alarming and dangerous faction, holding private meetings for the purpoſe of concerting ſchemes for oppoſing and embarraſſing the meaſures of government. After ſome conſideration, they could not fix on any more proper ſubject of complaint, than the affair of Matthias and his companions, whom Herod had executed for deſtroying the golden eagle. While the king lived they were afraid to make any open attempt to vindicate the honour of the reformers, or to juſtify their conduct: but now he was dead, they were outrageous in their invectives, and clamourous in their abuſe, loading his memory with every opprobrious epithet. They would frequently aſſemble in the moſt tumultuous manner,

Satisfaction demanded o Archelaus fo Herod's mi demeanours demanding that Archelaus ſhould give them ſatisfaction by a rigorous execution of juſtice on thoſe friends of Herod who were moſt inſtrumental in procuring the death of the reformers; as if the dead could be benefited by puniſhing the living: and they particularly required that the high-prieſt whom Herod had promoted, ſhould be removed, and ſome man of character be advanced in his ſtead.

---

* Among the ancients eight furlongs made one of their miles, which, according to the tranſlators of Calmet, exceeded one of our miles twelve geometrial paces.

Archelaus was far from being pleaſed with this peremptory behaviour: but as he was on the point of departing to Cæſar, for the ratification of his power, and inſtructions for his conduct, he thought it prudent to accommodate matters on the beſt terms poſſible; wherefore he ſent a principal officer to try what effect a moderate conduct and reaſonable arguments might have on the people; who addreſſed them as follows:

"This is certainly an improper time to think of revengeful meaſures. The perſons who were puniſhed were lawfully convicted; and your interpoſition in the preſent manner is an aſſumption of power to which you have no right. You will do well to reflect that Archelaus is now on the point of his departure for Rome; and on his return with a ratification of his commiſſion, there is no doubt but that every grievance will be redreſſed: in the interim it is requiſite that you ſhould live in peace and friendſhip with each other, and not incur the penalties of ſeditious practices."

So violent an oppoſition was made to this ſpeech, and it was followed by ſuch outrageous exclamations, that the man who ſhould have attempted to quell the tumult, would have done it at the hazard of his life. The multitude ſaid that they had the law in their own hands, and as Herod was dead, they would be revenged for the deſtruction of thoſe friends whom he had aſſaſſinated. In the interim, the king and ſeveral of his friends exerted their utmoſt endeavours for appeaſing the paſſions of the mal-contents: but lenient meaſures inſtead of having that effect, ſerved but more outrageouſly to inflame them; and had their numbers been proportioned to their determined ſpirit, a rebellion would have aſſuredly taken place.

The feaſt of the paſſover, or of unleavened bread, a feſtival inſtituted in comemoration of the deliverance of the Jews from the land of Egypt, being at this time near, great numbers of Jews, as uſual on that occaſion, came to Jeruſalem, in order to offer up ſacrifices. A number of factious Jews now crowded into the temple, and declared they would not quit the building, although they ſhould have no other means of preſerving their lives than by begging for food. Their motive for ſtationing themſelves in the temple was to inſtigate the populace to avenge the loſs of their two favourite teachers Judas and Matthias. To quell the tumult, which now began to wear a threatening aſpect, Archelaus diſpatched an officer with a party of guards, ordering that if any diſturbance ſhould be made, the ring-leaders ſhould be ſeized, in order to be puniſhed, as an example to their aſſociates.

A conteſt between the populace and the ſoldiers.

Upon the appearance of the ſoldiers, the factious rabble furiouſly aſſaulted them with ſtones and other weapons, and killed them all, except the officer and a few wounded men, who were fortunate enough to eſcape. Hereupon, Archelaus ſent his whole army againſt the inſurgents, commanding his cavalry to be particularly careful that they received no reinforcements, and to put every man to the ſword who ſhould reſiſt or attempt to eſcape. This body of horſe killed three thouſand of the mal-contents, and the ſurvivors fled for ſhelter to the neighbouring mountains. After this a proclamation was iſſued for the people to return peaceably to their ſeveral habitations: and, notwithſtanding their former boaſtings, they judged it prudent to retire from the feſtival, in order to eſcape the danger with which they were threatened.

Three thouſand Jews ſlain.

Peace being reſtored, Archelaus departed for Rome, accompanied by his mother, together with Nicolaus and many other friends, leaving the care of his kingdom and his family to his brother Philip. Salome and her family and a number of the other Relations of Archelaus went to Rome, under the pretence of uniting their intereſts for procuring him to be confirmed in the government: but their real motive was to do him injury; for they had previouſly come to a reſolution of exhibiting an accuſation againſt him on the ſubject of the late occurrences at the temple.

Upon the arrival of the company at Cæſarea, they met Sabinus, the procurator of Cæſar in Syria, who was travelling towards Judea, to take poſſeſſion of the money left by Herod: but he declined purſuing his journey, when Varus informed him, that he was himſelf going upon the ſame buſineſs, in conſequence of an invitation given him by Ptolemy, by the command of Archelaus. Sabinus therefore neither gave himſelf any concern in regard to the forts of Judea, nor ſealed up the treaſure they contained, but left all matters under the controul of Archelaus, till the determination of Cæſar ſhould be known.

Soon after this, when Archelaus had embarked for Rome, and Varus ſet out on his journey towards Antioch, Sabinus proceeded immediately to Jeruſalem, where he took up his reſidence in the palace, and having ſent orders for the king's officers, civil and military, to attend him, he demanded their keys and their books: but they told him that, by the command of Archelaus, all was made ſecure, for the uſe and emolument of Cæſar, and every article was to remain in the ſtate they received it till Archelaus ſhould return.

Antipas claims a right to the government.

About this time, Antipas, another of the ſons of Herod, ſet out on a voyage to Rome, in hope of obtaining poſſeſſion of the kingdom for himſelf. Salome exerted her influence to perſuade him to this meaſure, pretending that he had a prior right to the government, ariſing from the tenor of Herod's former will. Antipas took with him in this expedition, his mother, and Ptolemy, the brother of Nicolaus; a man who had been, for a long time, the intimate friend of Herod, and was particularly attached to his party. But the perſon who, above all others, encouraged Antipas to this ambitious purſuit, and who had the greateſt degree of intereſt with him, was Ireneus, a man famous for the arts of perſuaſion, who had been greatly concerned in the king's buſineſs, and for a long period of time. Other perſons were not wanting in their advice to the prince, deſiring him to recollect that Archelaus, as his elder brother, had the right of ſeniority, excluſive of that which had been conferred on him by the will of his deceaſed father: but the arguments of Ireneus, added to the impulſe of his own ambition, bore down all other conſiderations, and determined him to proceed to Rome. When he arrived at that city, his relations univerſally joined his intereſt; not out of any particular regard they had for him, but for an averſion they entertained for Archelaus: though in fact, what they principally wiſhed was the poſſeſſion of their liberties under a Roman government: at any rate, however, they conceived that they ſhould be more agreeably governed by Antipas than Archelaus, and for this reaſon they employed their intereſt for the former.

By this time an information againſt Archelaus had been preſented to Cæſar by Sabinus; and hereupon Archelaus commiſſioned Ptolemy to preſent the emperor with a memorial of what he had to urge in his own favour. This memorial contained the foundation of his claim; the heads of his father's will; and an account of what caſh he had left behind him; and with it was ſent the ring with which the money was ſealed up: Archelaus referring himſelf, on the whole, to the good pleaſure of the emperor. Having read the papers, Cæſar determined to give audience to the competitors for the crown, and for that purpoſe, ſummoned a council, of which Caius, the ſon of Agrippa, whom Cæſar had adopted, was appointed the preſident.

Antipater accuſes Archelaus.

Antipater, the ſon of Salome, was the firſt that ſpoke in the council: he ſaid, that Archelaus had exerciſed an abſolute and arbitrary power, without having applied for the emperor's ratification of his claim. He then accuſed Archelaus with having occaſioned the maſſacre of a great number of Jews, on one of their ſolemn feſtivals; with changing the officers of the army; with receiving and giving anſwers to public addreſſes and petitions; with diſcharging from the circus the perſons confined by the order of Herod; with having pronounced decrees in the courts of juſtice, and with having acted in many other reſpects in the aſſumed character of a ſovereign prince, without authority from the emperor. Antipater alſo declared, that on the very night ſucceeding that of his father's death, Archelaus gave a ſumptuous public entertainment, and revelled in unbounded luxury and riot. He then expatiated on the maſſacre committed in the temple, the guilt of which deed, he ſaid, was aggravated by the ſacredneſs of the place, where citizens and ſtrangers were indiſcriminately ſacrificed to brutal rage and cruelty, the holy place being prophaned with human blood, and filled with the carcaſſes of the miſerable victims. He urged, that while Herod was in poſſeſſion of his reaſon, he entertained not the moſt diſtant idea of making Archelaus his heir: but on the contrary, had appointed Antipas his ſucceſſor, when his health and mental powers were wholly unimpaired; adding that the crimes committed by Archelaus, while in the capacity of a private man, were ſufficient to prove that he would make a moſt execrable king. For the truth of what he advanced, Antipater appealed to ſeveral relations who were preſent.

Nicolaus defends Archelaus.

Nicolaus argued in defence of Archelaus, ſaying there was no poſſibility of appeaſing the tumult in the temple, but by putting the rioters to death upon the ſpot; and that though the affront might appear to be offered to Archelaus, it was, in fact, a moſt daring inſult to the authority of Cæſar. Second wills, like ſecond thoughts, he ſaid, were generally the beſt. As one proof that the deceaſed king was not in a diſordered ſtate of mind when he made the will in favour of Archelaus, he obſerved, that the teſtator had ſubmitted the validity of the inſtrument to the determination of Cæſar, to whoſe impartial authority he now appealed for juſtice in the caſe of a faithful friend and ally.

When Nicolaus had concluded, Archelaus caſt himſelf at the feet of Cæſar, who immediately raiſed him from the ground, ſaying, with an air of peculiar kindneſs, that he had approved himſelf worthy of a throne. This expreſſion was interpreted into an avowal that his claim to the ſovereignty would be ratified. Cæſar now diſmiſſed the aſſembly, ſaying he would conſider as to the propriety of appointing Archelaus to reign alone, or of dividing the government among the different branches of Herod's family.

CHAP. XII.

Malthace, the mother of Archelaus, dies. A ſedition in Jeruſalem. The Jews annoy the Romans from the galleries of the temple, which are ſet on fire. The temple plundered. Several rebellions. Simon claims a right to the crown. Athronges does the ſame. Varus marches to the relief of Judea. Two thouſand Jews ſlain. A great number of Jews made priſoners. Cæſar gives audience to the Jews in the temple of Apollo.

WHILE the above-mentioned affair remained unſettled, Malthace, the mother of Archelaus, was ſeized with a fit of illneſs, which deprived her of life. About this time intelligence arrived from Varus, the governor of Syria, that the Jews, who from the time of the departure of Archelaus, had been exceedingly, diſpoſed to acts of mutiny, had lately revolted: but that Varus, by ſuddenly attacking them with his troops, before they had time to aſſemble in very great numbers, had the happineſs to ſuppreſs the ſedition; and having puniſhed the principal mutineers in an exemplary manner, he returned to Antioch, leaving at Jeruſalem only one legion, to prevent farther commotions.

It appears, however that this proviſion was inſufficient for the purpoſe: for no ſooner had Varus departed, than Sabinus, the deputy-governor in Syria for Cæſar, thinking the above-mentioned reinforcement would enable him to be at leaſt on equal terms with the multitude, determined to turn his arms againſt the Jews. Thus reſolved, he repeatedly harraſſed and annoyed them, attacking their forts and caſtles, and, under pretence of rendering ſervice to the public, making a general ſearch for concealed treaſure. His real motive however, was to enrich himſelf by ſeizing all the treaſure he could diſcover.

On the approach of the feaſt of the paſſover, many thouſands of Jews, from all parts of the country, repaired to eruſalem, ſome in order to pay religious adoration, and others to gratify their ſpirit of revenge, by puniſhing Sabinus in the moſt exemplary manner. Being aſſembled, they parted their troops into three diviſions, one of which took poſſeſſion of the circus; the ſecond placed themſelves on the north-eaſt ſide of the temple; and the third took their ſtation in the weſt, adjacent to the royal palace. Being thus ſituated, they had encloſed the Romans, between them, and began to make preparations for the attack.

This intrepid behaviour of the people furniſhed no ſmall degree of ſurprize to Sabinus, who perceiving that there was no doubt but that they were reſolutely determined either on death or conqueſt, he inſtantly diſpatched meſſengers to Varus for reinforcements, urging that if the expected relief was not immediately ſent, the legion that he had left in the city would be infallibly deſtroyed.

In the interim Sabinus, aſcended to the top of a high turret, a part of the caſtle of Phaſael, which was built in honour of the brother of Herod, who was killed in battle by the Parthians. From this place he made ſignals with his hand, that the Romans ſhould ſally forth, and make an attack upon the Jews, ſuppoſing that other people would venture their lives in the ſupport of his cruel and rapacious proceedings, while he had not reſolution himſelf to participate in the common danger.

The Romans, however, obeyed his orders, and an obſtinate conflict enſued. Though great numbers of the Jews fell, the ſurvivors were by no means diſmayed; and they at length took poſſeſſion of ſome of the outward galleries of the temple, from whence they aſſaulted the Romans with continual ſhowers of darts, arrows, and ſtones, while the latter were incapable of giving them any annoyance. At length, the Romans ſet fire to the galleries, which being of wood, the flames ſpread with great rapidity, and ſoon communicated to the roof. The pitch, wax, and oil uſed in the parts that were gilt, ſerved to increaſe the violence of the flames, and inſtant deſtruction threatened the Jews on every ſide; ſome of them met their fate by the fall of the buildings; urged by deſpair, ſome ruſhed into the fire; many fell upon the points of their ſwords; and thoſe who ſought to conceal themſelves were put to death by the ſoldiers. Upon the whole, of the Jews who had taken poſſeſſion of the galleries, not a man eſcaped. The fire having abated, the Romans made their way over the ruins to that part of the temple where the holy treaſure was depoſited, of which the ſoldiers embezzled a conſiderable part; and Sabinus pretended that not more than four hundred talents of the booty had been delivered to him.

A conteſt between the Romans and the Jews and of the latter a great number are deſtroyed.

The ſituation of the Jews was now truly

miſerable; for great numbers of them had loſt their deareſt friends and relations, and the whole nation bitterly lamented the ſacrilegious plunder of the holy temple. But a numerous body of Jews aſſembled, and having ſurrounded the palace, threatened to ſet it on fire, and deſtroy thoſe that ſhould attempt to eſcape, if the place was not inſtantly ſurrendered; promiſing at the ſame time indemnity to Sabinus and his adherents, on condition of their immediate retiring.

Rufus and Gratus go over to the Romans.

Rufus and Gratus with three thouſand of Herod's troops, and a party of cavalry under the immediate command of the former revolted to the Romans: but the Jews, notwithſtanding theſe diſcouraging circumſtances, purſued their operations with unremitting ardour and activity: they mined the walls, and threatened the enemy with deſtruction, yet adviſed them to depart, while they could do it with ſafety; nor run the riſk of driving to deſperation a people who were reſolved, whatever might be the conſequence, to maintain their liberties inviolate, and to preſerve thoſe laws and rights ſacred which their anceſtors had tranſmitted as their inheritance. Sabinus ſeemed not ill-diſpoſed to compliance, but he was afraid to truſt to the promiſes of the Jews, from a conſciouſneſs how ill he had deſerved at their hands: beſides, he thought that the terms which were offered him were too advantageous to be ratified: and for theſe reaſons he reſolved to attempt the maintainance of his preſent poſt, in the hope that Varus might ſend him aſſiſtance before he ſhould be compelled to abandon it.

While affairs at Jeruſalem were thus ſituated, many other inſurrections took place in different parts of Judea and the adjacent countries, partly ariſing from motives of revenge, and partly from a view to advantage. On this occaſion, a number of the forces which Herod had diſbanded, amounting to about two thouſand, aſſembled in a body, under the command of Ahiab, a nephew of Herod, with a reſolution to attack a party of the troops of Archelaus: but Ahiab, not inſenſible that thoſe he had to cope with were veteran ſoldiers, and men of approved valour, did all in his power to avoid coming to action, by retreating to ſecure places, where it was not an eaſy matter to encounter him.

Nor were theſe the only diſturbances that happened: for Judas, the ſon of Ezekias, the famous robber that formerly gave ſo much trouble to Herod, occaſioned freſh ſcenes of confuſion. This Judas, having put himſelf at the head of a number of deſperate men, whom he had raiſed at Sephoris, a city of Gallilee, he cauſed all his adherents to take arms, and made an incurſion into the king's country, where he made ſeizure of the magazines and military ſtores, took poſſeſſion of the money belonging to the king; rendered himſelf an object of terror to the inhabitants; ravaged and deſtroyed the country wherever he came, and at length aſpired even to the regal government: this, however he did not by the uſual arts of ingratiating himſelf with the people, or by giving any proof of his attachment to the laws of honour, but by the wanton perpetration of every miſchief that lay within his power.

Simon cla
the crown.

During the confuſion occaſioned by this ſtate of public affairs, there came into notice one Simon, heretofore a ſervant of king Herod, who was remarkably diſtinguiſhed by his uncommon ſtrength, the height of his ſtature, and the ſingular grace and comelineſs of his perſon. The vanity and impudence of this man impelled him to aſpire to the crown. He procured a number of guards to attend him, and was every where received as a prince, by the undiſcerning multitude, who ſaluted him with exclamations of "God ſave the king!" In fact, he conſidered himſelf as the moſt fit perſon in the world to be advanced to regal dignity.

This man pillaged and burnt the palace at Jericho, as well as ſeveral other of the king's houſes; permitting his ſoldiers to make booty of whatever property they found therein; and but that they were timely ſuppreſſed, his depredations would have been carried to a ſtill further extent.

Gratus, one of the king's captains, who was at that time aſſociated with the Romans, advancing with his troops againſt Simon, a moſt violent and obſtinate engagement happened between them. The forces under the command of Simon, which came from the other ſide of the river Jordan, exhibiting much greater proofs of courage than ſkill in the action, were ſoon routed and cut in pieces: Simon, who attempted to make his eſcape over ſame difficult paſſes, was taken priſoner, on which Gratus gave orders for his being beheaded.

Simon and Gratus en
gage.

This rage for a new mode of government was every were prevalent among the common people. A licentious multitude, not unlike thoſe who followed the fortunes of Simon, burnt to the ground the royal palace of Amatha, adjoining to the river Jordan. The people appeared to be univerſally inſpired with a violence of ſentiment that approached even to madneſs; occaſioned principally by the abſence of their king, who by the arguments of reaſon, and the enforcements of law, might have kept them within the bounds of their duty. It is true that foreigners were brought in, to reclaim them: but ſo inſatiable was their avarice, and ſo unbounded their pride, that the people at large were only ſufferers by what was intended for their advantage.

At this time there was a man named Athronges, who was undiſtinguiſhed either by birth, virtue, or fortune, being a ſhepherd of the loweſt rank; but he was remarkable for the enormous ſize of his perſon, and the uncommon ſtrength of his limbs. Thus qualified, he ſought to obtain a ſhare in the government, and reſolved to riſk his life that he might acquire to himſelf the prerogative of doing as much miſchief as might be agreeable to his own inclination. Now Athronges had four brothers, neither of which was leſs remarkable than himſelf for bulk and ſtature; and under the command of each of them was a number of ſoldiers, which they deemed an eſſential circumſtance towards obtaining the principal point they had in view. Great numbers of people flocked to the ſtandards of theſe five brothers: Athronges ſent out his four brethren on different parties, to act as deputies to him, while himſelf acted the part of a ſovereign, ſitting in council with a crown on his head, making reſolutions, and iſſuing orders reſpecting affairs of ſtate.

When the Romans or the king's ſoldiers became ſubject to the power of Athronges, he acted with the utmoſt cruelty; for he was equally an enemy to them both: to the one party for the freedom they had taken during the time of Herod, and to the other on account of injuries of a later date. Animoſities now grew daily to a greater height; one enormity made way for another; reſentment became more implacable; cruelties were committed for the ſake of cruelty, and the deſtruction made with the view to the obtaining of booty was ſo great, that no perſon could enjoy his own life in ſafety.

The partizans of Athronges, iſſuing from an ambuſh near Emmaus, attacked a Roman convoy bringing corn and arms to the camp, and killed on the ſpot Arius, the captain, with about forty of his troops, all men of diſtinguiſhed bravery; and it is probable that the reſt of the forces would have ſhared the ſame fate, if Gratus had not joined them with a party of ſoldiers, and relieved them juſt in the moment of danger: but they were obliged to leave their dead behind. The brothers of Athronges and himſelf ſtill kept fighting for a conſiderable time, doing material injury to the Romans, but ſuſtaining much greater themſelves; and in the end they were all taken priſoners in the following manner: one of them was made a captive in a battle with Gratus; a ſecond by Ptolemy; Archelaus took the eldeſt into cuſtody; and the other two finding their caſe deſperate; that their men were wore out with toil and ſickneſs, and that they had no hope of redreſs, or proſpect of receiving recruits, ſurrendered to Archelaus, who pledged his honour, and took an oath for the performance of certain ſtipulated conditions: but this happened a conſiderable time after the ſurrender of the other brothers.

While things remained in this ſtate of licentious confuſion, every party of malecontents wiſhed to impoſe kings of their own choice on the public; by which the government was greatly diſturbed, and the Jews, in particular, were perpetually dividing into freſh factions.

The intelligence that Sabinus had conveyed to Varus reſpecting the danger of his ſituation, made the latter extremely apprehenſive for the ſafety of the third legion, which was all the force they had in Syria; wherefore he aſſembled the other two legions, with four troops of horſe, and the auxiliary forces of the king and the tetrarch, and proceeded immediately towards Judea, to give ſuccour to the beſieged, appointing a rendezvous at Ptolemais, in his way to which he took fifteen hundred men with him from Berytus. Excluſive of this reinforcement, Aretas the Patrean (the ſame who through a miſunderſtanding with Herod had gone over to the Romans) furniſhed him with a large body of cavalry and infantry. When all theſe forces met together at Ptolemais, Varus deputed a command of part of the army to his ſon in conjunction with one of his particular friends, directing them to march into Galilee, which is in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais. On this incurſion into the country, the ſon of Varus met with ſome oppoſition; but he was every where ſucceſsful: he took Sepphoris; ſold the inhabitants thereof as ſlaves by public auction, and reduced the city to aſhes. In the mean time, Varus proceeded with his army towards Samaria, but he did no injury to that city, as he knew the inhabitants were of a very peaceable diſpoſition and loyally diſpoſed. He now encamped in the village of Arus, which was the property of Pompey: but this village was burnt by the Arabians, who ſought to do every injury to the friends of Herod, in deteſtation of the memory of that prince. The army proceeded to Sampho, but that place, though exceedingly well fortified, was rifled by Arabians, who afterwards ſet fire to it, and great ravages were committed. In reſentment of the ſlaughter committed upon his ſoldiers, Varus cauſed the city of Emmaus to be deſtroyed by fire, after the inhabitants had been permitted to quit the place.

Sepphoris burnt, and the inhabitants ſold for ſlaves.

place. Proceeding from hence towards Jeruſalem, his army was no ſooner in ſight of that city, than the Jews who had beſieged the legion ſtationed there, abandoned their poſt, each man conſulting his own particular ſafety. Varus ſeverely cenſured the Jews of Jeruſalem on account of the late tranſactions: but in juſtification of themſelves they contended, that they had no concern in occaſioning the tumult, which had been fomented by ſtrangers, of whom great numbers were then reſident in the capital. To avoid falling into the power of Varus, Sabinus privately quitted the city, and retired towards the ſea-coaſt.

Two thouſand Jews put to death.

Varus now employed agents in different parts of the country to learn who were the inſtigators of the late revolt, and a great number being proved guilty on the moſt indiſputable evidence, he cauſed about two thouſand of them to be puniſhed with death by crucifixion. Varus now diſmiſſed the greater part of his army, by whom many acts of violence had been committed, very much againſt his inclination. But learning ſome time after that ten thouſand Jews had aſſembled, he ordered them to be attacked in their quarters; whereupon, without attempting oppoſition, they ſurrendered themſelves at diſcretion to Ahiab. Varus now pardoned the rioters, except the ringleaders in the commotion, among whom were ſome of the relations of Herod. Peace being re-eſtabliſhed, Varus returned to Antioch, leaving the legion ſtill in garriſon in Jeruſalem.

Cæſar gives audience to the Jews in the temple of Apollo.

The diſturbances at Jeruſalem were no ſooner quelled, than Archelaus had a new difficulty to encounter. Varus having conſented that the Jews ſhould apply to Cæſar for permiſſion to live agreeable to their own laws and cuſtoms, fifty of them were joined in a commiſſion for that purpoſe, and their demands were to be ſeconded by eight thouſand more. On this occaſion, Cæſar gave orders that a number of his ſelect friends and ſeveral other perſons of eminence, ſhould attend him in the temple of Apollo, a ſumptuous edifice erected by him in the city. To this place the deputies repaired, being followed by a great number of Jews; and Archelaus and his friends likewiſe attended. In this emergency the king's friends were at a loſs how to act; for having a ſtrong antipathy to Antipater, they could not eſpouſe his cauſe, nor could they take part with the deputies, without giving the emperor a convincing proof that they were enemies to the prince to whom they were related. By the advice of Varus, Philip came from Rome, in order to yield aſſiſtance to his brother Archelaus; for whom he entertained a great eſteem: and Philip conſidered that his own intereſt was involved in the buſineſs now in agitation; for if the deputies ſhould ſucceed in their application, and the children of Herod be adjudged to ſhare the government, a portion thereof would of courſe devolve to him.

The Jew diſſatisfied with a mo narchical vernment.

Addreſſing themſelves to the emperor, the deputies implored that they might no longer be ſubject to a monarchical government, the tyranny whereof they had found to be intolerable; and in confirmation of what they advanced, they recounted the moſt particular acts of cruelty, rapine and oppreſſion committed by [illegible]od. They ſaid Archelaus had already given proofs of a diſpoſition to follow the iniquitous examples of his deceaſed father; for he was no ſooner in the poſſeſſion of power, than he ſacrilegiouſly cauſed three thouſand people of his own tribe to be put to death in the temple. The deputies repreſented Archelaus as unworthy of the throne, and concluded with a requeſt that the country inhabited by the people they were appointed to repreſent might be annexed to the juriſdiction of Syria, and ruled by ſuch perſons as Cæſar might nominate, when it would appear, that they were a people not diſpoſed to acts of innovation, but, on the contrary, that their wiſh was to yield obedience to the authority of legal government.

Nicolaus ſpoke in defence of Herod and Archelaus, obſerving that it was remarkable the preſent complainants did not ſtate their grievances while the former was living; ſince, if they had done ſo, the emperor would have afforded them redreſs. He contended that the crime alledged was not imputable to Archelaus, whom abſolute neceſſity had compelled to an act of of ſeverity. The people employed by him to quell a popular tumult, being deſtroyed by the ſeditious multitude, to provide for the public ſafety, and vindicate the inſulted laws, he deemed it expedient to employ an additional force; and by his prudent and ſpirited exertions, a dangerous inſurrection had been effectually appeaſed.

CHAP. XIII.

The emperor's generous diſpoſition of the government, and of the effects left by Herod.

Cæſar's equitable portionme of the go- vernment property l by Herod.

HAVING heard the arguments on both ſides, Cæſar, after taking a few days for conſideration, declared that Archelaus ſhould ſucceed to the half of Herod's dominion, under the title of an ethnarch, though not of king; but yet that he ſhould come into poſſeſſion of the kingdom when his merit ſhould entitle him to ſo honourable a diſtinction. The other half of the kingdom was divided between the two ſons of Herod, Philip and Antipas, the latter being the ſame who oppoſed Archelaus with regard to the government of the whole. The ſhare allotted to Antipas was the country beyond Jordan, and the diſtrict of Galilee, with an annual revenue of two hundred talents. To Philip was given a revenue of one hundred talents, with the lands of Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and part of the palace which bore the name of Zenodorus. To Archelaus were given the countries of Judea, Idumea and Samaria, to which laſt Cæſar remitted a fourth part of the duty cuſtomarily paid, on the account of the inhabitants having remained loyal, when thoſe of the other diſtricts rebelled. The tower of Straton, with Sebaſte, Joppa, and Jeruſalem, likewiſe came to his ſhare; but the inhabitants of Gaza, Gadara, and Hippon, having conformed to the Grecian mode of living, Cæſar had annexed them to Syria, and they were no longer conſidered as dependencies on the kingdom. On the whole, ſix hundred talents were deemed to be the revenue of Archelaus.

This was the adjuſtment of the patrimony of the ſons of Herod. With regard to Salome, Cæſar granted her a palace in Aſcalon, within the dominions of Archelaus, excluſive of the cities of Jamnia, Azotus, and Phaſaelis, which her brother had bequeathed to her by will, together with five hundred pieces of minted money; ſo that her whole revenue was eſtimated at ſix hundred talents annually. The reſt of the legacies which had been left to the relations of Herod, were likewiſe confirmed to them by Cæſar, agreeable to the tenor of his will. Excluſive of what Herod had bequeathed to his two unmarried daughters, Cæſar made them a preſent of two hundred and fifty thouſand pieces of ſilver each, and cauſed marriages to take place between them, and the two ſons of Pheroras. But what diſtinguiſhed the conduct of Cæſar for a generous magnificence beyond every other circumſtance, was the diviſion which he made of his own legacy among the ſons of Herod, of all which valuable bequeſt he retained only a few pieces of plate, and theſe rather as a remembrance of the giver, than from any other conſideration.

CHAP. XIV.

An impoſtor aſſumes the character of Alexander. He is condemned to the gallies; and his adviſer is puniſhed with death.

A JEW who had been educated at Sidon, with a freeman of Rome, greatly reſembled the deceaſed Alexander, the ſon of Herod. He was accuſtomed to give intimations, that he was related to the royal family, and entertained hopes of ſucceeding to the throne. In conjunction with one of his own tribe, who was a man well acquainted with the intrigues of court, it was agreed that he ſhould aſſume the name and character of Alexander, who, together with his brother Ariſtobulus, had been ſtrangled by order of the late king. They induſtriouſly propagated a ſtory, purporting that the perſon to whom the execution of the two princes had been intruſted, had ſubſtituted two other youths in their ſtead, and by that means preſerved both their lives.

Going to the iſle of Crete, and from thence to Melos, the Jews in general gave full credit to the impoſtor's ſtory, and were prevailed upon to advance him very conſiderable ſums of money. Priding himſelf in his imaginary conſequence, he proceeded towards Rome, accompanied by a number of his adherents; and on his arrival at Puteoli, a great number of Jews received and acknowledged him as their king.

The likeneſs between this man and the deceaſed prince was ſo extraordinary, that thoſe who had lived upon terms of the moſt intimate friendſhip with the latter, poſitively declared the former to be the identical Alexander that was reported to have been put to death.

Intelligence of this extraordinary affair being conveyed to Rome, all the Jews in that city came out to meet the ſuppoſed prince, offering praiſes and thankſgivings to Heaven, for that providence which they thought had decreed a deliverance ſo truly ſurpriſing. No expence was ſpared to celebrate his arrival: he was carried in a litter, with the ſtate and magnificence of a prince, and followed by immenſe crouds of people, who ſhouted for joy, and offered up their prayers and vows for his ſafety and proſperity, as is common in caſes of ſuch a nature: but theſe honours took their riſe chiefly from the reſpect they bore to Mariamne, his ſuppoſed mother.

But the emperor could not be induced to give credit to the ſtory; and therefore diſpatched one of his freemen, named Celadus, to bring the ſuppoſed Alexander into his preſence. Notwithſtanding the likeneſs of the perſons, Cæſar obſerved a diſagreement in ſeveral circumſtances, particularly noticing that the hands of the impoſtor were rendered callous by labour, and that his ſkin was coarſer than that of the generality of perſons bred in all the refinements of courtly delicacy. The emperor enquired of the youth what had become of his brother Ariſtobulus, obſerving that it was extraordinary they did not appear together, and make a joint claim to the crown. To this the impoſtor replied, that

Cæſar detects a Jewiſh impoſtor.

that Ariſtobulus remained at Cyprus, being apprehenſive of danger on the voyage, and reflecting, that if both ſhould be loſt, the race of Mariamne would be extinct.

The pretended Alexander and his coadjutor perfectly correſponded in their narrative: but Cæſar taking the former apart, admoniſhed him, at his peril to declare who he was, and by whom he had been inſtigated to claim a right to the crown; adding, if he avowed the truth, his life ſhould be ſpared.

Being thus cloſely preſſed, and deſpairing to gain any advantage by evaſive practices, the youth acknowledged all the particulars of his ſtratagem, and that he had acted under the advice and direction of his accomplice. Upon this, the emperor ſentenced his adviſer to be puniſhed with death, and condemned the impoſtor to the gallies. The folly and credulity of the Jews of Melos were ſufficiently puniſhed by the expence they had incurred in ſupporting the impoſition.

CHAP. XV.

Archelaus baniſhed. Dream expounded by Simon, an Eſſene. The dream of Glaphyra reſpecting her firſt huſband.

Returning to Judea, Archelaus took poſſeſſion of the ethnarchy; and ſoon afterwards he deprived Joazar, the ſon of Boethus, of the office of high-prieſt, in conſequence of his being charged with ſeditious practices, and appointed his brother Eleazar to ſucceed him.

The palace of Jericho rebuilt.

At a vaſt expence, the ethnarch rebuilt the palace of Jericho; and he conveyed one half of the fine ſtream, watering the village of Neara to a grove of palm trees lately planted in that neighbourhood. He built a new village, which he called Archelais, in imitation of his own name. Soon afterwards, in contempt of the laws of his country, he eſpouſed * Glaphyra, the daughter of king Archelaus, and widow of his brother Alexander; and by her he had ſeveral children. Eleazar held the office of high-prieſt but a ſhort time, he being depoſed, and that dignity transferred to Jeſus, the ſon of Sias.

Archelaus commande to appear fore the e peror.

In the tenth year of the ethnarch's government, the principal Jews and Samaritans united in complaining of his tyrannical conduct to the emperor; who thereupon ſent for Archelaus, his agent at Rome, and commanded him to repair immediately to, and bring the other Archelaus into his preſence, without honouring him with a letter to notify on what buſineſs his attendance was required. Finding the ethnarch at an entertainment with his friends, the meſſenger ſhewed him the emperor's order, and they departed together for Rome. On their arrival in that capital, Cæſar heard the charge and defence, and then pronounced againſt Archelaus ſentence of baniſhment to Vienne, a city in Gaul, together with confiſcation of all his effects.

Archelaus baniſhed, his goods confiſcated.

A ſhort time before being ſent for to Rome, Archelaus had a dream, the ſubſtance of which was as follows: he imagined that he beheld ten ears of wheat, and ſome oxen devouring them. His mind was ſo ſtrongly impreſſed by this dream, that when he awoke, he could not refrain from aſking the meaning of it of ſome perſons ſkilled in the art of divination. The interpreters differing in opinion, Simon, an Eſſene, obtained their conſent to give his explanation, which was to the following effect:

Simon ex pounds th dream of Archelaus.

"That dreaming of oxen, which are animals deſtined to ſlaviſh labour, implied miſery; and likewiſe a change of affairs, becauſe when the ground was turned up the ſituation and appearance of things were changed. He ſaid that the ten ears of corn ſeemed to intimate an equal number of years, which revolve in a regular courſe; and that it was to be inferred that the reign of Archelaus was drawing towards a concluſion." Glaphyra had likewiſe a remarkable dream, the ſubſtance of which was that ſhe ſaw her firſt huſband Alexander, who, as ſhe advanced to embrace him, retreated, and addreſſed her in a ſtile of reproof, ſaying ſhe had verified the obſervation that no confidence was to be placed in women; ſince though ſhe had borne children to him, ſhe had contracted two marriages ſince his death, and the laſt with his own brother; and adding, that he would deliver her from the ignominy of the laſt connection. Glaphyra died a few days after having the above dream.

Cæſar annexed the lands that Archelaus had poſſeſſed to Syria, and commiſſioned Cyrenius, to tax the province, and diſpoſe of the ethnarch's palace by ſale.

---

* To eſpouſe the widow of a brother, who had iſſue by the woman was expreſsly forbidden by the Jewiſh law: but, on the contrary, the brother who refuſed to contract ſuch marriage was branded with public diſgrace and infamy.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK XVIII.

From the Year of the World 3973 *to* 4003.

CHAPTER I.

Cyrenius appointed governor of Syria. Judas and Sadducus occaſion great outrages. The temple burnt.

THE emperor gave the government of Syria to Cyrenius, a conſul and ſenator of Rome; and upon his ſetting out to execute his commiſſion, he was accompanied by Coponius, maſter of the horſe, in quality of governor of Judea; but that country being annexed to Syria, Cyrenius was authoriſed to tax the people, and likewiſe to take poſſeſſion of the money and effects that had belonged to Archelaus.

Horrible outrages, under pretext of ſecuring liberty, property, and the common good.

The mode of taxation adopted by Cyrenius for ſome time greatly diſſatisfied the Jews: but they were at length induced to ſubmit, partly by the advice, and partly by the authority of Joazar, the high-prieſt, and ſon of Boethus. About this time, one Judas, a Gaulanite, of the city of Gamala, began to diſtinguiſh himſelf. This man combined with a Phariſee, named Sadducus, to entice the people to revolt. They urged that the taxes were only badges of ſlavery; and that it would become the dignity of the whole people to unite in an aſſertion of their liberty: they ſaid that one fortunate and well-timed ſtroke would render them independent for ever; and would contribute no leſs to the ſecurity of their poſſeſſions than the advancement of their reputation.

But few arguments were neceſſary to induce the multitude to acts of violence; nor is it in the power of language to deſcribe the havock that was made in the country by theſe outrageous depredators: friends and enemies were robbed and murdered without diſtinction; maſſacres and aſſaſſinations were dreadfully frequent; and theſe violences were committed under the pretext of promoting the public welfare. While the people were embroiled in all the miſeries of civil hoſtility, they were likewiſe engaged in a foreign war, and had to encounter all the calamities of a ſevere and deſtructive famine. To aggravate their other misfortunes, a fire at length ſeized the temple, and reduced that building to the ground.

The temple burnt.

Judas and Sadducus now determined to add a fourth ſect to the three already eſtabliſhed; and the multitude were ſo addicted to innovations, that a very numerous party abetted and encouraged them in this capricious deſign. Hence preſent diſturbances were occaſioned, while a foundation was laid for much future calamity.

CHAP. II.

Account of the Phariſees, the Sadducees and Eſſenes. The principles of the fourth ſect.

IN ancient times there were three famous ſects among the Jews, namely the Phariſees, the Sadducees and the Eſſenes, of each of which it may not be improper to ſpeak in this place, though a further account of them will be found in the ſecond book of the wars of the Jews.

Account of the Phariſees.

The manners of the Phariſees are ſimple and auſtere; they indulge not in luxury; they adhere to the dictates of reaſon, and preſume not to contradict their elders, to the authority of whoſe advice they pay great deference. They hold that fate governs all things, but not ſo abſolutely as wholly to deſtroy the operations of free will; for they alledge, that though God orders and appoints all human actions, in matters that regard good and evil the will is not controuled. They believe in the immortality of the ſoul, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments. They ſay, that the righteous will enjoy happineſs, and the wicked be condemned to endleſs torments, chains, and darkneſs. By the propagation of theſe doctrines they have gained great reputation among the people, and all acts of devotion are regulated in purſuance of their directions.

Of the Sadducees.

On the other hand, the opinion of the Sadducees is, that the ſoul and body die at the ſame time; and that the only obligation people are under, is to obſerve the law: with theſe ſentiments, they pride themſelves on a right they have to diſpute with their teachers on matters of the higheſt importance. There are but few of theſe people, but they are generally perſons of diſtinction. Now when theſe are advanced to bear public offices, they are compelled, though againſt their ſentiments, openly to adopt the opinion of the Phariſees, or otherwiſe the common people would not permit them to hold their ſtations.

Of the Eſſenes.

The Eſſenes ſay, that the world is abſolutely governed by the providence of God without any other interference. They acknowledge the immortality of the ſoul, and ſay that juſtice is the chief of all virtues, which they aſſert by their practice as well as doctrine. They ſend gifts to the temple, but do not attend in perſon, as they ſacrifice in a way peculiar to themſelves; and with a greater diſplay of religious ceremony. They are ſingularly ſtrict in their morals, rigid in converſation; and huſbandry is the only buſineſs they follow. They are more diſtinguiſhed for their love of juſtice than either the Greeks or Barbarians: and boaſt of it as a virtue to which they have unceaſingly applied. They enjoy their effects in common, knowing no ſuch thing as the diſtinction of rich and poor. They neither marry nor keep ſervants; conſidering marriage as an encroachment on the natural rights of mankind; and the other circumſtance as attended with more trouble than convenience; wherefore they rather incline to give aſſiſtance to each other, by a mutual interchange of good offices. This is the mode of living among theſe people, who are deemed to be above four thouſand in number. From among their prieſts they chuſe their treaſurers and commiſſaries, who are men of unſullied honour; and it is their buſineſs to diſtribute the fruits of the earth ſufficient to feed and ſupport the whole people. On the whole, their living reſembles that of the Pliſti among the Dacians.

Of the fou ſect.

Judas Gallileus was the founder of the fourth ſect of religion, which did not differ in any great degree from that of the Phariſees; except in their holding the maxim of uncontroulable liberty. They aſſert that there is no other Lord or ſuperior than God; and rather than call any man by the name of *Maſter*, they expoſe themſelves and their neareſt relations, to any degree of puniſhment, though ever ſo ſevere. But this fact is ſo well atteſted, and has been confirmed by ſuch repeated obſervation and experience, that it is unneceſſary to urge any thing in proof of it.

The animoſities mentioned in the former chapter were greatly enflamed by the tyrannical cruelties of Geſſius Florus, at that time governor of Judea; the conſequence of which was, that the people at length abſolutely revolted from the Romans.

CHAP. III.

Joazar depoſed, and ſucceeded by Ananus. The temple profaned by the Samaritans. Coponius ſucceeded by Marcus Ambivius. Salome dies. Rufus ſucceeds Ambivius. Auguſtus dies, and is ſucceeded by Nero. Several changes in the prieſthood. Phraates murdered, and an inſurrection enſues. Herod killed. Vonones conquers Artabanus, who is routed in a ſubſequent battle. The death of Antiochus.

AGREEABLY with the orders he had received, Cyrenius ſold the forfeited effects of Archelaus, and adjuſted a mode of taxing the people, in the thirty-ſeventh year after Cæſar's victory over Antony at the battle of Actium. The people were now exceedingly clamourous againſt Joazar the high-prieſt, whom Cyrenius removed from the pontificate, conferring that dignity upon Ananus, the ſon of Seth.

Being ſettled in their reſpective tetrarchies, Herod and Philip put their affairs into the beſt poſſible ſtate of regulation. Herod fortified Sepphoris, encompaſſed it with a wall, and made it the bulwark of Galilee. He then fortified the town of Betaramphtha, and in honour of the empreſs, changed the name of the place to Julias. Philip enlarged and beautified Paleas, ſituated at the head of the Jordan, and gave it the name of Cæſarea, and the village of Bethſaida, on the banks of the lake of Geneſareth, he increaſed to the ſize of a capital city, giving it the name of Julias, in compliment to Julia, the emperor's daughter.

During the government of Cyrenius, the temple of Jeruſalem was profaned by a number of Samaritans. On the feaſt of the unleavened bread, or the paſchal feaſt, it was cuſtomary for the prieſts to open the doors of the temple immediately after midnight. A number of Samaritans having privately gained admittance into Jeruſalem, the doors of the temple were no ſooner opened, than they ruſhed into the building, and threw a great number of human bones about the galleries, and all other parts of the temple. In conſequence of this act of profanation, the prieſts ſtationed a ſtronger guard about the temple.

me dies.

Soon afterwards Coponius returned to Rome, being ſucceeded in the government by Marcus Ambivius, during whoſe adminiſtration, Salome, the ſiſter of Herod, died. She bequeathed her toparchy to Julia, together with the city of Jamnia, Phaſaelis upon the plain, and Archelaus, beſides ſeveral fine plantations of palm trees producing excellent fruit.

Ambivius was ſucceeded by Annius Rufus, in whoſe time died Auguſtus at the age of ſeventy-ſeven years. He had ruled the Commonwealth fifty-ſeven years, ſix months, and two days, of which time he was an aſſociate with Antony in the government for the ſpace of fourteen years. He was the ſecond of the Roman emperors

o ſuc-
ds Au-
us.

Tiberius Nero, the ſon of his wife Livia, by a former huſband, ſucceeded Auguſtus. Nero transferred the government of Judea from Annius Rufus to Valerius Gratus; and removing Ananus from the office of high-prieſt, appointed Iſmael, the ſon of Fabius, his ſucceſſor. In a ſhort time, Iſmael was depoſed, and the pontificate conferred on Eleazar the ſon of Ananas formerly high-prieſt. He was ſucceeded by Simon, the ſon of Camith; who after enjoying the dignity for about an equal time, was directed to reſign in favour of Joſeph, ſurnamed Caiaphas. After having been eleven years in poſſeſſion of the government, Gratus returned to Rome, and was ſucceeded by Pontius Pilate.

Herod builds Tiberias.

Herod the tetrarch being highly in favour with Nero, he built to his honour the city of Tiberias, in the moſt commodious part of Galilee, being near the hot baths of Emmaus, and on the borders of the lake of Genneſareth. This town was peopled partly by the natives of Galilee, and partly by ſtrangers; ſome perſons being compelled to reſide there, and many families of diſtinction fixing upon that place of habitation by choice. Herod beſtowed conſiderable privileges and immunities upon the ſettlers in Tiberias: to ſome he gave houſes, and to others lands, that the violation of the laws might be the leſs regarded: for as the place was filled with ſepulchres, and polluted by dead bodies, the inhabitants were deemed unclean for ſeven days after their reſidence there; and theſe inducements occaſioned a rapid increaſe of population.

Phraates murdered by his ſon Phraataces.

About this period Phraataces,* the ſon of Phraates king of the Parthians treacherouſly murdered his father. Cæſar having ſent to Phraates a variety of preſents, among the reſt was an Italian woman, named Thermuſa. Phraates took this woman to his bed, and had by her a ſon, to whom he gave the name of Phraataces. At length being enamoured of her beauty and converſation, he married her, though he had ſeveral legitimate children before. Thermuſa entertained an idea of putting her ſon in ſuch a ſituation that he ſhould ſtand a chance of becoming king of Parthia; but ſhe was conſcious that it could not be effected unleſs the legitimate ſons of Phraates were removed. She therefore applied to her huſband on this ſubject, and he readily agreed to yield to her requeſt; for ſhe was ſo great a favourite, that he found it impoſſible to refuſe any thing that ſhe aſked. The young princes were therefore diſpatched to Rome as hoſtages, and Phraataces was educated at home, as heir-apparent to the throne. But he grew uneaſy in this ſituation; and being impatient to wait for the reverſion of a crown, which he thought he might have in poſſeſſion, he joined his mother in conſpiring the deſtruc- of the king. This ſcheme was carried into execution; and ſuſpicions were entertained that Phraates maintained an inceſtuous intercourſe with his mother. The known murder and the ſuppoſed inceſt provoked the multitude to an inſurrection, and Phraataces fell a victim to their rage.

---

* Phraates in the verſion of Epiphanius Scholaſticus.

The laſcivious conduct of Thermuſa being deemed ſufficient to pollute the blood of Phraates, the Parthian nobility diſpatched ambaſſadors to invite Herod to accept of their government. It is true, that Herod was of the royal line, but his cruelties had rendered him ſuch an object of abhorrence, that he was attacked and ſlain by a band of conſpirators.

Herod killed by conſpirators.

The Parthians now diſpatched an embaſſy to Rome, to requeſt that one of their hoſtages might be appointed to fill the vacancy in the government and Vonones being preferred to the brethren, a recommendation was given him, wherein he was mentioned as qualified to govern the two moſt conſiderable empires in the univerſe; namely, Rome and Parthia. However, the Parthians, who were a people of a very unſettled diſpoſition, ſoon repented their choice. On account of his having been a hoſtage, they applied to him the epithet of a ſlave, who had been impoſed upon them as their ſovereign in conſequence of a diſgraceful peace. In ſhort, being determined to depoſe Vonones, they diſpatched ambaſſadors to Artabanus, king of the Medes, to requeſt his aſſiſtance againſt their ſovereign; and Artabanus immediately marched a numerous army into Parthia.

Vonones and Artabanus engage with various ſucceſs.

Vonones, the majority of whoſe ſubjects ſtill preſerved their loyalty, encountered Artabanus, and compelled him to retreat into Media. But upon the latter receiving conſiderable reinforcements, he attacked and compleatly routed Vonones, who with difficulty ſaved his life, by eſcaping to Seleuſia, accompanied by a ſmall number of horſemen. Taking advantage of the confuſion of the enemy, Artabanus purſued them with great ſlaughter; and then marched his army to Cteſiphon, having by the above exploit gained poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Parthia.

Vonones proceeded into Syria, with a view of ſubjecting that country to his dominion, and diſpatched an embaſſy to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of Cæſar in carrying his project into execution: but the emperor abſolutely refuſed to yield him ſuccour. This refuſal, added to the diſcovery that the principal people of Armenia, bordering upon Niphates, were ſtrongly attached to Artabanus, proved deſtructive to the hopes Vonones had fondly cheriſhed; and after ſeriouſly deliberating upon his unfortunate ſituation, he ſurrendered himſelf to Syllanus governor of Syria, who, in conſideration of a former acquaintance with him at Rome, gave him an honourable reception. The affairs of Artabanes being now in a moſt proſperous ſituation, he beſtowed upon his ſon Orodes the kingdom of Armenia.

Orodes king o menia.

Upon the deceaſe of Antiochus, king of Comogena, a violent contention aroſe between the principal people and thoſe of inferior rank; the latter being deſirous of preſerving the monarchical form of government, and the former being as ſtrongly inclined to reduce the kingdom into the ſtate of a province. Hereupon the ſenate of Rome iſſued a decree, that Germanicus ſhould depart into the eaſt country, to adjuſt the differences that had ariſen; but Providence ordered that this circumſtance ſhould end in the ruin of this excellent prince; for after he had compoſed the commotions in Syria, he fell a ſacrifice to poiſon, through the management of Piſo; as will be related in another part of this work.

CHAP. IV.

Diſturbances relating to the ſtandards brought into Jeruſalem. THE TESTIMONY OF JOSEPHUS CONCERNING JESUS CHRIST. *A woman named Ide concerts a plot with the prieſts of Iſis. By a ſtratagem Paulina is introduced to Mundus. Ide and the prieſts crucified, and the temple of Iſis deſtroyed.*

Standar with Cæ image ſe in Jeru

A Body of troops having removed from Cæſarea, to take up their winter quarters in Jeruſalem, Pilate, the governor of Judea, cauſed them to bring a number of ſtandards into the city, on which were the image of Cæſar, in direct contradiction to the laws of the Jews, which expreſsly forbid the uſe of all ſuch emblems and devices: and, for this reaſon, colours with pictures on them had never been brought into the city by any former governor. This general rule was firſt tranſgreſſed by Pilate; and what added to the offence was, that they were brought into the city in the dead of the night, and there ſet up unknown to the inhabitants. In the morning, when the citizens obſerved what had been done, they aſſembled in great numbers, and immediately went to Pilate at Cæſarea, requeſting that the obnoxious images might be removed. They continued ſeveral days, in the hope that Pilate would comply with their requeſt; but he was peremptory in his refuſal, pretending that ſuch a requeſt could not be complied with, as it would be an affront to the emperor.

The Jews ſtill continued importunate in their demands; when, at length, on the ſeventh day of their attendance, Pilate gave directions to a party of ſoldiers to provide themſelves with their arms, and take their ſtation at an appointed place. This being done, he aſcended a tribunal, which he had ordered to be placed in the circus, as a ſpot the moſt convenient from which to ſurprize the people. All this time the Jews thronged about him, urging him to give an anſwer reſpecting the buſineſs that ſo greatly agitated their minds. Hereupon Pilate ordered his ſoldiers to cut the throats all the Jews who ſhould not inſtantly depart. The people proſtrated themſelves upon the earth, and ſtretched out their necks, thereby intimating that they would rather yield up their lives than tranſgreſs the laws of their country. This fortitude had ſuch an effect upon Pilate, that he cauſed the images to be taken down and conveyed back to Cæſaria. Having formed the deſign of removing an aqueduct to Jeruſalem from a ſpot at the diſtance of two hundred furlongs, he demanded money from the royal treaſury, for defraying the expence of the undertaking. This ſo incenſed the people, that ſeveral thouſands of them aſſembled, imagining that their clamourous proceedings might induce Pilate to relinquiſh his project. Among the complainants were many who applied to him the moſt inſulting and opprobrious epithets. Provoked by this circumſtance, Pilate ordered a party of ſoldiers to diſguiſe themſelves as huſbandmen, and, with bludgeons concealed under their garments, to ſurround the multitude. The abuſive language being renewed, Pilate ordered the ſoldiers to attack the people, great numbers of whom being killed or wounded, the reſt diſperſed, and the tumult was appeaſed.

teſti- of Jo- s con- ing the nce of Chriſt.

At this time, a perſon named Jeſus attracted univerſal notice; he was a man of conſummate wiſdom, *if it be not improper to call him a man.* He was eminently diſtinguiſhed for his extraordinary power of working miracles; *and thoſe who were anxious in the diſcovery of truth reſorted to him in vaſt numbers, both of Jews and Gentiles.* Pontius Pilate delivered him up to ſuffer upon the croſs: but thoſe who originally adhered to him, diſdained to abandon his cauſe, when he was under adverſity. Agreeable to the predictions of ſeveral celebrated prophets, *he was ſeen alive on the third day after his crucifixion.* He performed many marvellous acts; and at this day there is a numerous ſect of people called Chriſtians, who acknowledge him as their chief.

tuous and tiful an.

Decius Mundus, a young and agreeable Roman knight becoming deſperately enamoured of Paulina, he offered to preſent her with two hundred thouſand drachamas * on condition of ſleeping with her one night. This propoſal being rejected with the indignation it deſerved, his paſſion increaſed to ſo inſupportable a degree, that he formed the reſolution of ſtarving himſelf to death. A freed-woman, named Ide, a ſervant to the father of Mundus, encouraged the youth to hope for the gratification of his deſires, ſaying ſhe believed he might obtain poſſeſſion of Paulina for the ſum of fifty thouſand drachmas. This afforded the higheſt ſatisfaction to Mundus, who depoſited the money in her hands: but reflecting on the extreme reverence Paulina entertained for the goddeſs Iſis, ſhe deviſed the following contrivance. Having aſſembled a number of the prieſts of Iſis, ſhe ſwore them to keep inviolable ſecret what ſhe had to reveal; and the better to inſure their compliance, ſhe gave them twenty-five thouſand drachmas, and promiſed them the ſame ſum when the buſineſs ſhould be compleated: this being a prevailing argument, ſhe related to them the circumſtances of the affair, and warmly ſolicited their interference, to introduce Mundus to the company of Paulina. The temptation was ſo great, that the prieſts had not power to reſiſt it, and promiſed their beſt aſſiſtance; in purſuance of which, the eldeſt of them immediately went to Paulina, and having demanded a private audience, informed her that he waited upon her with a meſſage from the god Anubis, who was violently enamoured of her, and could not refrain from requeſting that ſhe would pay him a viſit. Paulina made the prieſt extremely welcome; and was ſo delighted with the the idea of the great honour that was to be conferred on her, that ſhe could not help mentioning to the ladies of her acquaintance the ſingular regard that was entertained for her by the god Anubis. She recounted the circumſtance to Saturninus her huſband, told him that an appointment was already made, that ſhe ſhould eat and ſleep with the god. The huſband, having experienced the moſt indubitable proofs of the virtue of his wife, was perfectly ſatiſfied that the promiſed honour ſhould be conferred upon her.

At the time appointed, Paulina repaired to the temple, and having ſupped there, at the uſual hour of going to repoſe, one of the prieſts locked her in an apartment, where Mundus paſſed the night with her, while ſhe imagined herſelf honoured with the embraces of the god Anubis. Early in the morning, Mundus quitted the temple as preſently after Paulina, who related what had paſſed to her huſband and her female friends. Three days after this adventure, Mundus caſually met the lady, to whom he multitude to an inſurrection, and Phraataces fell a victim to their rage.

---

* Two hundred thouſand drachma's amounted to about five thouſand eight hundred pounds of our money.

The laſcivious conduct of Thermuſa being deemed ſufficient to pollute the blood of Phraates, the Parthian nobility diſpatched ambaſſadors to invite Herod to accept of their government. It is true, that Herod was of the royal line, but his cruelties had rendered him ſuch an object of abhorrence, that he was attacked and ſlain by a band of conſpirators.

Herod killed by conſpirators.

The Parthians now diſpatched an embaſſy to Rome, to requeſt that one of their hoſtages might be appointed to fill the vacancy in the government and Vonones being preferred to the brethren, a recommendation was given him, wherein he was mentioned as qualified to govern the two moſt conſiderable empires in the univerſe; namely, Rome and Parthia. However, the Parthians, who were a people of a very unſettled diſpoſition, ſoon repented their choice. On account of his having been a hoſtage, they applied to him the epithet of a ſlave, who had been impoſed upon them as their ſovereign in conſequence of a diſgraceful peace. In ſhort, being determined to depoſe Vonones, they diſpatched ambaſſadors to Artabanus, king of the Medes, to requeſt his aſſiſtance againſt their ſovereign; and Artabanus immediately marched a numerous army into Parthia.

Vonones and Artabanus engage with various ſucceſs.

Vonones, the majority of whoſe ſubjects ſtill preſerved their loyalty, encountered Artabanus, and compelled him to retreat into Media. But upon the latter receiving conſiderable reinforcements, he attacked and compleatly routed Vonones, who with difficulty ſaved his life, by eſcaping to Seleuſia, accompanied by a ſmall number of horſemen. Taking advantage of the confuſion of the enemy, Artabanus purſued them with great ſlaughter; and then marched his army to Cteſiphon, having by the above exploit gained poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Parthia.

Vonones proceeded into Syria, with a view of ſubjecting that country to his dominion, and diſpatched an embaſſy to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of Cæſar in carrying his project into execution: but the emperor abſolutely refuſed to yield him ſuccour. This refuſal, added to the diſcovery that the principal people of Armenia, bordering upon Niphates, were ſtrongly attached to Artabanus, proved deſtructive to the hopes Vonones had fondly cheriſhed; and after ſeriouſly deliberating upon his unfortunate ſituation, he ſurrendered himſelf to Syllanus governor of Syria, who, in conſideration of a former acquaintance with him at Rome, gave him an honourable reception. The affairs of Artabanes being now in a moſt proſperous ſituation, he beſtowed upon his ſon Orodes the kingdom of Armenia.

Orodes mad king of Armenia.

Upon the deceaſe of Antiochus, king of Comogena, a violent contention aroſe between the principal people and thoſe of inferior rank; the latter being deſirous of preſerving the monarchical form of government, and the former being as ſtrongly inclined to reduce the kingdom into the ſtate of a province. Hereupon the ſenate of Rome iſſued a decree, that Germanicus ſhould depart into the eaſt country, to adjuſt the differences that had ariſen; but Providence ordered that this circumſtance ſhould end in the ruin of this excellent prince; for after he had compoſed the commotions in Syria, he fell a ſacrifice to poiſon, through the management of Piſo; as will be related in another part of this work.

CHAP. IV.

Diſturbances relating to the ſtandards brought into Jeruſalem. THE TESTIMONY OF JOSEPHUS CONCERNING JESUS CHRIST. *A woman named Ide concerts a plot with the prieſts of Iſis. By a ſtratagem Paulina is introduced to Mundus. Ide and the prieſts crucified, and the temple of Iſis deſtroyed.*

Standards with Cæſar's image ſet up in Jeruſale

A Body of troops having removed from Cæſarea, to take up their winter quarters in Jeruſalem, Pilate, the governor of Judea, cauſed them to bring a number of ſtandards into the city, on which were the image of Cæſar, in direct contradiction to the laws of the Jews, which expreſsly forbid the uſe of all ſuch emblems and devices: and, for this reaſon, colours with pictures on them had never been brought into the city by any former governor. This general rule was firſt tranſgreſſed by Pilate; and what added to the offence was, that they were brought into the city in the dead of the night, and there ſet up unknown to the inhabitants. In the morning, when the citizens obſerved what had been done, they aſſembled in great numbers, and immediately went to Pilate at Cæſarea, requeſting that the obnoxious images might be removed. They continued ſeveral days, in the hope that Pilate would comply with their requeſt; but he was peremptory in his refuſal, pretending that ſuch a requeſt could not be complied with, as it would be an affront to the emperor.

The Jews ſtill continued importunate in their demands; when, at length, on the ſeventh day of their attendance, Pilate gave directions to a party of ſoldiers to provide themſelves with their arms, and take their ſtation at an appointed place. This being done, he aſcended a tribunal, which he had ordered to be placed in the circus, as a ſpot the moſt convenient from which to ſurprize the people. All this time the Jews thronged about him, urging him to give an anſwer reſpecting the buſineſs that ſo greatly agitated their minds. Hereupon Pilate ordered his ſoldiers to cut the throats all the Jews who ſhould not inſtantly depart. The people proſtrated themſelves upon the earth, and ſtretched out their necks, thereby intimating that they would rather yield up their lives than tranſgreſs the laws of their country. This fortitude had ſuch an effect upon Pilate, that he cauſed the images to be taken down and conveyed back to Cæſaria. Having formed the deſign of removing an aqueduct to Jeruſalem from a ſpot at the diſtance of two hundred furlongs, he demanded money from the royal treaſury, for defraying the expence of the undertaking. This ſo incenſed the people, that ſeveral thouſands of them aſſembled, imagining that their clamourous proceedings might induce Pilate to relinquiſh his project. Among the complainants were many who applied to him the moſt inſulting and opprobrious epithets. Provoked by this circumſtance, Pilate ordered a party of ſoldiers to diſguiſe themſelves as huſbandmen, and, with bludgeons concealed under their garments, to ſurround the multitude. The abuſive language being renewed, Pilate ordered the ſoldiers to attack the people, great numbers of whom being killed or wounded, the reſt diſperſed, and the tumult was appeaſed.

The teſtimony of Joſephus concerning the exiſtence of Jeſus Chriſt.

At this time, a perſon named Jeſus attracted univerſal notice; he was a man of conſummate wiſdom, *if it be not improper to call him a man*. He was eminently diſtinguiſhed for his extraordinary power of working miracles; *and thoſe who were anxious in the diſcovery of truth reſorted to him in vaſt numbers, both of Jews and Gentiles*. Pontius Pilate delivered him up to ſuffer upon the croſs: but thoſe who originally adhered to him, diſdained to abandon his cauſe, when he was under adverſity. Agreeable to the predictions of ſeveral celebrated prophets, *he was ſeen alive on the third day after his crucifixion*. He performed many marvellous acts; and at this day there is a numerous ſect of people called Chriſtians, who acknowledge him as their chief.

irtuous and autiful oman.

Decius Mundus, a young and agreeable Roman knight becoming deſperately enamoured of Paulina, he offered to preſent her with two hundred thouſand drachamas * on condition of ſleeping with her one night. This propoſal being rejected with the indignation it deſerved, his paſſion increaſed to ſo inſupportable a degree, that he formed the reſolution of ſtarving himſelf to death. A freed-woman, named Ide, a ſervant to the father of Mundus, encouraged the youth to hope for the gratification of his deſires, ſaying ſhe believed he might obtain poſſeſſion of Paulina for the ſum of fifty thouſand drachmas. This afforded the higheſt ſatisfaction to Mundus, who depoſited the money in her hands: but reflecting on the extreme reverence Paulina entertained for the goddeſs Iſis, ſhe deviſed the following contrivance: Having aſſembled a number of the prieſts of Iſis, ſhe ſwore them to keep inviolable ſecret what ſhe had to reveal; and the better to inſure their compliance, ſhe gave them twenty-five thouſand drachmas, and promiſed them the ſame ſum when the buſineſs ſhould be compleated: this being a prevailing argument, ſhe related to them the circumſtances of the affair, and warmly ſolicited their interference, to introduce Mundus to the company of Paulina. The temptation was ſo great, that the prieſts had not power to reſiſt it, and promiſed their beſt aſſiſtance; in purſuance of which, the eldeſt of them immediately went to Paulina, and having demanded a private audience, informed her that he waited upon her with a meſſage from the god Anubis, who was violently enamoured of her, and could not refrain from requeſting that ſhe would pay him a viſit. Paulina made the prieſt extremely welcome; and was ſo delighted with the the idea of the great honour that was to be conferred on her, that ſhe could not help mentioning to the ladies of her acquaintance the ſingular regard that was entertained for her by the god Anubis. She recounted the circumſtance to Saturninus her huſband, told him that an appointment was already made, that ſhe ſhould eat and ſleep with the god. The huſband, having experienced the moſt indubitable proofs of the virtue of his wife, was perfectly ſatisfied that the promiſed honour ſhould be conferred upon her.

At the time appointed, Paulina repaired to the temple, and having ſupped there, at the uſual hour of going to repoſe, one of the prieſts locked her in an apartment, where Mundus paſſed the night with her, while ſhe imagined herſelf honoured with the embraces of the god Anubis. Early in the morning, Mundus quitted the temple as preſently after Paulina, who related what had paſſed to her huſband and her female friends. Three days after this adventure, Mundus caſually met the lady, to whom he ſaid, he was indifferent whether ſhe had any eſteem for Mundus, ſince ſhe was not averſe to permit him to gratify his paſſion under the character of Anubis.

---

* Two hundred thouſand drachma's amounted to about five thouſand eight hundred pounds of our money.

Upon diſcovery of the infamous ſtratagem by which ſhe had been defrauded of her chaſtity, Paulina explained the whole of the myſterious tranſaction to her huſband, urging him to procure exemplary puniſhment to be inflicted upon the offenders.

Having ſubmitted a ſtate of the caſe to the emperor Tiberius, Saturninus demanded juſtice to be enforced againſt the delinquents. By the command of Cæſar, the prieſts of Iſis, and Ide, the contriver of the plot, ſuffered death by crucifixion. The temple of Iſis was deſtroyed, and the ſtatue of that deity thrown into the river Tiber. Allowance being made for the force of paſſion in ſo young a man, Mundus was ſentenced to baniſhment.

CHAP. V.

The Jews baniſhed from Rome. Tirathaba beſieged. Pilate defeats the Samaritans. He is ordered to Rome, and ſucceeded by Marcellus.

AT this time there was in Rome a Jew of the moſt infamous character, who had been compelled to leave his country to avoid the rigour of the law. This man, combining with three others of characters equally abandoned, they aſſumed the appearance of rabbies, read publickly on the laws of Moſes, and pretended to expound them. By this conduct they obtained a number of diſciples, among the reſt a woman named Fulvia, a perſon of honour and character, and inclined to the profeſſion of Judaiſm. Fulvia having altogether ſubmitted to the authority and diſcipline of theſe men, they prevailed on her to entruſt them with oblations of gold and purple for the uſe of the holy temple of Jeruſalem; but as often as they received her bounty, they converted it to their own uſe. Now this abuſive practice coming to the knowledge of Fulvia, the wife of Saturninus, ſhe prevailed on her huſband to make the affair known to Tiberius; in conſequence of which the emperor iſſued orders that all the Jews ſhould immediately leave the city. Of theſe, four thouſand were entered upon the conſul's roll, to ſerve as ſoldiers, and ſent into Sardinia; excluſive of whom there were great numbers who refuſed to bear arms, on account of their religion; and theſe were puniſhed by a variety of torments, and then baniſhed; the whole body of the Jews ſuffering on account of four men of flagitious principles.

The Jews baniſhed from Rome.

Nor were the Samaritans, at this time, without their ſhare of misfortunes. It happened that there was a notorious impoſtor among theſe people, who by the moſt ridiculous ſtories, and extravagant falſities frequently aſſembled a croud about him. This man told the multitude that if they would meet him at Mount Garizim, he would give them a ſight of the holy veſſels, Moſes had buried in that place many ages ago. Such was the credulity of theſe ignorant people, that great numbers of them aſſembled in arms, and beſieged Tirathaba, expecting others to join and accompany them to the ſummit of the mountain. But receiving intelligence of their proceedings, Pilate, with an army of cavalry and infantry, took poſſeſſion of the mountain, from whence he ſallied upon the people aſſembled near the village, committing great ſlaughter among them, and taking a number of priſoners. Of the captives he cauſed thoſe to be beheaded who were moſt diſtinguiſhed for their rank in life, or influence over the multitude.

Pilate rou he Samaritans.

Soon after the above victory, the principal people among the Samaritans applied to Vitellius, the conſul, the governor of Syria, complaining of the conduct of Pilate, and accuſing him of having been guilty of murder. They alledged that the people lately aſſembled at Tirathaba, entertained not any idea of a defection from the authority of the Roman empire, their whole view being to ſeek refuge from the tyranny of Pilate. Upon this, Vitellius directed that his friend Marcellus ſhould aſſume the government of Judea, and that Pilate ſhould go to Rome, there to anſwer before the emperor to the accuſations exhibited againſt him. While Pilate was preparing to depart for Rome, the emperor Tiberius died.

CHAP. VI.

Vitellius acts favourably towards the Jews. Hyrcanus builds the caſtle of Antonia. Artabanus is betrayed; but he recovers his kingdom. The death of Philip.

UPON the approach of the feaſt of the paſſover, Vitellius departed into Judea, and on his arrival in Jeruſalem, he was there received with all the honours due to his exalted rank. He exonerated the people from the payment of all duties upon fruits, and reſtored to them the privilege of keeping the pontifical veſtments in the temple.

Hyrcanus, the firſt high-prieſt of that name, having erected a caſtle adjacent to the temple, he chiefly reſided in that building, where he kept the pontifical robes and ornaments, which no one was permitted to uſe but himſelf. Upon his acceſſion to the throne, Herod was ſo pleaſed with the ſituation of this caſtle, as well as with the ſtrength and beauty of the building, that he improved it at a very conſiderable expence, giving it the name of Antonia, in honour his friend Antony. In this place Herod found the ſacred veſtments, and there cauſed them to be kept, ſuppoſing that while thoſe articles were in his poſſeſſion the Jews would be more eaſily kept in obedience. From the ſame motive Archelaus, his ſon and ſucceſſor, acted in a ſimilar manner; as did the Romans, after the kingdom was reduced to a province. The pontifical garments were placed in a cabinet made purpoſely for their reception, and ſecured under the ſeals of the prieſts, and the keepers of the holy treaſury, before which the governor of the caſtle was commanded to keep a lamp conſtantly burning. The holy ſtole was delivered by the governor of the caſtle to the high-prieſt on the ſeventh day preceding each of the three ſolemn annual feſtivals; and the latter having cauſed them to be made perfectly clean, wore them while in the diſcharge of his official duty, returning them the next day to the place from whence they had been taken: and the ſame was conſtantly done on occaſion of the ſolemn faſt.

It was the pleaſure of Vitellius to diſcharge the governor of the caſtle from the care of the pontifical habits, and, with a view of favouring the Jews, to commit them to the cuſtody of the prieſts, who had been the ancient keepers of them. Not long after this, he deprived Joſeph, called Caiaphas, of the office of high-prieſt, and beſtowed it on Jonathan, the ſon of the high-prieſt Ananus; and then departed for Antioch.

Jonathan ſucceeds Caiaphas.

About this time Vitellius received letters from Tiberius, directing him to make a league with Artabanus; for he was apprehenſive that the empire might be endangered, if the latter ſhould make a conqueſt of Armenia: but Vitellius was directed not to ratify the league, unleſs one of the ſons of the king was delivered as an hoſtage. Hereupon Vitellius offered conſiderable ſums of money to the kings of Iberia and Alania, on condition of their immediately engaging in a war with Artabanus. The people of Iberia could not be induced to lend any father aſſiſtance to this plan, than to admit the Alanians to a free paſſage through their city, that they might paſs by the Caſpian mountains, and thus obtain eaſy admiſſion into the kingdom of Artabanus.

This inroad occaſioned the loſs of Armenia to the Parthians; and this was followed by ſo violent an incurſion into their own country, that moſt of their nobility were deſtroyed, together with the ſon of their king, and ſuch multitudes of the common people, that the land was in a great degree depopulated. By this time Artabanus diſcovered that he was betrayed by thoſe in whom he placed the greateſt confidence and that Vitellius by means of bribes, had induced his friends and relations to join in a plot for his deſtruction; and therefore he privately retreated to the interior provinces, where he met a friendly reception. Being preſently re-inforced by a powerful army of the Dahi and Saci, he was enabled not only to ſubdue his enemies, but alſo to recover his kingdom.

Artabanus recovers his kingdom.

In conſequence of a propoſition made by Tiberius for contracting an alliance, Artabanus and Vitellius, each attended by his guards, met on the middle of a bridge over the Euphrates, in order to ſettle terms of accommodation. The treaty being concluded Herod gave the contracting parties a ſplendid entertainment, in a tent erected at a great expence upon the ſame river. Not long after Artabanus ſent his ſon Darius as an hoſtage to Tiberius, together with various preſents, among which was a Jew named Eleazar, commonly called the giant, being of the extraordinary height of ſeven cubits. Artabanus now returned to Babylon, as did Vitellius to Antioch.

Herod loſt no time in tranſmitting a circumſtantial account in regard to the hoſtages to Tiberius, who a ſhort time after received intelligence of the ſame kind from Vitellius, to whom he returned a conciſe anſwer, that he had communicated nothing new; for Herod had already appriſed him of the particulars mentioned in his diſpatches. This anticipation was highly diſpleaſing to Vitellius, who, however, concealed his reſentment till Caius ſucceeded to the government.

Philip the brother of Herod, dies.

At this time, when Tiberius was in the twentieth year of his reign, died Philip, the brother of Herod, after having exerciſed the office of tetrarch of Trachonitis, Gaulanites, and Batania for the ſpace of thirty-ſeven years. He was a man by no means addicted to abuſe the authority with which he was inveſted, but always deſirous of maintaining public tranquillity; and he ſpent his whole life within the diſtricts over which he was appointed to preſide. When he quitted his own houſe, which was but ſeldom, he was accompanied by a few ſelect friends, and followed by a chair, which he occaſionally made uſe of as a ſeat of juſtice, it being his cuſtom, when appealed to on judicial caſes on the road, to pronounce deciſions immediately, according to the evidence produced,

produced. He died at Julias, and his remains were depoſited with great pomp in a ſepulchre which he had cauſed to be erected for their reception. Simon leaving no iſſue, the emperor decreed that his eſtates ſhould be annexed to Syria, conditionally, however, that the tributes formerly raiſed in the tetrarchy ſhould be ſtill continued.

CHAP. VII.

A war between Herod and Aretas. Herod, being in love with Herodias, propoſes to diſmiſs his wife. Herod ſubdued in battle. The death of St. John the Baptiſt. Theophilus advanced to the office of high-prieſt. Allegiance ſworn to Caius Caligula. Particulars of the family of Herod the Great.

HEROD the tetrach, who had been ſome time married to the daughter of Aretas, being called upon buſineſs to Rome, in his way thither he viſited Herod, his brother-in-law, the ſon of the daughter of Simon, the high-prieſt. While upon this viſit, he conceived a ſtrong affection for Herodias, the wife of his brother, and daughter of their brother Ariſtobulus, ſhe being alſo ſiſter to Agrippa, who was afterwards king. Such was the force of his paſſion, that he offered to marry her, and diſmiſs the daughter of Aretas, to whom he was already eſpouſed; and Herodias accepted his propoſal.

This contract being made, he proceeded to Rome, and having diſpatched his buſineſs there, returned to his uſual place of reſidence. In the interim, his wife being informed of the overtures he had made to Herodias, upon his return, ſhe requeſted his permiſſion to paſs a ſhort time at Macherus, a caſtle on the borders of the dominions of Aretas. He readily conſented, not ſuſpecting the motive for her requeſt. Macherus being a place under the dominion of her father, every preparation was made for the continuation of her journey. Upon her arrival, the governor provided her with Arabian guards, who eſcorted her to her father's palace, where ſhe related the circumſtance of her huſband's amour.

Herod defeated by Aretas.

A diſagreement already ſubſiſted between Aretas and Herod, reſpecting the boundaries of ſome lands in Gamala, and the armies were already drawn up in the field, in order to bring the conteſt to an iſſue. The information given by his daughter was ſo provoking to Aretas, that he determined to come to an immediate engagement; and the armies meeting Herod's party was entirely defeated: but this diſcomfiture was principally owing to the treachery of ſome deſerters from Philip, that Herod had taken into pay. Herod diſpatched an account of the above miſfortune to Tiberius, who was ſo enraged at the conduct of Aretas, that he directed Vitellius to make war againſt him, and either to ſend his head, or bring him a priſoner to Rome.

An opinion generally prevailed among the Jews, that the defeat of his army was a judgment upon him for the barbarous murder of John, ſirnamed the Baptiſt. That truly excellent man had not committed any crime. His cuſtom was to exhort the Jews to the love and practice of every virtue; recommending them to regulate their lives by the rules of piety and juſtice; urging the neceſſity of regeneration by baptiſm and a new life; and inſiſting that it was not by abſtaining from any particular vice, but by a conſtant and uniform courſe of goodneſs, that the benefit of ſuch regeneration was to be acquired.

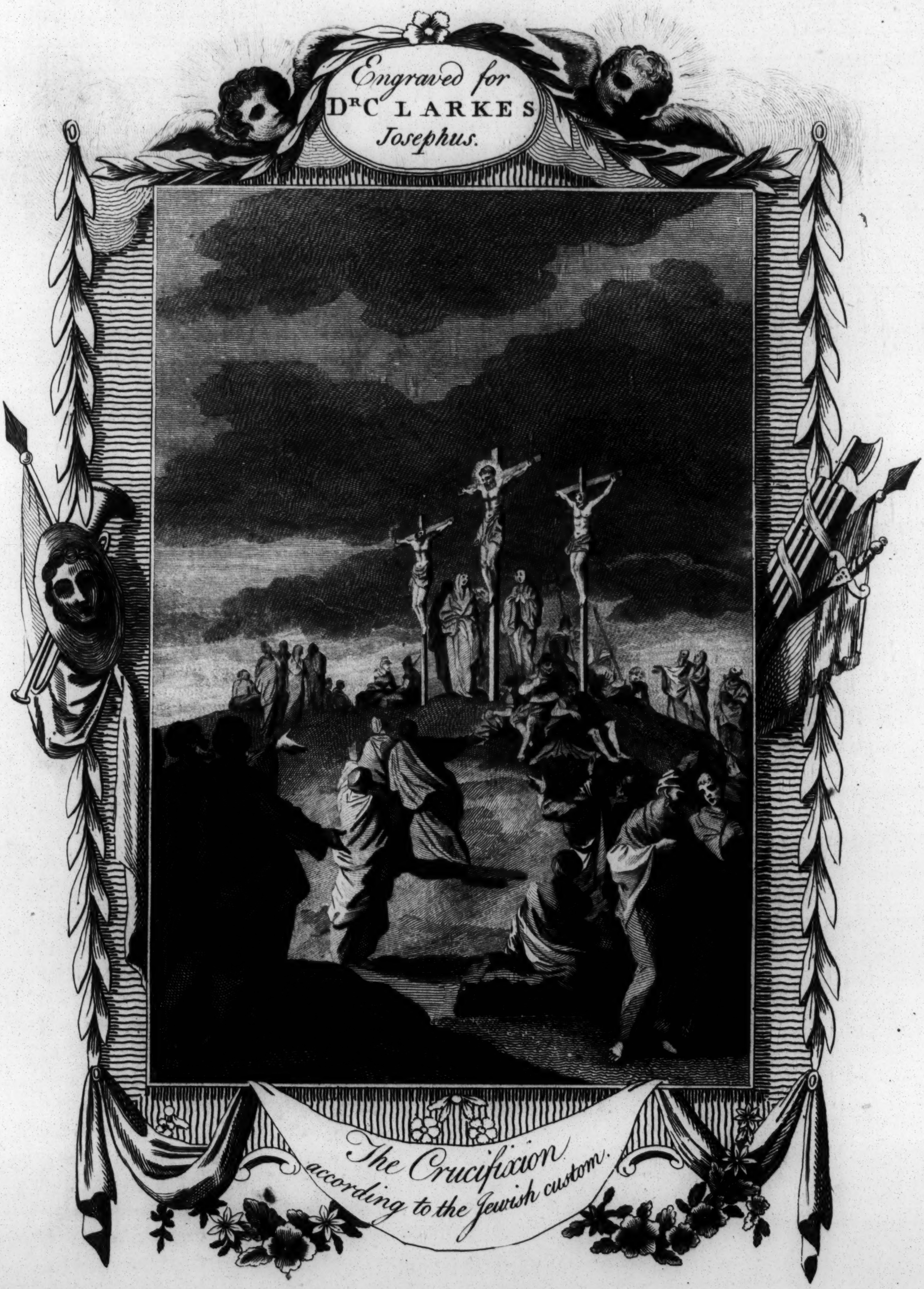
By the holineſs of his life, the baptiſt had acquired great reputation and influence among the people; and his diſciples were extremely numerous. Such was the authority of this holy man, as to excite the jealouſy of Herod, who knew that, if he was ſo diſpoſed, he might with little difficulty foment an inſurrection. To guard againſt danger from the baptiſt, Herod ſent him a priſoner to Macherus, with orders that he ſhould be there put to death, which was accordingly done. It ſeems not to have been without reaſon that the Jews imagined Herod's overthrow to be a puniſhment from Heaven for his impious murder of this holy man.

St. John th Baptiſt put death by th order of Herod.

In preparation for a war in Arabia, Vitellius was now on his march towards Petra, at the head of two legions of horſe and foot, and the auxiliaries of the Roman allies. He marched to Ptolemais, with a deſign of croſſing Judea; but the principal people among the Jews in that quarter repreſented to him, that the images in the Roman colours were offenſive to the religion and laws of the Jews, and therefore ſoliciting that he would purſue a different courſe. In compliance with this application, Vitellius directed his army to proceed by the way of the great plain: and in the mean time, accompanied by Herod, the tetrarch, and ſeveral other friends, he departed for Jeruſalem, to perform public worſhip, on occaſion of an approaching ſolemn feſtival. While at Jeruſalem, where he was treated with every poſſible mark of reſpect and honour, he depoſed Jonathan from the office of high-prieſt, and advanced his brother Theophilus to that dignity. Upon the fourth day, he received news of the death of Tiberius, wherefore he cauſed the people to ſwear allegiance to Caius Caligula, as the ſucceſſor

Theophilu conſtituted high-prieſt.

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
D^r C L A R K E S
Josephus.

The Crucifixion according to the Jewish custom.

Publish'd as the Act directs July 28; 1786, by John Walker, Paternoster Row.

of the deceaſed emperor. On account of this change in the government, Vitellius recalled his troops, and having ordered them into winter quarters, returned to Antioch.

A tradition is current, that Aretas conſulted ſoothſayers and wizards as to what would be the iſſue of the expedition by Vitellius, and that the ſubſtance of the reply was, that the army then on march ſhould not arrive at Petra; for that either one of the princes, the general of the troops, the deputy in command, or the perſon againſt whom the war was intended, would ſoon die.

At this period Agrippa, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, had been at Rome about a year, having matters of great importance to tranſact with Cæſar. But before I ſay any thing farther of him, it will be proper to mention ſomething with regard to Herod and his family; ſince in them are exhibited a ſingular inſtance of the wiſdom and power of the Providence of God. In the caſe of Herod we ſhall ſee that having a numerous family, the poſſeſſion of a ſplendid fortune, with royal power and dignity, are of no avail, without the more valuable poſſeſſions of piety and juſtice; ſince, there were ſcarcely any remains of the very large family of Herod in the ſpace of a hundred years. This conſideration is ſufficient to humble the pride of the arrogant, and to raiſe the contemplation of the virtuous man, on the wonderful advancement of Agrippa, who from a private ſtation, contrary to all human expectation, was raiſed to a degree of power ſo very extraordinary.

Particulars of the family of Herod.

Of this ſubject I have already ſpoken in general terms; but I ſhall now recount particulars. By Mariamne, the daughter of Hyrcanus, Herod the Great had two daughters, one of whom, named Salampſo, was married to Phaſael, the ſon of Phaſael, elder brother to the king, by the conſent of the father. The name of the other daughter was Cypros, and ſhe was married to Antipater, Herod's nephew, by his ſiſter Salome.

Salampſo had five children by Phaſael, three ſons, namely, Antipater, Herod and Alexander, and two daughters, Alexandra and Cypros; the former daughter married Timius, a nobleman of the iſle of Cyprus, and died childleſs; and latter the was eſpouſed to Agrippa, the ſon of Ariſtobulus. Cypros bore to Agrippa two ſons and three daughters. The ſons were named Agrippa and Druſus, the laſt of whom died while he was under age: and the daughters were called Berenice, Mariamne, and Druſilla. Agrippa the father was educated under the care of his grandfather Herod the Great, as were likewiſe Herod and Ariſtobulus, and alſo Bernice, who was the daughter of Salome and Coſtabarus. At this time the children of Ariſtobulus were infants, when their father and his brother Alexander were put the death, by the command of Herod. On their advancement to years of maturity, Herod, the brother of Agrippa, wedded Mariamne, the daughter of Olympias, daughter of king Herod, and Joſeph the brother of Herod; and of this marriage Ariſtobulus was born. Ariſtobulus, Agrippa's third brother, was married to Jotape, the daughter of Sampſigeram, king of Emeſenes; and by her he had a daughter, born deaf, who received the name of her mother. The above is a liſt of the children of the three brothers. Their ſiſter, Herodias, was married to Herod, the ſon of Herod the Great, by his wife Mariamne, the daughter of Simon, the high-prieſt; and of this marriage was born Salome; but after her birth Herodias, in defiance of all the laws of honour and conſcience, did not heſitate to take for her ſecond huſband, Herod the tetrarch of Galilee, though ſhe was wife to his brother by the father's ſide, and had likewiſe a former huſband living at the time of this ſecond marriage. The daughter, Salome, was married to Philip, the ſon of Herod, the tetrarch of Trachonitis, who died without iſſue: after which ſhe was married to Ariſtobulus, the ſon of Herod; and of this marriage were born the three ſons Herod, Agrippa, and Ariſtobulus. Thus much with regard to the family of Phaſael and Salampſo.

To Antipater, Cypros bore a daughter which took her own name, and ſhe was married to Alexas Selcius, the ſon of Alexas, by whom he had one daughter likewiſe named Cypros. Herod and Alexander, the brothers of Antipater, died without children. Alexander, the ſon of Herod the king, (who was put to death by his father) had two children, named Alexander and Tigranes, by Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.

The above-named Tigranes died without iſſue: he was king of Armenia, and had an accuſation brought againſt him by the Romans. Alexander had likewiſe a ſon named Tigranes, after his uncle, who was promoted by Nero to be king of Armenia. He had alſo a ſon named Alexander, who was married to Jotape, daughter of Antiochus, king of Comagena, and was advanced by Veſpaſian to the dignity of king of Leſis in Gilitia. The family of Alexander ſoon departed from the laws and cuſtoms of the Jews, and embraced thoſe of the Greeks. There were no children left by the reſt of the daughters of Herod the Great. Thus having given an account of the poſterity of this prince, down to the reign of Agrippa, I ſhall now recount the hiſtory of Agrippa himſelf, together with that variety of providential incidents, which, in the end, advanced him to ſo diſtinguiſhed a ſtation.

CHAP. VIII.

The various fortunes of Agrippa. The death of Tiberius, who is ſucceeded by Caius. Character of the deceaſed. Caius Cæſar orders Agrippa to be releaſed. The remains of Tiberius carried to Rome, and ſumptuouſly interred. Agrippa crowned. Marcellus appointed governor of Judea.

Agrippa's extravagancy involves him in diſtreſs.

SOME ſmall time previous to the death of Herod the Great, Agrippa reſiding at Rome, and being often in the family of the emperor, became a very great favourite of his ſon Druſus, and alſo obtained the good opinion of Antonia, the wife of the elder Druſus, through the intereſt of his mother Berenice, for whom Antonia had a moſt particular eſteem. Agrippa was by nature rather inclined to extravagance; but during the life of his mother, he reſtrained himſelf within ſome reaſonable bounds: her death at length making him maſter of his own conduct, he gave expenſive treats, and made profuſe and coſtly preſents, particularly to the dependants and domeſtics of the court, where he hoped to raiſe his fortune. By theſe means he involved himſelf in debt to ſuch a degree, that he could no longer appear at Rome: beſides, at this time, Tiberius having the misfortune to loſe his ſon, he could not now endure the ſight of any of the favourites of Druſus, leſt he ſhould be reminded of the loſs he had ſuſtained.

Agrippa having thus ſquandered his money, and ruined his reputation, he returned to Judea; and when there, ſeeing no hope of retrieving his fortune, and bluſhing for the folly he had been guilty of, he retreated to Malta, a caſtle in Idumea, with an intention there to put an end to his exiſtence. Cypros obſerving the deſponding humour of her huſband, and that his melancholy ſeemed to forbode fatal conſequences, exerted her utmoſt endeavours to prevent the misfortune ſhe dreaded, and wrote to her ſiſter Herodias a circumſtantial account of her calamitous ſituation; urging her, by all the ties of honour and conſanguinity, to afford her huſband ſome immediate relief.

Herodias was ſo affected by this repreſentation, that ſhe joined her huſband in a meſſage, deſiring Agrippa to attend them, and they gave him a penſion with the government of Tiberias, for his immediate ſupport. But Herod did not long continue in this generous diſpoſition; nor was Agrippa very well contented with his preſent ſituation. Being inflamed with liquor at an entertainment at Tyre, Herod reflected upon Agrippa on account of his poverty, and inſinuated that he had been an object of his bounty. Unable to brook this inſult, Agrippa quitted Tyre, and went upon a viſit to Flaccus, with whom he had lived upon terms of intimacy and friendſhip at Rome, and who was then governor of Syria. He was received in the moſt friendly and hoſpitable manner by Flaccus, to whom Ariſtobulus, the brother of Agrippa, was then a viſitor. An enmity ſubſiſted between the brothers: but Flaccus behaved to both with much kindneſs and civility. Such was the malice of Ariſtobulus, that he determined to impreſs Flaccus with an unfavourable opinion of his brother.

A diſagreement prevailing between the inhabitants of Damaſcus and thoſe of Sidon, reſpecting the boundaries of their lands, by mutual conſent Flaccus was nominated to determine the conteſt. In conſequence of receiving a ſum of money from the people of Damaſcus, Agrippa engaged to exert his influence with Flaccus in their behalf. Diſcovering that his brother had accepted a bribe, Ariſtobulus communicated the circumſtance to Flaccus, who upon enquiry, found the accuſation to be true, and therefore withdrew his favour and protection from Agrippa. Returning to Ptolemais, Agrippa was ſo diſtreſſed as to be in want of the common neceſſaries of life; and he now reſolved to go to Rome. He directed Marſyas, his freed-man, to make enquiry for ſome broker, or uſurer, to advance him a ſum of money for preſent uſe. Marſyas applied to Pontus, a freed-man, whoſe patroneſs Berenice had by her will recommended him to the ſervice of Antonia, propoſing to borrow a ſum of him on the ſecuity of Agrippa's bond. Pontus at firſt declined a compliance, ſaying, that Agrippa was already indebted to him; but he was at length, prevailed upon to accept a bond for[*] twenty thouſand Attic drachmas, in exchange for which he advanced only ſeventeen thouſand five hundred pieces, retaining the other[†] two thouſand five hundred as procuration money; and Agrippa's diſtreſſed ſituation

Flaccus withdraws his friendſhip from Agripp compelled him to ſubmit to this extortion. Upon receiving the money, Agrippa proceeded to Anthedon, and prepared to embark, when this deſign coming to the knowledge of Herennius Capito, the procurator of Jamnia, he diſpatched a party of ſoldiers to demand of him the payment of three hundred thouſand pieces of ſilver which he had borrowed of the king's treaſury when he was at Rome. This demand occaſioned ſome delay: but Agrippa amuſed the ſoldiers with fair promiſes; and at night he cut the cable of his veſſel, and ſailed to ſea, directing his courſe towards Alexandria. On his arrival in that city, he requeſted Alexander, the principal officer of the revenue, to lend him two hundred thouſand pieces on his bond. Alexander replied, that he had not ſufficient confidence in his integrity to advance the money on the ſecurity propoſed; adding, that, ſince his wife appeared to be a woman of an amiable diſpoſition, if ſhe would become bound for the payment, he would make the loan. Cypros having given her ſecurity, Alexander delivered ‡ five talents to Agrippa, and gave him letters of credit for receiving the reſt at Puteoli; for he was apprehenſive that if he had the whole ſum in his poſſeſſion at once, he might apply it to improper purpoſes. After ineffectually endeavouring to perſuade her huſband to decline purſuing his journey, Cypros and her children returned over land into Judea.

---

[*] Suppoſing the Attic drachma to be worth ſeven pence three farthings of our money, which is the higheſt value put upon it by any author of note; twenty thouſand muſt amount to ſix hundred forty five pounds, ſixteen ſhillings and eight pence.

[†] And two thouſand five hundred to eighty pounds, fourteen ſhillings and ſeven pence of our money.

When Agrippa arrived at Puteoli, he ſent a letter to Tiberius Cæſar, who was then at Capreæ, informing him that he had come ſo far to pay his humble reſpects to him, and requeſting his permiſſion to viſit him. Tiberius ſent him an anſwer ſignifying that he ſhould be happy to ſee him. Tiberius received him with open arms, and welcomed him to the palace, where he entertained him in the moſt generous and hoſpitable manner. On the following day letters to Tiberius arrived from Herennius Capito, complaining of the conduct of Agrippa, and ſtating, that when he demanded payment of a bond for three hundred thouſand pieces which had been long ſince due to the emperor, he departed in a ſecret manner, ſo that the money would probably be loſt.

This conduct was ſo highly offenſive to Tiberius, that he commanded the officers of his bed-chamber not to admit Agrippa into his preſence, till the debt was diſcharged. Agrippa did not ſeem to remark the diſpleaſure of the emperor, but immediately applied to Antonia, mother of Germanius and Claudius, who was afterwards advanced to the ſovereign power, and related to her his diſtreſſes, ſaying he was likely to loſe the favour of the emperor, for want of three hundred thouſand pieces, when ſhe lent him the money, in honour of the memory of Berenice, and the mutual friendſhip they had entertained for each other; excluſive of which, Agrippa had been the companion and play fellow of her ſon Claudius, almoſt from his earlieſt infancy. Having received this money, he diſcharged his debt, and was reinſtated in the favour of Tiberius. This conduct had ſuch an effect on the emperor, that he committed his grandſon, Tiberius Nero, the ſon of Druſus, to the care and government of Agrippa, requeſting that he would be conſtantly in his company, and regulate his whole conduct. Agrippa, however, had ſo ſtrong an idea of his obligations to Antonia, that he paid his principal attention and reſpect to her grandſon Caius, for whom the people in general had the higheſt eſteem, not only on account of his own merits, but from the reverence they entertained for the memory of his father Germanicus. A native of Samaria, one of Cæſar's freed-men, lent Agrippa a million of pieces, part of which he employed in diſcharging his debt to Antonia, and diſpoſed of the reſt in defraying the expences accruing from his attendance upon Caius, with whom he lived upon terms of uninterrupted confidence and friendſhip.

Agrippa made governor to the emperor's grandſon.

While Caius and Agrippa were riding in a chariot, Tiberius became the ſubject of their converſation, when Agrippa exclaimed, "I wiſh from my heart, it were the pleaſure of Heaven that Caius were in his place." Eutychus, a freed-man of Agrippa, who was driving the carriage, overheard the above expreſſion; of which, however, he took no notice for the preſent. A ſhort time afterwards, Eutychus was accuſed of ſtealing ſome wearing apparel, the property of his patron, and being taken before Piſo, the governor of the place, he was aſked the cauſe of his abſconding from his maſter's ſervice. He replied, that the life of Tiberius being in danger, he was going to make a diſcovery of the conſpiracy. After making this declaration he was ſent in

Eutychus hears Agrippa pronounce dangerous words.

---

‡ Admitting the talents here meant to be the common Egyptain ones, one of them, according to Calmet, weighed ſeventy ſix pounds, ten pennyweights; five therefore muſt weigh three hundred and eighty pounds, two ounces, ten pennyweight; the value of which in ſilver, amounted to one thouſand one hundred and forty pounds, twelve ſhillings and ſix pence: but if the Alexandrian, which is more probable, are underſtood, one of them weighing ninety one pounds, fifteen pennyweights, five muſt weigh four hundred and fifty pounds, three ounces fifteen pennyweights; and their value in ſilver, reckoning ſilver at five ſhillings perounce, amounts to one thouſand three hundred and ſixty-five pounds eighteen ſhillings and nine pence.

in bonds to Capreæ, where Tiberius kept him in chains. In affairs of ſtate the emperor was remarkably dilatory. Ambaſſadors could not obtain audience of him without much delay; and when he was aſked the reaſon for this, he was accuſtomed to addreſs his friends in the following manner:

“If I were eaſy of acceſs, I ſhould be perpetually embarraſſed in receiving and diſmiſſing ambaſſadors. It is more prudent to retain people in public employments, than to make frequent changes; for avarice is the vice of magiſtrates; and thoſe who conſider themſelves as holding offices during their good behaviour, are leſs likely to be rapacious, than ſuch as expect a ſpeedy diſmiſſion. To illuſtrate what I have ſaid, I will repeat an ancient fable. A wounded man laying by the ſide of the road, was tormented by a great number of flies, when a humane paſſenger offering to drive the creatures from him, he deſired it might by no means be done; for the flies whoſe hunger was appeaſed did not give him near the tormen, he ſhould ſuffer if a new and more ravenous ſwarm ſhould ſettle upon his wounds. This is a caſe preciſely ſimilar to that of ſubjects with reſpect to newly appointed ambaſſadors; for the latter are be conſidered as freſh flies impatient to ſuck the blood of the people.”

During a reign of twenty-two years, Gratus and his ſucceſſor Pilate were the only governors appointed by Tiberius over Judea; and he acted in the ſame manner in reſpect the to ſeveral other parts of the empire. He was accuſtomed to delay the trials of priſoners, and to ſay that his reaſon for ſo acting was a conſciouſneſs that protracted puniſhment was worſe than death.

Upon the removal of the emperor from Capreæ to Tuſculanum, diſtant only one hundred furlongs from Rome, Agrippa requeſted Antonia to ſolicit that Eutychus might be examined. Now Tiberius entertained a ſingular reſpect for Antonia, partly on account of affinity, for ſhe was his ſiſter-in-law, and the widow of Druſus, and partly for her ſteady virtue, in refuſing a ſecond marriage, in the prime of her life, to which ſhe had been earneſtly preſſed by Auguſtus himſelf. Excluſive of the above conſiderations, Tiberius was under perſonal obligations to Antonia, which he could not forget; ſince her wiſdom, fidelity, and diligence, had ſaved his life from the deſperate machinations of Sejanus. This man was poſſeſſed of great power and credit, a captain of the guards, and had engaged in the conſpiracy a number of the moſt eminent ſenators, many of Cæſar's freed-men, ſeveral of the favourites at court, and ſome of the military officers. The eſcape, therefore, of Tiberius was rather extraordinary, and the effects of the treaſonable intention were evidently defeated by the reſolute induſtry of Antonia; for no ſooner was ſhe informed of the horrid intention, than ſhe wrote a narrative of all the particulars of the plot as they came to her knowlege, and ſent them, from time to time, to Tiberius at Capreæ, by the hands of Pallas, who was a confidential ſervant of the emperor: and in conſequence of this diſcovery, Sejanus and his accomplices received the reward due to their demerits.

Sejanus an other conſpirators puniſhed.

It may be preſumed that if Antonia's merit was great with Tiberius, before ſhe had rendered him this piece of ſervice, it was much greater afterwards: ſo that when, at the requeſt of Agrippa, ſhe had repeatedly urged to the emperor to hear the charge againſt Eutychus, he could not refuſe to comply; but he addreſſed her to the following purport: “If this man has reported falſehoods reſpecting Agrippa, he has already been ſufficiently puniſhed in the length of his impriſonment: but let Agrippa beware how he proſecutes this matter with too great a degree of rigour, leſt on a clear inveſtigation of the affair, the puniſhment he intends for Eutychus ſhould fall on his own head.” Antonia reported the contents of this ſpeech to Agrippa; but the more earneſt ſhe was in adviſing him to decline all farther thoughts of the proſecution, the more reſolved he ſeemed to have the matter determined by a full examination.

Finding Agrippa could not be prevailed with to purſue her advice, while the emperor was paſſing by in a chair, preceeded by Caius and Agrippa, Antonia addreſſed him, ſoliciting that Eutychus might be brought to an immediate examination. Upon this, Tiberius ſaid, “I appeal to Heaven, that what I am about to conſent to is contrary to my inclination, and merely in compliance with your urgent requeſt.” He then directed Macro, the ſucceſſor of Sejanus as captain of the guards, to order Eutychus into his preſence.

Being aſked by the emperor what he had to advance againſt his patron, to whoſe bounty he was indebted for his freedom, the priſoner ſaid, while ſitting at the feet of Caius and Agrippa, and driving them in a chariot, he heard the latter declare he devoutly wiſhed Tiberius was dead, and Caius upon the throne, in which caſe the the emperor's grand-ſon, Tiberius, might be eaſily diſpoſed of, and he might himſelf reaſonably expect to derive conſiderable advantage from the revolution. Hereupon, turning to Macro, the emperor ſaid “put him in chains.” Not knowing who was meant

Agrippa a cuſed of tr ſonable words.

n impri-

meant to be made a priſoner; Macro heſitated; and in the mean time the emperor walked about in the Circus, where obſerving that Agrippa was ſtill at liberty, he demanded why his orders were not obeyed. Upon Macro ſaying he did not underſtand to whom his orders were applied, the emperor ſaid he meant Agrippa. His earneſt ſupplications for pardon had no effect, and habited as he was in his robes of honour, he was hurried to priſon. The weather was remarkably ſultry, and Agrippa labouring under a moſt intenſe thirſt, when obſerving a ſervant to Caius, named Thaumaſtus, with a pitcher of water in his hand, he requeſted a draught of it. The man readily complied; and when Agrippa had ſatisfied his thirſt, in gratitude for the relief he had received, he pledged his honour that when he ſhould have overcome his preſent difficulties, he would employ his utmoſt intereſt with Caius for procuring Thaumaſtus to be reſtored to liberty. This promiſe he fulfilled: for upon his advancement to the throne, he requeſted Caius to make him a preſent of Thaumaſtus, which being done, he gave him his freedom, entruſting to him the management of his eſtate, and other affairs of importance. Finding the time of his death approach, Agrippa recommended him to the protection of his ſon Agrippa and Bereníce, his daughter, adviſing them to continue Thaumaſtus in his preſent employments, which they accordingly did; and he acquitted himſelf with unblemiſhed integrity in all the truſts repoſed in him.

owl
ches over
grippa's
d.

The predic-
on of a Ger-
an.

While Agrippa was ſtanding, bound with chains, with other priſoners before the palace, leaning in a melancholy manner againſt a tree, an owl perched thereon; which being obſerved by a German priſoner, he aſked a ſoldier who was the perſon dreſſed in purple? and being told that he was a Jew of the firſt diſtinction, he begged the ſoldier to let him approach him, for he wiſhed to know ſome things reſpecting his country. This requeſt being complied with, and an interpreter allowed, the German addreſſed Agrippa; admoniſhing him not to deſpond, since he would not only ſurmount the difficulties in which he was embarraſſed, but aſſuredly attain to the ſummit of honour and power, and leave iſſue that ſhould ſucceed to thoſe advantages. He ſaid, that when Agrippa ſhould again behold the bird that was then perched on the tree, he would have but five days to live. He ſaid he was commiſſioned by Heaven to give him this information; and concluded with reqeſting, that when he ſhould come into proſperity, he would not neglect to give liberty to thoſe who were now his fellow priſoners. Agrippa treated this prediction with contempt.

Through the intereſt of Antonia, Agrippa's confinement made eaſy.

Antonia was uneaſy on account of the ſufferings of her friend Agrippa, but ſhe made no interceſſion in his favour to the emperor, knowing him to be inflexibly perſevering in all his reſolutions. But by an application to Macro, ſhe procured him to be attended by ſoldiers of a humane diſpoſition, and alſo to ſit at table with the officer under whoſe care he was placed, to make uſe of the bath every day, and to receive viſits from his friends and freemen. His friend Silas, and Marſyas and Stychus, his two freemen, conſtantly ſupplied him with ſuch food as was moſt agreeable to his palate, and under pretence of carrying blankets into the priſon for ſale, they ſupplied him with thoſe articles for his accommodation in the night. In conſequence of the hints received from Macro, the ſoldiers oppoſed not any reaſonable indulgencies intended to be allowed Agrippa.

Six month's after the time of Agrippa's commitment to priſon, Tiberius, while on his return from Capreæ, was ſeized with an indiſpoſition, which increaſed till his recovery was deſpaired of; and when in this hopeleſs ſituation, he directed Evodus, his favourite freeman, to bring his children to him early the next morning. The children here alluded to are thoſe he adopted. Druſus, his only ſon was dead; but Tiberius, the ſon of Druſus was living, as was Caius, the ſon of his brother Germanicus, he having arrived to years of maturity, and being much diſtinguiſhed by his literary attainments, and other qualifications. Caius had gained a high place in the eſteem of the people on the ſcore of his own merits, and their partiality in his favour was increaſed by their veneration for the memory of his truly excellent father; and the ſoldiers in particular were willing to devote their lives to his ſervice.

While waiting for the attendance of his adopted ſons, Tiberius prayed to the deities of his country that he might be directed by ſome particular ſignal, which of the two youths he ſhould appoint his ſucceſſor, ſecretly wiſhing, however, that the omen might be in favour of Tiberius. Having reſolved that the adopted ſon who ſhould firſt attend him the next morning ſhould ſucceed him in the government, he directed the tutor of Tiberius to bring the youth into his preſence by break of day. Upon the appearance of day-light, the emperor directed Evodus to ſee if the princes were waiting for admiſſion into the palace, and to introduce into his apartment the firſt of them he ſhould meet. Meeting with Caius, Evodus immediately conducted him into the preſence of Cæſar. Unappriſed of the emperor's intention in his favour, Tiberius ſuffered the appointed hour to elapſe, by waiting for his breakfaſt.

The emperor was aſtoniſhed when Caius entered the room, and chagrined that providence had defeated his deſign in the diſpoſal of the government. Nor did he deem the preſent diſappointment of his expectations the worſt circumſtance attending the affair; for he did not conſider the loſs of the empire of equal conſequence with the perſonal ſafety of his grandchild.

Tiberius paid great reſpect to the predictions of wizards, judicial aſtrologers, and other people of like deſcriptions, and in a great degree he acted in purſuance of their advice and direction. Happening one day to look upon Galba, he turned to ſome friends near him, and ſaid, "That man will be emperor of Rome." Not one of the Roman emperors ever had ſuch faith in prognoſtications as Tiberius; yet ſome of his ideas were not altogether abſurd. Nothing however made a deeper impreſſion on his mind than the late determination reſpecting the two princes, which had ſuch an effect on him, that he already conſidered his grandſon in the light of a man doomed to deſtruction; and what aggravated his wretchedneſs was, that himſelf only was blameable for that inquiſitiveneſs which deſtroyed the peace of his mind; whereas he might have lived at his eaſe, without ſeeking to know the hidden councils of providence.

Tiberius appoints Caius his ſucceſſor in the government.

Being diſappointed in his wiſh reſpecting the ſucceſſion, he was but ill diſpoſed to congratulate the future emperor on the good fortune that awaited him; yet, as, on this occaſion, it was neceſſary that ſomething ſhould be ſaid, he addreſſed the fortunate prince, ſaying, he was then about to commit to his care the government of the Roman empire, notwithſtanding Tiberius was more nearly allied to him in blood: but, in this, he ſaid, he acted in conſequence of having ſeriouſly revolved the matter in his mind, and conſulted the will of the gods. He then ſolemnly adjured Caius to teſtify every poſſible proof of eſteem and affection towards his brother Tiberius, in grateful acknowledgment of the honours to which he was on the point of ſucceeding; adding, that his own ſecurity and happineſs would in a great meaſure depend on his benevolence towards Tiberius. Caius ſolemnly promiſed a ſtrict obedience to the emperor's commands: but he was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of power, than, as the late emperor had foreſeen, he cauſed Tiberius to be put to death; and in a few years he loſt his own life by aſſaſſination.

The Emperor dies, and Caius ſucceeds him.

A few days after declaring Caius his ſucceſſor, Tiberius died, having reigned twenty-two years, five months, and thirteen days. Caius was the fourth of the Roman emperors. Tiberius was of a diſpoſition fierce, tyrannical and cruel beyond deſcription, and his conduct towards the nobility was more rigorous than they had ever before experienced. His barbarities were ſo exceſſive, that immediate death from him was conſidered as an act of mercy.

Upon hearing of the emperor's death, Marſyas, Agrippa's freed-man, haſtened with the news to his patron, and finding him preparing to go into the bath, he whiſpered to him in the Hebrew language, "The lion is dead." The officer having the care of Agrippa, obſerving that the intelligence communicated was of a pleaſing nature, requeſted to be informed of the particulars thereof. Agrippa at firſt heſitated; but after ſome entreaty, he explained the information he had received, whereupon the officer congratulated him, and then invited him to partake of an elegant ſupper. During the entertainment, a meſſenger arrived with news that Cæſar was out of danger, and would ſpeedily arrive in town. This intelligence ſurpriſed the officer having the cuſtody of Agrippa, and being apprehenſive that he ſhould be put to death for having joined his priſoner in rejoicing at the ſuppoſed death of the emperor, he puſhed his gueſt from his ſeat, threatening to puniſh him ſeverely for the deception he had practiced. He then directed Agrippa to be put again in chains, and to be more ſtrictly confined and watched than before. Agrippa paſſed the night in a moſt diſagreeable manner: but in the morning a rumour prevailed that the Emperor was dead, on which occaſion the people offered ſacrifices of joy.

Soon after this report, two letters were received from Caius, one to the ſenate, informing them that he was appointed ſucceſſor to forming Tiberius; and another to Piſo, gogovernor of the city, to the ſame effect. Theſe letters ordered that Agrippa ſhould be diſcharged from priſon and allowed to live in his former houſe; ſo that, though ſtill in a kind of cuſtody, he was eaſed of his moſt painful apprehenſions, and conſidered himſelf as in a ſtate of enlargement Soon afterwards, Caius came to Rome, and brought with him the body of Tiberius, which was interred in a moſt ſumptuous manner. The emperor would have diſcharged Agrippa, but was oppoſed by Antonia; not for want of affection to the party, but that ſhe thought it would be rather indecent to haſten the diſcharge; and, as Tiberius had committed the priſoner, it would be deemed a kind of inſult on his memory. In a few days, however, Caius ſent for him to his palace, and having given directions that he ſhould be ſhaved and properly dreſſed, he cauſed a crown to be put on his head, as the ſucceſſor to the tetrarchy which had been poſſeſſed by Philip: he likewiſe created him king, beſtowed on him the tetrarchy of Lyſania, and gave him a chain of gold of the ſame weight as that of iron which he had worn in priſon. Marcellus was now ſent as governor to Judea by Caius.

honours
ed up-
Agrippa.

When Caius Cæſar was in the ſecond year of his reign, Agrippa entreated his permiſſion to retire into his own country, to adjuſt his private affairs, promiſing to return in a limitted time. His countrymen were greatly ſurpriſed to behold Agrippa with a crown upon his head. The frequent changes of his ſituation from one extreme to the other, occaſioned them to reflect with wonder on the inſtability of all human affairs. Some conſidered him as a ſingularly fortunate man, ſince he had, with uncommon fortitude, ſupported himſelf under, and, at length, reſcued himſelf from the moſt preſſing difficulties and embarraſſments; while others were ſo aſtoniſhed at the late unexpected revolution, that they could ſcarcely give credit to the evidence of their own ſenſes.

CHAP. IX.

Herod being accuſed of conſpiracy, he acknowledges the charge, and is condemned to perpetual exile. Herod offers favour to Herodias, which ſhe rejects, and is baniſhed, together with her huſband. The impious arrogance of Caius.

Herodias envious of her brother's advancement.

THE pride of Herodias, ſiſter of Agrippa, and wife of Herod, the tetrarch of Galillee, and of Perea beyond the Jordan, was extremely mortified by the circumſtance of her brother, who had been ſo lately compelled to abſcond from his creditors, being ſo greatly advanced above her huſband in public honours and dignity. She therefore addreſſed herſelf to Herod, urging him to repair to Rome for the purpoſe of ſoliciting diſtinctions equal to thoſe conferred upon Agrippa. Herod did not approve undertaking the propoſed journey, but his wife becoming ſtill more importunate, he yielded to her requeſt, and they ſet out together for Rome. Being informed of all their motions, Agrippa conſerted means for diſappointing the expectations of Herod and Herodias. Having prepared letters and preſents for the emperor, he directed Fortunatus, his freedman, to hold himſelf in readineſs to ſail for Rome, whenever it ſhould be known that Herod had embarked; giving particular inſtruction's for his conduct when he ſhould arrive in that capital.

Fortunatus having a favourable paſſage, he arrived at Puteoli at the ſame time that Herod did; but it happened that the emperor was now at Baiæ, a ſmall town in Compagne, five furlongs from Puteoli, a place diſtinguiſhed by its royal palaces; as the emperors who frequented the hot baths, either for health or pleaſure, were ambitious of excelling each other in the ſplendor and elegance of their buildings. When Herod arrived here, he paid his reſpects to Caius; and Fortunatus almoſt in the ſame moment, delivered his letters, which the emperor having read, found they contained two charges againſt Herod; the firſt of which was his being concerned in the conſpiracy of Sejanus againſt Tiberius, and the other, taking part with Artabanus, the Parthian, againſt Caius, in proof of which Agrippa urged that he had then a magazine of arms for ſeventy thouſand men.

Herod accuſed of conſpiracy with Sejanus.

Caius, inflamed at this news, inſtantly aſked Herod if he was thus formidably provided; when he acknowleded the fact. The emperor immediately deprived him of his government, and ſeized his money, both of which he gave to Agrippa, as a reward for the diſcovery he had made. Herod he doomed to perpetual exile at Lyons, a capital city of France; but with regard to Herodias, ſiſter to Agrippa, he permitted her to retain all her private property, nor doomed her to a ſhare in her huſband's misfortunes, ſaying, he would treat her with lenity for the ſake of her brother. When Herodias heard this determination, ſhe addreſſed Caius, ſaying, "You have decreed like a magnanimous emperor; permit me to behave like an obedient wife. It will be out of my power to enjoy the effects of your liberality; for I cannot deem it juſt or honourable to abandon my huſband in his diſtreſs, after having partaken of all the adantages of his more auſpicious fortune." Caius was exceedingly offended at this dignity of mind in a woman, and conſidering her behaviour as an affront to himſelf, he ſeized her effects, and ordered that ſhe ſhould be baniſhed and confined with her huſband. Thus was Herodias ſubjected to the vengeance of Heaven, as a puniſhment for the envy ſhe had entertained towards her brother; Herod was puniſhed in the manner above deſcribed for having committed an unjuſtifiable act in purſuance of her advice.

And condemned to perpetual exile.

Herodies alſo baniſhed.

During the two firſt years of his reign, Caius governed the empire according to the dictates of prudence and moderation; but after the expiration of that time, he became ſo exceſſively vain and arrogant, and was ſo intoxicated with the poſſeſſion of power, that he blaſphemouſly demanded divine honours ſhould be paid him.

CHAP. X.

A diſagreement between the Jews and the Greeks of Alexandria. Apion and Philo principal

principal ambaſſadors of the contending parties.

Apion pleads againſt the Jews.

Philo encourages them.

A Contention ariſing between the Jews and the Greeks of Alexandria, it was agreed, that each party ſhould depute three ambaſſadors to adjuſt the controverſy in the preſence of Cæſar; and of theſe the principal were Apion and Philo. Among other objections againſt the conduct of the Jews, Apion alledged, that notwithſtanding temples and altars were erected to the honour of Caius in the various parts of the univerſe, and the ſame honours paid to him as to the gods, yet the refractory Jews alone refuſed to ſwear by his name, and to dedicate images to Cæſar. After Apion had concluded his ſpeech, in which he uſed his utmoſt endeavours for exaſperating the emperor againſt the Jews, Philo was preparing to ſpeak in the defence of thoſe people, when the emperor peremptorily commanded him to depart from the palace. Upon this, Philo turning to the Jews that were near him, admoniſhed them not to deſpond; for though Caius was unjuſtly prejudiced againſt them, the Almighty would moſt aſſuredly prove their friend.

CHAP. XI.

Various particulars in conſequence of the order of Caius for erecting a ſtatue to his honour in Judea. A commotion among the Jews. Petronius informed of the death of Caius.

Caius orders his ſtatue to be ſet up in the temple.

THE refuſal of the Jews to ſubmit to the orders of Caius, incenſed him in ſo high a degree, that he immediately diſpatched Petronius into Syria, to ſupply the place of Vitellius, and gave him orders to enter Judea with a powerful army, and there erect his ſtatue in the temple; ſaying, that if the Jews readily acquieſced in this proceeding, no farther notice ſhould be taken: but if they made any oppoſition to it, they ſhould be compelled to a compliance by force of arms.

Petronius loſt no time in making preparations to execute the commands of the emperor; for which purpoſe he aſſembled two Roman legions, and a number of auxiliary troops, which he fixed in winter-quarters at Ptolemais, that they might be ready for action in the ſpring. He ſent repeated accounts of his proceedings to Caius, who made proper acknowledgments of his diligence, and gave him directions to proceed with reſolution, ſaying he was determined to reduce the obſtinate Jews to obedience.

The Jews expoſtulate with Petronius.

At this period immenſe multitudes of Jews reſorted to Petronius at Ptolemais, entreating him in the moſt earneſt manner, not to compel them to act againſt the dictates of their conſciences, and the cuſtoms of their religion. They ſaid, that if it was abſolutely neceſſary to erect a ſtatue in their temple, the beſt previous ſtep that could be taken would be to ſacrifice their lives, and then the troops might act as they thought proper: but that, while they had the power of reſiſtance, they would never admit a violation of thoſe laws and precepts which they had received from their illuſtrious anceſtors, through ſuch a long line of generations. Petronius ſaid in reply, that he might probably comply with their deſires, were he at liberty to act according to his own ſentiments, but he was under the neceſſity of enforcing the emperor's commands. Upon this, the Jews declared, that a regard to their perſonal ſafety ſhould not prevail upon them to become inactive ſpectators of the moſt abominable profanation, which would inevitably ſubject them to the dreadful wrath of the Almighty.

Perceiving that the people were inflexible in their determination, and that if he proceeded to erect the ſtatue, a great effuſion of human blood would be unavoidable, Petronius, accompanied by his friends and domeſtics, retired to Ptolemais, there to remain till he ſhould be better informed of the ſentiments, manners, and cuſtoms of the people with whom it was his buſineſs to treat. Many thouſands of the Jews repaired in a body to Petronius, earneſtly ſupplicating, that he would not provoke the people to meaſures of deſperation by attempting to profane their holy temple by the introduction of forbiden images. Upon this, Petronius cautioned them againſt inflaming the diſpleaſure of Cæſar, with whom they were unequal to maintain a contention in war with the ſmalleſt proſpect of ſucceſs. They replied, that they had no hoſtile deſigns, but that they would yield up their lives rather than ſubmit to an impious infringement of their ſacred religion. They then proſtrated themſelves on the ground, and made bare their necks, thereby intimating that they would rather die than ſuffer the ſtatue to be erected. In this ſtate of deſpondency they continued for the ſpace of about forty days, neglecting to plow and ſow the earth, and all other buſineſs of huſbandry that the ſeaſon of the year required to be performed.

Several of the Jewiſh nobility and other people of diſtinction, among whom were Ariſtobulus, the brother of king Agrippa, and Elcias, ſirnamed the Great, recommended Petronius to conſider what fatal conſequences might enſue from driving the people to extremities; adviſing him to repreſent to Cæſar the difficulty of the caſe, and the determined ſpirit of the Jews, who, on account of their diſtreſſes, had neglected to cultivate their lands, though not from rebellious motives, but from a reſolution rather to die, than ſuffer ſuch an affront as was intended to their religion.

Knowing the raſh and revengeful diſpoſition of Caius, and his turbulency when his commands were not inſtantly executed, and at the ſame time holding the pleaſure of Heaven in high veneration, Petronius was at a loſs how to act. After ſerious deliberation, he, at length, determined, at the hazard of his own ſafety, to write to the emperor, ſtating all the circumſtances of the caſe, hoping thereby to obtain favour for a people whom he thought both innocent and oppreſſed.

Petronius addreſſes the Jews at Tiberias.

Petronius now gave notice for the Jews to aſſemble at Tiberias; and immenſe numbers of them having repaired thither, he addreſſed a ſpeech to them expreſſing, that ſince he was perſuaded they acted in defence of their laws and religion, and in purſuance of the dictates of their conſcience, he would immediately diſpatch an expreſs to the emperor, informing him of their reſolution reſpecting his order for placing the ſtatue in the temple, and purſue every means in his power for prevailing upon him to relinquiſh his deſign of defiling the holy building. He then fervently prayed that their religion might be preſerved from all contamination, and that the extreme anxiety of the emperor for the advancement of his honour might not in this inſtance be imputed to him as a crime. If his interference ſhould provoke the emperor's diſpleaſure, he ſhould be content to forfeit his life, ſo that he ſhould only live to be the inſtrument of preſerving ſo many worthy men from the danger with which they were threatened, on account of acting from the utmoſt purity of intention. He then recommended the people to return to their reſpective habitations, and again attend to the cultivation of their lands, reſting firmly aſſured of all his intereſt with the emperor to procure them perfect ſatisfaction.

Immediately after Petronius had concluded his ſpeech, a ſhower of rain deſcended, though the ſky was remarkably clear, not being obſcured by a ſingle cloud. A drought had ſo long prevailed, that the people began to entertain apprehenſions that their lands would never again be refreſhed with rain. This ſeaſonable and unexpected relief the Jews conſidered as a certain evidence that Heaven approved the good intentions of Petronius, who was as ſtrongly impreſſed with this opinion as any man among the Jews.

Petronius writes to Caius in favour of the Jews.

Petronius wrote to Caius an account of all that had happened, mentioning the probable conſequence of rendering deſperate an immenſe multitude of people inflexibly reſolute to act in defence of their religious principles. If force was employed againſt theſe people, his revenues would of neceſſity be diminiſhed, his life be rendered unhappy, and his character be diſgraced. He concluded with ſaying, the Jews were a people peculiarly acceptable to the Almighty, who had been pleaſed to manifeſt his favour towards them by divers miraculous operations.

Agrippa intercedes with Cæſar in behalf of the Jews.

When the letter from Petronius arrived at Rome, king Agrippa was there on a viſit to Caius, and gave him an entertainment, which, in point of magnificence and expence, exceeded every thing of the kind that had been known. In return the emperor determined to compliment Agrippa, and when ſomewhat elevated with wine, he mentioned the proofs of friendſhip he had received from him in the time of Tiberius, at the riſk of his own ſafety; ſaying, that in acknowledgement of thoſe obligations, and the additional one of the late ſplended treat, in which the convenience of the entertainer was leſs conſulted than the honour of the gueſt, he was determined to augment his former bounties in a manner that ſhould not prove an inconſiderable advancement of the fortune of Agrippa.

Having thus ſaid, Caius waited in expectation that Agrippa would have ſolicited lands, commiſſions, or even provinces and revenues, which he was well diſpoſed to grant; but Agrippa, though previouſly determined what to aſk, omitted to make his requeſt at preſent, conceiving it might be done with a better grace in the ſequel of the converſation; but he addreſſed the emperor as follows: "As I had no private view in the little ſervices I was happy enough to render you in the days of Tiberius, ſo I have no farther wiſh at preſent than the honour of your friendſhip; and though I am not unacquainted that you have many valuable gifts in your diſpoſal, permit me now to make my moſt grateful acknowledgments for the favours I have received, and to declare that I am not ambitious of any farther gratification."

Caius wondered at this inſtance of moderation; but ſtill he was determined that he ſhould aſk ſome favour, and that, whatever it was, it ſhould be complied with: and having intimated his ſentiments, Agrippa ſaid, "Since your benevolence lays this command upon me, I will preſume to offer you one requeſt; I will neither aſk you for wealth nor honour, ſince your bounty has already beſtowed enough of both on me; but your compliance with my preſent

ſent requiſition will render you equally the favourite of God and man; and if I can but obtain this favour, in addition to all thoſe with which I have been already obliged, my fame will be eſtabliſhed to future times. All I have to requeſt is, that your order to Petronius, for erecting your ſtatue in the temple of the Jews, may be recalled."

In conſequence of this application, Caius wrote to Petronius, ſaying, if he had erected the ſtatue it was to remain, but if not, he was to concern himſelf no farther on that account, but to diſmiſs the troops he had collected, and return into Syria; adding, that he was willing to pardon the diſobedience of the Jews, in conformity with the interceſſion of his reſpected friend Agrippa.

This letter was written before the rebellious intention of the Jews was known; but when Cæſar was informed of their determination to oppoſe his commands, he was highly exaſperated againſt them, and diſpatched a letter to Petronius, accuſing him of having been prevailed upon by bribes to neglect his duty, and threatening to inflict upon him the moſt exemplary puniſhment, as a warning to poſterity that the authority of princes was not to be trifled with. The meſſenger entruſted with this letter having a ſlow paſſage, he did not deliver it till Petronius had received news of the death of Caius, who was cut off while giving indulgence to his intolerable vanity, and blaſphemous preſumption of demanding to be diſtinguiſhed by divine honours. Petronius received the thanks of the Romans as well as of the Provincials for his great public ſervices, and in particular he was complimented by the principal members of the ſenate, in treating whom with contempt and indignity, the emperor had been accuſtomed to take peculiar delight. The particulars of the conſpiracy againſt Caius will be related in the following pages.

Caius dies.

CHAP. XII.

The diſtreſſes of the Jews of Meſopotamia and Babylon. Account of the brothers, Arſineus and Anileus. The Jews and Babylonians at variance. A ſlaughter of fifty thouſand Jews.

IN the province of Babylon is a city named Nearda*, a place diſtinguiſhed by its populouſneſs, yet ſo fruitful that the inhabitants can ſubſiſt by its produce: it has a wall and fortifications for its defence, and is almoſt ſurrounded by the River Euphrates. In this province and on the ſame river, is a city called Niſibis. Theſe places being exceedingly ſtrong, the Jews, from time to time, depoſited therein the holy treaſure, in order for its being tranſmitted to Jeruſalem, whither, at appointed times, it was carried under ſtrong convoys, leſt it ſhould be ſeized by the Parthians, who were at that time in poſſeſſion of Babylon.

Aſineus
Anileus
lect a ſtro
party.

Among the Jews of Nearda were two brothers, named Aſineus and Anileus. They were the ſons of a widow, who had placed them out to learn the art of weaving ſail-cloth, which is no diſreputable profeſſion in that country, where it is even common for men to card and ſpin. As it happened that the two brothers came too late one day to their work, their maſter was ſevere upon them for their neglect, in reſentment for which they armed themſelves with the firſt offenſive weapons they could ſeize, and retired to a place where the river divided, which was diſtinguiſhed by affording plenty of corn, graſs, fruit, and every ſort of proviſion proper for winter ſtore. While they were in this ſituation, a number of ſtout young men, whoſe neceſſities tempted them to ſeek relief, reſorted to them, and enliſted under their command, and taking up arms, no perſon dared to oppoſe their proceedings. The brothers being thus reinforced, erected a ſtrong fort, and ſent out a great number of emiſſaries, to raiſe contributions throughout the country. Theſe were commiſſioned to offer friendſhip and protection to all that ſubmitted to their demands, and to denounce vengeance againſt all that refuſed compliance; ſo that the people were under a ſort of neceſſity of coming into terms; for by this time the party was grown ſo numerous, that there could be no thought of reſiſting; and even the king of Parthia began to be alarmed at the inſurrection.

The prince
Babylon m
ches to ſur-
prize them
the Sabbat

On receiving intelligence of this affair, the prince of Babylon deeming it his duty to ſuppreſs the ſedition before it grew to too great a head, collected his troops throughout the diſtricts of Parthia and Babylon, and immediately marched with the greateſt part of his army, hoping to come up with the mutineers in time to attack them by ſurprize. Marching by defiles and croſs-paths, he reached the ſkirts of a tract of mooriſh ground, and there halted; and preſuming that as the next day was the Sabbath, the inſurgents would not then attempt reſiſtance, he advanced ſlowly in purſuit of them.

Aſineus and his companions were at this time repoſing themſelves on a bank, with their arms laying by them. Arſineus ſaying to his followers, that he thought he heard the trampling of horſes, ſcouts were diſpatched to learn whether his conjectures was founded in truth; and upon their return, they reported, that a body of cavalry was approaching ſufficiently numerous to trample them to death, ſince they were prohibited by the laws of their religion from making reſiſtance on their Sabbath. Aſineus exhorted them to diſmiſs an unreaſonable prejudice, the influence of which might lead to inevitable deſtruction; and finding his arguments prevail, he led them againſt the enemy, who being unprepared for an encounter, their main body was routed, and great numbers of them ſlain upon the ſpot.

---

* Naarda, according to Stephanus Byzant.

Artabanus, king of Carmania, ſeeks the friendſhip of the brothers.

The news of this victory gave the king of Parthia ſo high an opinion of the intrepidity of the brothers, that he became deſirous of forming a league with them, judging them capable of rendering him very eſſential ſervices. He therefore diſpatched a meſſenger to inform them, that notwithſtanding the injury he had ſuſtained by the late inroad made into his territory, in conſideration of the very advantageous character he had heard of them, he was deſirous of contracting a league of friendſhip with them; and to requeſt a conference with them, pledging his honour for their ſafe conduct, to and from the court of Parthia.

Notwithſtanding the frankneſs of the invitation, Aſineus judged it not prudent to undertake the journey; but Anileus waited upon the king with ſuch preſents as he was able to procure, and was received with the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of good will and friendſhip. Artabanus enquired the reaſon of his not being accompanied by Aſineus, when he replied, that his brother, conſidering his preſent ſituation as perfectly ſecure, was unwilling to hazard either his life or liberty. Upon this Artabanus ſwore by his gods, that no kind of injury ſhould be offered to either of the brothers, and to ratify his oath he gave his right hand to Anileus, which ceremony the Barbarians deem the moſt ſacred pledge of faith that one man can give to another.

Artabanus having given this aſſurance to Anileus, ſent him back to his brother; and conceived great hopes of the ſervices that might be rendered to him by their joint endeavours to keep in awe thoſe provinces that ſeemed inclined to revolt. The king likewiſe conſidered, that while he was employed in ſuppreſſing a rebellion in one part of his dominions, Aſineus might do him great injury in the neighbourhood of Babylon, by ſupplying himſelf with men, and taking poſſeſſion of the ſtrong forts. His ſending for Aſineus, therefore, was founded in good policy.

Anileus having made a report to his brother of the ſingular reſpect that Artabanus had expreſſed for them both, and informed him by what ſolemn oaths and proteſtations he had expreſſed the ſincerity of his regard, Aſineus was induced to comply with the king's requeſt. They were received by Artabanus with every appearance of friendſhip: but the king remarking the diſagreeable figure of Aſineus, and conſidering the dignity of his mind, would frequently obſerve, that "the ſoul of that man was not formed for his body." Being one day at table with him, the king, addreſſing himſelf to his general Abdagaſus, ſpoke in the higheſt terms of the martial exploits of Aſineus, whom he repreſented as a miracle of valour. To this Abdagaſus made no other reply, than ſimply to beg the king's permiſſion to cut his throat, in revenge for the injuries ſuſtained by the Parthians. In anſwer hereto Artabanus ſaid, "Moſt certainly I ſhall never permit ſuch an inſult to be offered to a man who has entruſted his ſafety to my honour, and whom I am bound, by the ſacred obligations of an oath, to protect: but if you are diſpoſed to give a convincing proof of your courage, you may find a method of vindicating the honour of the Parthians, without a violation of my oath; for you have only to attack him on his return, and not inform me of your intention."

Artabanus diſmiſſes Aſineus with rich preſents, giving him the command of Babylon.

Early on the following morning, the king ſent for Aſineus, and adviſed him to return to his former reſidence, leſt by a longer ſtay he ſhould be expoſed to the effects of the reſentment of the officers of his army; recommending him to uſe his utmoſt endeavours in preſerving the province of Babylon in tranquillity, and protecting it from robberies: and adding, that in return for the confidence Aſineus had repoſed in him, he would, on all occaſions, conſult his honour and ſafety equally with his own. The king then diſmiſſed him with a number of preſents of high value.

Upon his return to his government, Aſineus aſſiduouſly applied himſelf in building, repairing and enlarging the caſtles and forts wherever occaſion required. In fine, he acted with ſo much wiſdom, prudence and ſpirit in the diſcharge of his commiſſion, that, in ſo ſhort a time, no man ever acquired ſo great a ſhare of power and reputation. He gained the friendſhip of the principal people of Babylon, and of the governors and commanders in Parthia; and nearly the whole of Meſopotamia became ſubject to his authority.

For the ſpace of fifteen years, the affairs of the brothers were in every reſpect proſperous, and their conduct afforded univerſal ſatisfaction. At length, they degenerated ed from their exemplary piety, neglected the ſtudy and practice of virtue, indulged themſelves in ſenſualities, and admitted foreign innovations; and in proportion as they became thus abandoned, their reputation declined. A Parthian governor coming into theſe provinces, accompanied by his wife, a woman highly celebrated for her beauty and the accompliſhments of her mind, Anileus, either in conſequence of ſeeing her, or from the report of her extraordinary qualifications, became paſſionately enamoured of her, and with a view to gratify his deſires, he waged war againſt her huſband, whom having killed in the firſt encounter, the lady became ſubject to his power, and he took her to his bed.

This adventure was productive of dreadful misfortunes to the brothers. This woman was accuſtomed conſtantly to carry about her ſuch idols as were worſhipped by the Barbarians, and privately to pay adoration to them, as opportunities offered: but when Anileus acknowledged her for his wife, ſhe ſcrupled not in the moſt public manner to exerciſe her idolatrous religion.

The moſt zealous friends of the brothers were highly diſguſted with Anileus for having eſpouſed a Barbarian and an idolatreſs. One of the moſt eminent of the people having diſcharged his conſcience by complaining of the affronts offered to religion, he was ſtabbed upon the ſpot, and with his dying breath, he uttered a prophetical imprecation againſt the brothers and their abettors. "May they be purſued, exclaimed he, by the vengeance of Heaven, for the inſults they have offered to religion, and their breach of the ſacred ties of friendſhip. May the afflictions they have heaped upon others fall upon their own heads! May the brothers be puniſhed as the authors of this act of treachery and unprovoked barbarity, and their aſſociates for aſſiſting in the murder of the protector of their laws and liberties, whom it was their duty to defend from injury."

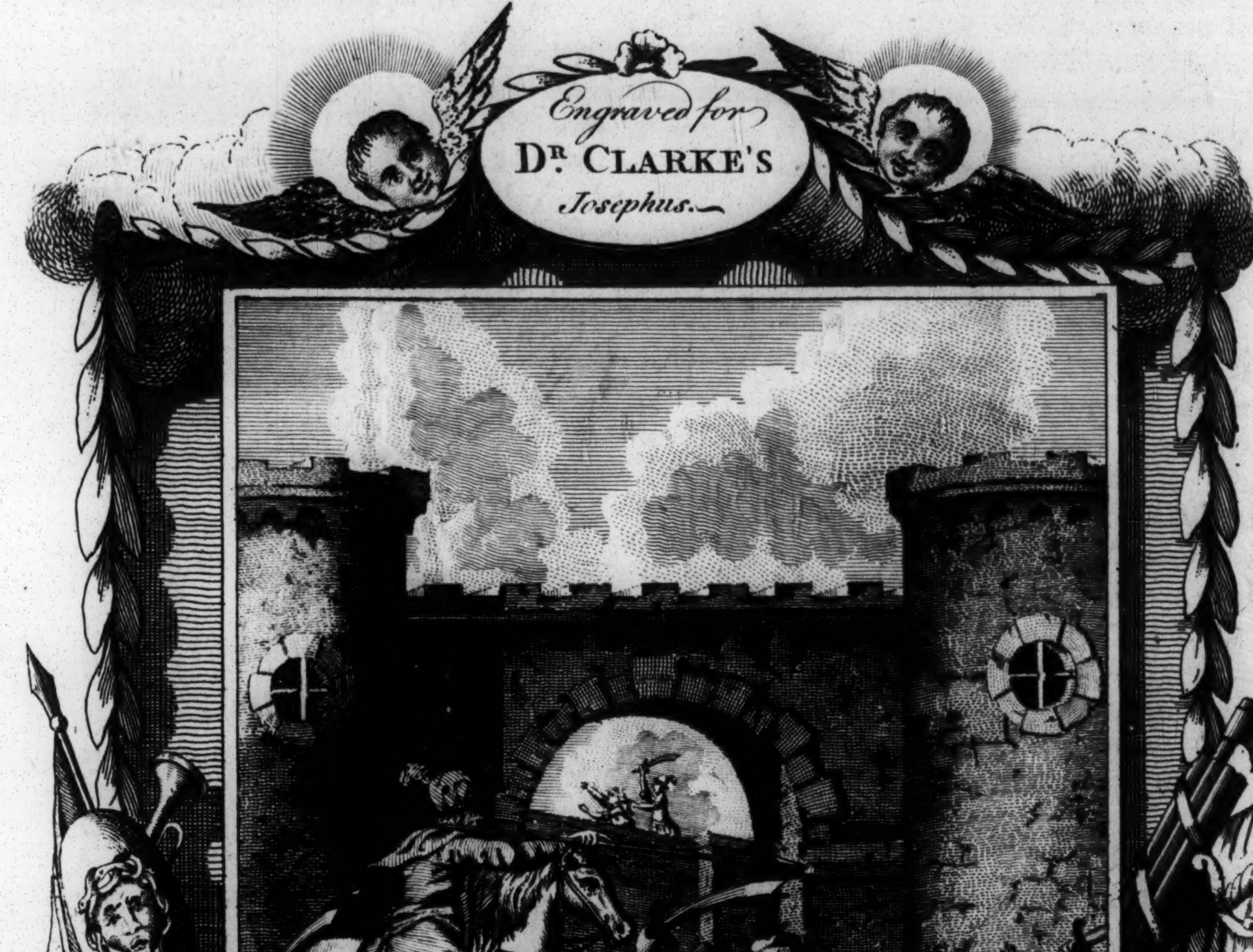
A curſe pronounced upon the brothers and heir friends.

The death of this worthy man was highly afflicting to the people, who, however, reſtrained their reſentment for ſome time, in conſideration of the former goodneſs of the brothers; but, at length, an undiſguiſed profeſſion of idolatry provoked them beyond endurance, and great numbers of them aſſembling, they repaired to Aſineus, complaining of the proceedings of his brother, and urging him to purſue the neceſſary meaſures for preventing future ill conſequences, or a popular tumult would aſſuredly enſue. He acknowledged that the remonſtrances were founded in juſtice; but pleading the frailties of human nature, he endeavoured to extenuate his brother's criminality. The clamours of the public every day increaſing, he at length reproved Anileus for his late conduct, and adviſed him to ſend his wife back to her friends: but his admonitions proved wholly ineffectual. Finding the populace highly exaſperated, and apprehending that ſome miſchief might happen to Anileus on her account, ſhe cauſed his brother to be poiſoned, entertaining no fear for her own ſafety, ſince if any complaint ſhould be alledged againſt her, a fond huſband would be her judge.

The whole power having now devolved to Anileus, he collected his army, and made an incurſion into the country of Mithridates, the ſon of Artabanus, and a perſon of great diſtinction among the Parthians. Here he found a great plenty of money, ſlaves, and cattle, with other effects of conſiderable value, all of which he carried away. At this period Mithridates was at no great diſtance, and being informed of the inroad made on his dominions, he ſelected a conſiderable number of his beſt troops, and advanced to give battle to Anileus. The following day being the Sabbath of the Jews, he ſtopt that night at a village, intending to attack the enemy by ſurprize the following day. Now it happened that a Syrian in the neighbourhood had intelligence of this deſign, which he communicated to Anileus, at the ſame time giving him information where Mithridates was to be that night at a grand ſupper. Hereupon Anileus marched againſt the enemy, and attacking them by ſurpriſe in the night, about the time of the fourth watch, took many of them priſoners while aſleep, and the reſt ſought for ſafety in flight. Mithridates being made a priſoner, he was placed naked upon an aſs; a ſituation conſidered by the Parthians as the moſt degrading and ignominious to which a man can be reduced. In this manner Mithridates was conveyed to a neighbouring wood, where ſeveral of the friends of Anileus adviſed that he might be put to death: but this was oppoſed by their leader, who addreſſed them to the following effect: "This is one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed men in the whole country; and he is allied to the royal family. Though he is in our power, I am diſpoſed to ſpare his life, as a means of ſecuring an intereſt that may eſſentially operate to our advantage upon any future emergency. Be aſſured that the king would avenge the death of Mithridates upon all the Jews of Babylon, whoſe welfare it is our duty to conſult, both on account of our affinity, and as a meaſure of prudence. The events of war being uncertain, it is proper, in caſe any diſaſter

Mithrid ſubdued diſgraced

BRITISH MUSEUM



Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

The Syrians Maſsacre the Jews, at FORT ANTONIA.

Published as the Act directs March 1, 1787, by John Walker, Paternoster Row.

diſaſter ſhould beſal us, that we ſecure a retreat."

The people concurring in opinion with Anileus, Mithridates was reſtored to liberty. Upon his wife being informed of the conditions on which he had obtained his freedom, ſhe ſeverely upbraided him, ſaying that he who had ſo often vanquiſhed the Jews, ought not to have accepted his life as an act of their bounty; and ſhe concluded with ſwearing to the powers protecting the thrones of kings, that if he did not retrieve his character, ſhe would abandon him. Apprehending that her haughty ſpirit would induce her to apply for a divorce, he marched againſt Anileus.

Being informed of the approach of Mithridates, Anileus was determined to give him battle in the open field, and in full confidence of victory, marched againſt him; whoſe men being refreſhed and in high ſpirits, furiouſly attacked and routed him, putting ſeveral thouſands of his followers to death. Anileus and others who eſcaped, retired to a neighbouring foreſt.

Anileus routed.

After the defeat, great numbers of diſorderly people reſorted to the army of Anileus, ſo that its original number was ſoon compleated; but theſe troops were altogether undiſciplined, and by no means ſo valiant as thoſe he had loſt. Notwithſtanding this diſadvantage, he marched into the quarters of the Babylonians, and made great devaſtation; whereupon the Babylonians ſent to the Jews at Nearda, requeſting that Anileus might be delivered up to juſtice: but this requiſition could not be complied with, as he was not in their power. Propoſals were now ſent to Anileus, offering terms of peace. Theſe being agreed to, commiſſioners were deputed by the Jews and Babylonians to manage the whole buſineſs in diſpute. The Babylonians having carefully obſerved the place where Anileus and his companions were aſſembled, ſurprized them in the night, and killed great numbers, Anileus being among the ſlain.

Anileus again defeated and ſlain.

In ancient times perpetual variances had happened between the Babylonians and Jews, reſpecting their rights, cuſtoms, and mode of living. While Anileus was ſupported by his friends, the Babylonians were kept in ſome ſort of awe; but after his death, they aſſumed courage to affront the Jews on every occaſion, till they rendered their lives a burthen to them; and many of them were compelled to immediately abandon their habitations, and to retire into Seleucia, the principal city of that province. This was a place ſacred to liberty, and inhabited by Macedonians, Greeks and Syrians. In this city the Jews reſided, much at their eaſe, for the ſpace of five years; and in the ſixth year a violent plague raging in Babylon, many more of that people were compelled to retire into Seleucia; a circumſtance that gave riſe to greater diſtreſs than they had yet known; as will appear from the following ſhort narrative.

There were perpetual quarrellings between the Greeks and Syrians of this city, but in all their diſputes the advantage lay on the ſide of the Greeks, till the Jews came thither, who being a brave and warlike people, the Syrians procured their aſſiſtance and obtained the advantage. The Greeks finding that they ſhould be ruined unleſs they could deſtroy the connection between the Syrians and Jews, they privately reſorted to ſome particular friends among the Syrians, for their advice how to bring matters to an accommodation. The propoſal was received in an amicable manner, and referred to the conſideration of ſome principal people of both parties, and they ſoon agreed to end the controverſy, by joining againſt the Jews as a common enemy. In purſuance of this agreement, they jointly attacked the Jews, when unprepared for defence, and put upwards of fifty thouſand of them to death, not a man eſcaping who was not protected by ſome neighbour or friend. The miſerable remainder of theſe people retired to Pteſiphon, a Greek city near Seleucia, the uſual winter reſidence of the king of Parthia, and the place where his moſt valuable furniture was depoſited. In this place the Jews eſtabliſhed their reſidence, in the hope of finding protection within the verge of the royal court; but they were under ſuch perpetual alarms and terrors from the Babylonians and Seleucians, and the conſpiracy formed againſt them by the Syrians, that the greateſt part of them removed to Nearda and Niſibis, relying for ſafety on the ſtrength of thoſe places, and the bravery of the people by whom they were to be defended.

Upwards of fifty thouſand Jews ſlain.

THE ANTIQUITEIS OF THE JEWS,

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK XIX.

From the Year of the World 4003 *to* 4009.

CHAPTER I.

The cruelties of the emperor Caius, who calls himſelf the brother of Jupiter, and demands divine honours. He commits divers acts of impiety. Quintilia put to torture. Account of the death of Caius. Aſprenas, Norbanus and Anteius put to death.

THE barbarities of the emperor Caius Caligula towards the Jews were not confined to Jeruſalem and the neighbouring provinces; but he extended his inſupportable tyranny to every part of the Roman dominions. His vengeance was principally directed towards the ſenators, patricians, and the equites or knights, a claſs of people in point of wealth and dignity next to the ſenate, the members of which were frequently ſelected from among them. The above and all other diſtinguiſhed people were the particular objects of his tyranny. He aſſumed the appellation of a god, inſiſting that his ſubjects ſhould pay him public adoration. In the capitol, the moſt famous of the Roman temples, he declared himſelf to be the brother of Jupiter, and in innumerable other inſtances betrayed an equal degree of arrogance, preſumption and vanity. Being deſirous of paſſing from Puteoli in Campania to Miſenum, a town on the oppoſite ſhore of an arm of the ſea thirty ſtadia over, he thought he ſhould degrade his imaginary divinity in making the paſſage in a veſſel; and therefore he cauſed a bridge to be built, extending from one promontory to the other, and over this ſtructure he was drawn in a chariot, triumphing in the vain idea that he had ſubjected both ſea and land to his dominion. Caius plundered all the temples of Greece of their fineſt paintings, ſculptures, and other precious articles dedicated to God, and employed them in ornamenting his palaces, gardens, and houſes of pleaſure; pretending that as Rome was the moſt magnificent city in the univerſe, the moſt curious and valuable productions could not with propriety be depoſited in any other place. He ordered Memmius Regulus to cauſe the ineſtimable ſtatue of Olympian Jupiter, the production of Phidias, the famous Athenian ſtatuary, to be removed from Greece to Rome: but in this he was not obeyed; for the beſt artiſts declared, that by the removal of the ſtatue, it muſt inevitably be ſpoiled.

Caius builds a bridge from Puteoli to Miſenum.

He plunders the Grecian temples.

A tradition is preſerved, that during the time Memmius Regulus had the removal of the ſtatue under deliberation, he was deterred from carrying the project into effect by a moſt extraordinary viſion, in conſequence of which he wrote a letter of excuſe to Caius. Had not the death of the emperor intervened, he would infallibly have puniſhed the diſobedience of Memmius by the loſs of his head.

The image of his daughter placed upon the knee of Jupiter in the capitol.

To ſuch an exceſs did the inſolence and vanity of this man arrive, that, upon the birth of a daughter, he cauſed the image of the child to be conveyed into the capitol, and placed upon the knee of Jupiter, thereby intimating that the infant ſtood in an equal degree of relationſhip to Jupiter and himſelf; and he challenged the ſpectators to determine which of the fathers was moſt reſpectable. The people entertained the utmoſt deteſtation of the conduct of Caius, but ſtill they ſervilely ſubmitted to all his extravagant humours. He not only gave permiſſion to ſlaves, but even afforded them all poſſible encouragement, to alledge charges of whatever nature they thought proper againſt their maſters: and theſe accuſations proved the more oppreſſive as they were conſtantly ſupported by the authority of the emperor, who rewarded the informers in proportion to their degree of iniquity. A capital offence was alledged againſt Claudius, the uncle of Caius, by his bond man, named Pollux; and on this occaſion Caius preſided on the bench, with a view to procure his uncle to ſuffer the death of a criminal, on a falſe accuſation: but in this deſign, however, he did not ſucceed.

The countenance he afforded to detractors and informers of the moſt abandoned principles and practice having given ſlaves a ſuperiority to their patrons, and cauſed an infinite number of other moſt deſperate evils, the people vented the bittereſt execrations againſt the emperor, as the author of the prevailing calamities, and ſuggeſted various meaſures for extirpating from the earth ſo deteſtable a monſter.

Three conſpiracies againſt Caius.

Three conſpiracies were formed for the deſtruction of this cruel tyrant, each faction being under the command of a leader of approved bravery; namely, Emilius Regulus, a Spaniard of Corduba, Caſſius Chereas, the tribune, and Aninius Minucianus. Emelius Regulus being a man of an honourable and generous diſpoſition, he was an enemy to Caius from a natural abhorrence to every ſpecies of wickedneſs. Partly from a perſuaſion that the vengeance of the tyrant would prove fatal to whoever might incur his diſpleaſure, and partly from a deſire of avenging the death of Lepidus, whom the emperor had murdered, the enmity of Minucianus was produced. The office held by Chereas requiring him to be frequently about the emperor's perſon, he apprehended his life to be perpetually in danger from the ferocious diſpoſition of his maſter, who took every opportunity of upbraiding him with effeminacy. The inſults he continually received and the danger of his ſituation combined to diſpoſe him to aſſiſt in the deſtruction of Caius. Though theſe men were influenced by diſtinct motives, they acted with unanimity in the common cauſe, conſidering themſelves bound in duty to reſcue mankind from the oppreſſion and bloody outrages of a moſt barbarous and unrelenting tyrant.

Several petitioners to Caius put to death.

It was now the time for performing the Circus games and exerciſes, on which occaſion it had been long cuſtomary for the people to be allowed the liberty of petitioning the emperor; and if their demands were not unreaſonable they were generally complied with. A great multitude of people having aſſembled, they ſolicited that part of their taxes and tributes might be remitted: but inſtead of complying with their requeſt, the emperor diſcharged the moſt acrimonious reproaches againſt the ſupplicants, and commanded his guards to put them to death; in conſequence of which ſeveral of them were inſtantly ſlain. This laſt act of barbarity inſpired Chereas with additional ardor for ſtopping the bloody ravages of the tyrant, whom he ſeveral times intended to deſtroy while he was at table; but he was induced to ſuſpend the execution of his deſign from the expectation of an opportunity when ſucceſs would be leſs uncertain. Chereus had been captain of the guards a conſiderable time, and he had now a commiſſion for collecting certain revenues. Moved by the extreme poverty of many of the people, he was not ſo ſevere in exacting payment of their arrears as the emperor wiſhed. On account of this lenity, Caius was accuſtomed to reflect upon him as being deſtitute of the ſpirit neceſſary for the diſcharge of his duty; and whenever Chereas applied to him for the watch-word, his practice was to give ſome word conveying an inſinuation that he was of a puſillanimous and effeminate temper: but notwithſtanding this, Caius himſelf did not ſcruple to aſſume the apparel and ornaments of a woman, and in every reſpect to appear under the diſguiſe of the female character at certain ceremonies he had eſtabliſhed.

When Chereas delivered the word to his brother officers, it conſtantly rendered him an object of deriſion to them, and it was ſeldom they failed obſerving to him that they expected the word would bear a ridiculous meaning. This mockery of Caius at length became ſo intolerable to Chereas, that he could no longer refrain from communicating his purpoſe to his particular friends, in the number of whom was a ſenator named Popedius, who had paſſed the ſeveral degrees of honour, but being one of the ſect of Epicurus, his whole attention was engroſſed upon indulging his deſire of living in perfect eaſe. An accuſation was made againſt Popedius by Timidius, his profeſſed enemy, purporting that he had made uſe of expreſſions of a dangerous tendency and violently reflecting upon Caius: he pretended that the charge he had adduced was founded on the evidence of Quintilia, a comedian of ſingular beauty, of whom Popedius was enamoured.

Upon Quintilia's refuſing to give falſe teſtimony againſt her lover, Timidius requeſted that ſhe might be put to the torture, which Caius commanded Chereas to ſee inſtantly performed. It was the tyrant's cuſtom to appoint Chereas to offices of this kind, from an idea that having ſo frequently reproached him for being a timid and woman-hearted creature would cauſe him to execute his commands with greater ſeverity. As Quintilia was paſſing to the place where ſhe was to ſuffer torture, ſhe trod on the foot of one of the conſpirators, thereby intimating that no ſufferings ſhould compel her to a confeſſion of the enterprize that was in agitation.

Chereas was under an abſolute neceſſity of obeying the emperor's cruel command, though in that he acted wholly againſt his inclination. After ſhe had ſuſtained her ſufferings with wonderful fortitude, Chereas conducted Quintilia into the preſence of the emperor, ſhockingly mangled and diſfigured; and ſo miſerable was her ſituation as to excite compaſſion even in the malignant heart of Caius, who preſented her with a ſum of money, in ſome degree to compenſate the ſufferings ſhe had ſo reſolutely endured. He alſo reſtored Popedius to liberty.

Chereas was apprehenſive that his reputation would be injured by having been made the inſtrument of inflicting a ſavage barbarity upon a woman, whoſe torments had even moved the pity of his cruel maſter: and he now reſolved to communicate his deſign to Papinius, the tribune, and Clemens, a captain of the city troops. Addreſſing himſelf to Clemens, Chereas ſaid, it was wholly inconſiſtent with the character of men of honour and ſoldiers to execute the barbarous orders of a deteſtable tyrant, whoſe removal from the face of the earth it was become an indiſpenſable duty to effect, as the only means of ſecuring their own lives, and the liberties of their country. Clemens declared his approbation of what the other had ſaid, enjoining him to profound ſecrecy, and obſerving, that if the leaſt intimation of the plot ſhould tranſpire, the certain conſequence would be death to all the parties concerned.

"It is my advice, ſaid he, that we attempt not to carry our plot into execution till time ſhall afford us a favourable opportunity. The years I have paſſed have abated the violence of my paſſions, and perſuaded me that the beſt councils are thoſe which may be purſued with the greateſt ſafety." Clemens now departed, ruminating upon what had paſſed during the interview.

Chereas ſuſpects Clemens, and poſts away Sabinus.

The ſeeming indifference of Clemens gave riſe to a ſuſpicion in Chereas that he was not firmly attached to the cauſe; and therefore he haſtened to a brother-tribune named Cornelius Sabinus, who he knew to be a man of the ſtricteſt integrity, ſteadily diſpoſed to ſupport the liberties of his country, and exceedingly diſſatisfied with the preſent ſituation of public affairs, on which Chereas determined fully to explain himſelf, being perſuaded of the rectitude of his friend's principles, and the ſolidity of his judgment. The jealouſy he entertained of Clemens occaſioned him to be very urgent for an immediate diſpatch of the buſineſs in hand. He found that Sabinus entertained ſentiments perfectly correſponding with his own, though he had not ventured to divulge them: but he gave Chereas the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of ſecrecy, and that he would aſſiſt in the enterprize.

Chereas and Sabinus confer with Minucianus.

They agreed that it would be improper to loſe time in bringing matters to an iſſue: and they now repaired to Minucianus, who they knew to be an enemy to the preſent ſyſtem of government, and a man remarkable for a dignity of mind and a rigid adherence to the principles of virtue. Caius, who had naturally an enmity againſt men of honour and integrity, had cauſed the death of Lepidus, the particular friend of Minucianus, and on account of that event the averſion he had conceived againſt him was greatly encreaſed, for he was ſenſible that the loſs of his friend muſt have incurred the ill-will of Minucianus.

The ridicule which Caius caſt upon Chereas by giving the word was the ſubject of public diſcourſe. Minucianus aſked Chereas what word the emperor had given; and, happy in a queſtion ſo favourable to his deſign, he replied; "Whatever word the emperor may have given, let your word be LIBERTY. The conformity of our ſentiments animates me to proceed in a cauſe to which I am reſolutely diſpoſed. This ſword which I now graſp will be ſufficient for us both: let us then haſten to the execution of our deſign, your prudence and courage ſerving as examples for my conduct; and reſt aſſured that your commands ſhall be obeyed with chearfulneſs and punctuality. Succeſs does not ſo much depend upon the ſtrength of the arm as upon the intrepidity and fortitude of the mind: a brave ſoul, therefore, is not depreſſed by the want of arms; for courage ſupplies the place of weapons. I am impatient of the glorious exploit, of the event of which, as far as it may affect myſelf, I am perfectly indifferent; for I have more important views than the preſervation for my life, or the advancement of my fortune, at a time when the lives of my fellow ſubjects, and the laws and liberties of my country depend on the capricious will of an inflexibly cruel tyrant. You have declared your approbation of the intended enterprize; but if it ſhall prove my fortune to ſtrike the deciſive blow, let me not incur your envy for having reſcued mankind from the moſt intolerable oppreſſion."

The conſpirators are reported to have been encouraged to the execution of their deſign by the following circumſtance: as Chereas was entering the palace, a voice commanded him, in the name of the Almighty, to purſue the cauſe in which he had engaged. He was at firſt alarmed, ſuppoſing himſelf betrayed: but upon reflection, he believed the exhortation either to have been an encouraging declaration of Divine Providence, or an addreſs from ſome perſon concerned in the conſpiracy, with a deſign to animate him to the enterprize.

The death of Caius declared to be neceſſary.

Great numbers of ſenators, knights, ſoldiers, and people of various other denominations having aſſembled, they were unanimous in opinion, that the ſtate of public affairs was arrived to ſo critical a conjuncturere, that the ſpeedy death of Caius, or the ruin of the commonwealth, was inevitable. They were joined even by Calliſtus, a freed man, and ſo great a favourite of the emperor that he appeared to be a partner in the government, rather than a ſubject. By corrupt practices he had amaſſed great wealth; and on account of that temptation, he deemed himſelf in a very precarious ſituation, and therefore reſolved to attempt ingratiating the favour of the ſucceſſor to the government. In purſuance of this deſign, he addreſſed himſelf to Claudius, declaring that he had been frequently urged by the emperor to deſtroy him, but that, from motives of kindneſs, he had adopted a ſtratagem for amuſing his maſter, who ſtill expected his orders to be obeyed.

I muſt here acknowledge myſelf not diſpoſed to give credit to the report of Calliſtus; for had Caius determined upon the death of his uncle, he would not have ſuffered his deſign to be fruſtrated by the excuſes of Calliſtus, whoſe deſtruction would have followed his diſobedience to the tyrant's command. However, Claudius conſidered himſelf as being under great obligations to Calliſtus, conſidering him as the inſtrument whereby Providence had effected his preſervation.

Chereas impatient for the exploit.

Though Chereas was anxiouſly deſirous of puſhing matters to an immediate iſſue, the execution of the plot was deferred from time to time, through the irreſolute and inactive diſpoſition of ſome of the confederates. Chereas declared that he would not have heſitated to deſtroy Caius even in the Capitol, at the time he was performing ſacrifice for his daughter, or, while he was diſtributing gifts to the multitude, to have thrown him headlong from the battlements of his palace; he obſerved, that as he judged himſelf ſecure, and was ſeldom upon his guard, he might have been ſurprized on ſome public ſolemnity, or at the private ceremonies which he had himſelf inſtituted, eſpecially as he was ſurrounded by attendants who held him in abhorrence, notwithſtanding the neceſſary regard to their ſafety rendered it prudent to conceal their ſentiments. The apprehenſion that all opportunities might be loſt, and the end of the conſpiracy fruſtrated, by further delays, rendered Chereas ſo impatient that he upbraided his companions with entertaining the ſuperſtitious notion that the perſon of Caius was ſacred; declaring that he was himſelf ready to undertake the buſineſs, and to engage to diſpatch the tyrant, even without the advantage of any kind of weapon or inſtrument of death. His aſſociates highly applauded his undaunted reſolution and ſteady zeal in the public cauſe: but they were inclined ſtill to procraſtinate the deciſive attempt till the time for celebrating the games inſtituted in honour of Auguſtus, to whom the Romans firſt owed the loſs of their liberty; for he took the authority veſted in the people into his own hands, and eſtabliſhed the monarchial form of government.

Oppoſite the palace was a theatre, and it was propoſed that the plot ſhould be executed on one of the public days when the emperor was ſurrounded by the many thouſands of people reſorting to this place on occaſion of the entertainments; ſince, in caſe of alarm, the guards could not gain admittance time enough to prevent the exploit. Chereas agreed to this propoſal: but the conſpirators did not carry their deſign into effect till the third day, being the laſt of the exhibitions; and they would even have ſuffered this day to elapſe, but for the ſpirited and perſevering behaviour of Chereas, who informed them, that upon the concluſion of the entertainments, the deſign of Caius was to go to Alexandria, and from thence to proceed on the tour of Egpyt; adding, that before that day ſhould paſs, he would acquit himſelf of a duty he owed to his country and to mankind in general; nor would he permit any man to diſpute with him the glory of reſcuing mankind from the power of a vindictive and mercileſs tyrant.

A final reſolution.

Animated by the example of Chereas, his aſſociates were deſirous that the enterprize ſhould be attempted without the loſs of a moment. It being his turn, as captain of the guard, to go to the emperor for the watch-word, Chereas put his ſword by his ſide, and repaired to the palace, towards which great numbers of people were preſſing, in order to obtain places; for there being no parts of the building particularly aſſigned for the accommodation of ſenators, knights, and other people of diſtinction, men, women, maſters, and ſlaves, crouded promiſcuouſly together. Sacrifice was offered up to Auguſtus, to whoſe honour the ſolemnity was inſtituted. During the ceremony, the robe of a ſenator, named Aſprenas, was ſtained with the blood of the victim, which proved a ſubject of mirth to the emperor: but the other ſpectators conſidered it as an unfortunate omen; and ſuch indeed it proved; for in the enſuing tumult Aſprenas loſt his life. It was remarked, that on this day the emperor ſhewed greater good humour and mirth than uſual. After the ſacrifice, Caius proceeded to the theatre, accompanied by his favourite courtiers. This was a temporary ſtructure, compoſed of three frames of wood, and it was taken to pieces and put together as occaſion required. It had two entrances, one towards the court, and the other oppoſite the paſſage through which the actors paſſed, that they might not incommode the ſpectators; and on the ſame ſide with the door opening to the paſſage was a place ſeparated by partitions for the performers on muſical inſtruments.

Deſcription of the theatre.

Caius being ſeated on the right-hand ſide of the theatre, with Chereas and the reſt of the tribunes near him, a ſenator and military man, named Bathybius, in a whiſper aſked Cluvitus, the conſul, if he had heard any news. The anſwer was in the negative. Bathybius then ſaid, "I muſt inform you, that the tragedy of the tyrant is to be this day performed." Upon this, Cluvitus, in a verſe from Homer, urged him to be careful that he was not overheard by the Grecians. Fruit and birds were now thrown down among the people, and the confuſion of ſcrambling for the prizes ſeemed to afford Caius uncommon delight. During the entertainments, two matters were introduced which may be conſidered as unfortunate omens: the firſt was a corrupt judge ſuffering public juſtice, and the other a repreſentation of the tragedy of Cinyra, wherein herſelf and her daughter * Myrrha were put to death: and during theſe performances a conſiderable quantity of blood was ſpilt, for the purpoſe of giving the ſcene the greater appearance of reality. Theſe repreſentations took place on the anniverſary of the death of Philip, the ſon of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, who upon entering the theatre was ſlain by his friend Pauſanias.

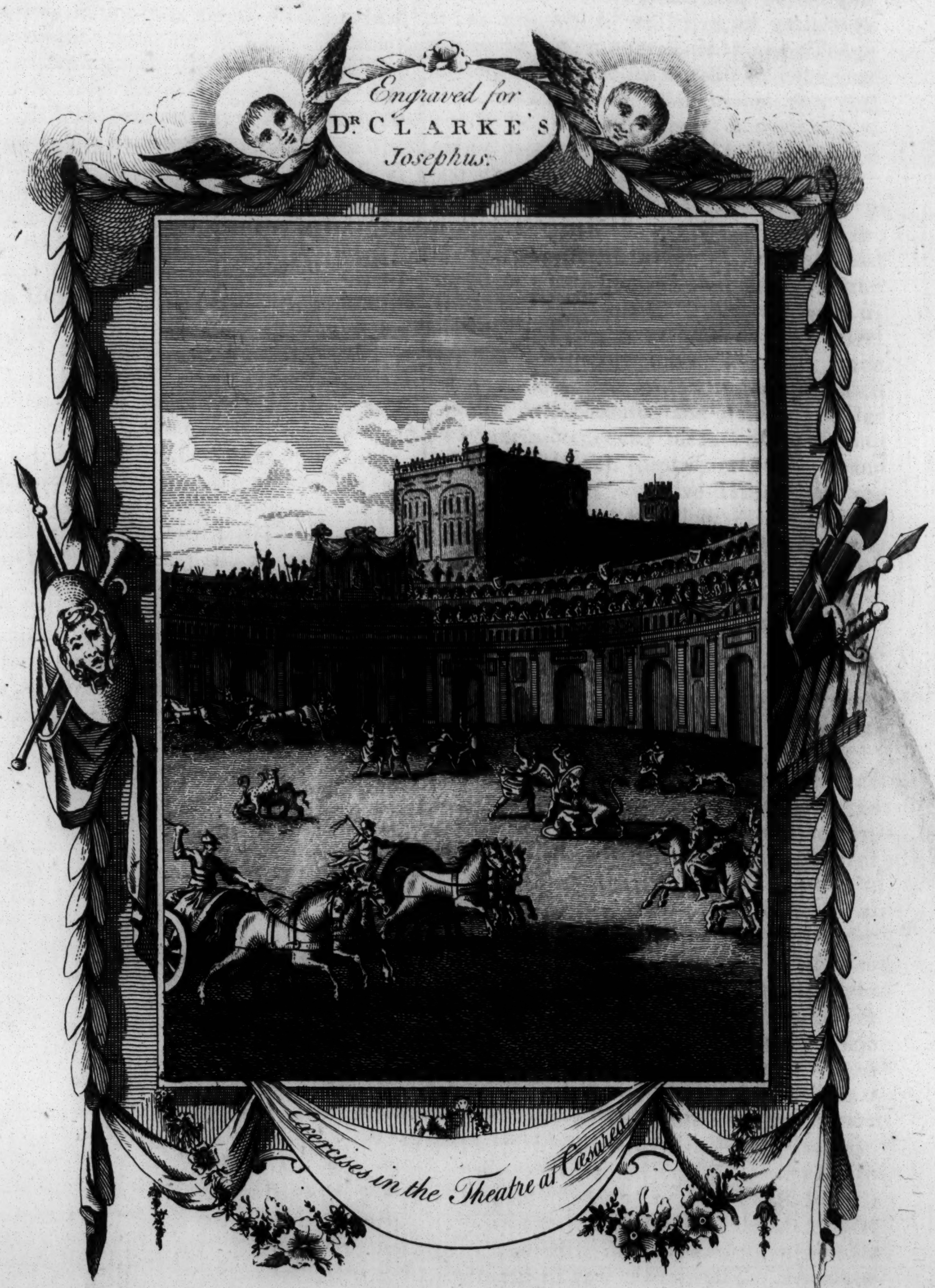
Caius was deliberating within himſelf, whether he ſhould retire to bathe and receive ſome refreſhment, and then return to the theatre. Minucianus, who ſat near Caius, obſerving Chereas quit his ſeat, and fearing the opportunity for executing the plot might be loſt, roſe in order to follow and encourage him in his reſolution, when Caius gently took hold of his robe, and, in an accent of kindneſs, aſked him whither he was going. Upon this, Minucianus again took his ſeat; but his apprehenſion returning, he roſe a ſecond time, and the emperor made no offer to detain him. Aſprenas, who was engaged in the conſpiracy, endeavoured to prevail upon Caius to retire, as was uſual, ſaying that, after bathing and receiving ſome nouriſhment, he would return to the entertainments with additional pleaſure.

The plot gainſt Caius carried in effect.

Having ſtationed the conſpirators in places moſt convenient for effecting the enterprize, Chereas became impatient of longer delay; and it being now paſt three in the afternoon, he reſolved to return to the theatre and aſſault Caius there: he was however ſenſible that if he purſued this deſign, many lives muſt be loſt: but he conſidered the liberties of his country as a concern infinitely more important than the preſervation of ſome individuals. He proceeded towards the theatre, but before he reached that place, the word was given that Caius was returning to the palace. The conſpirators cleared the way, ſeemingly as if by order of the emperor, but their view was only to plant themſelves near where he was to paſs. The proceſſion was led by Claudius, the uncle of Caius, who was followed by Marcus Minucianius, who had married his ſiſter, and after him came Valerius Aſiaticus. The above-mentioned perſonages were followed by Caius, attended by Paulus Aruntius. Having reached the entrance of the palace, he turned into a private way leading to the baths, in order to view ſome youths who had been ſent him from Aſia,

---

* Vide Sam. Petiti Legis Atticus, p. 248.


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

Exercises in the Theatre at Cæsarea

Publish'd as the Act directs Novr. 17, 1786 by John Walker Paternoster Row.

BRITISH MUSEUM

and were celebrated for their ſkill in the Pyrrick manner of dancing, and for compoſing and ſinging ſacred hymns. When he had entered this narrow paſſage, he was followed by Chereas, who aſked him for the word, which was given, but, as uſual, it conveyed a meaning ſo highly indecent and affronting, that the tribune rebuked Caius in very ſevere language, and then ſtabbed him between the neck and the ſhoulder, but the weapon was ſtopped by a bone.

When Caius received the wound, he neither made complaint, nor called for help, though he groaned, and attempted to eſcape: but he was prevented by a blow from Cornelius, which occaſioned him to fall upon his knees. An outcry then enſued of "Down with him, diſpatch the "cruel tyrant." After receiving many wounds, Caius yielded up his life. Some are of opinion, that Chereas did not mean the firſt blow ſhould be mortal, but that a repetition of wounds ſhould prolong the miſery of Caius. But it does not appear probable that Chereas could be ſo weak as to put his own ſafety and that of his aſſociates to the moſt imminent hazard by an unneceſſary delay. Aquila is ſaid to have given the wound that cauſed the death of Caius: but the reputation of this great exploit was attributed wholly to the ſteady fortitude and unremitting diligence of Chereas.

Caius dies.

The little proſpect they had of making a ſafe retreat proved highly alarming to the conſpirators, as they could not hope to eſcape by the way they came, where the paſſages were extremely narrow, and crouded with ſoldiers. At length, they determined to retire to the houſe of Germanicus, the father of the deceaſed Caius, which was contiguous to the palace, or rather a part of that building; for they are connected by ſtructures erected by preceding emperors, each being diſtinguiſhed by the name of its founder.

The German body guards firſt gained intelligence of the death of Caius. They were men highly diſtinguiſhed for their ſkill in the ſcience of war, and not leſs ſo for the cruelty of their temper, and their addiction to ſudden guſts of paſſion. They were under the command of Sabinus, who was indebted for his advancement from the ſtation of a gladiator to a robuſt form of body, and a ferocious diſpoſition. Sabinus led his party in ſearch of the authors of the death of Caius, and the firſt they met with was Aſprenas, whom they immediately put to death. Two other ſenators, named Norbanus and Anteius, and many other perſons, were alſo ſlain by the German guards.

Aſprenas, Norbanus, and Anteius ſlain.

Various reports prevailed reſpecting the fate of Caius, ſome people inſiſting that he was dead, and others that he was wounded, but not mortally. In ſhort, the people in the theatre were thrown into great conſternation, which was increaſed when they found the building ſurrounded by the Celtic legion, who publicly expoſed the heads of Aſprenas and ſeveral other perſons they had put to death. The heads of theſe unfortunate people they at length depoſited upon the altar.

The death of Caius proclaimed.

During the general conſternation, a public crier, named Aruncius, came to the theatre, cloathed in deep mourning, and made proclamation of the death of the emperor. The Germans now appeared to relent, and being commanded by their officers to ſheath their weapons, they obeyed, and the tumult ſubſided. The public declaration of the death of Caius was undoubtedly the means of preſerving the people in the theatre, as well as many others who might have fallen into the power of the Celtic legion. Upon confirmation of the news of Caius's death, they conſidered that no motive remained for giving additional proofs of their attachment, which their maſter was no longer in a condition to reward, and that there was great reaſon to apprehend they might be ſubjected to puniſhment if it ſhould prove their future fortune to be under the government of the ſenate.

In the mean time, Chereas was exceedingly diſtreſſed leſt Minucianus ſhould not eſcape the general danger: he therefore applied reſpectively to ſuch of the ſoldiers as he imagined he might ſafely confide in, earneſtly entreating that, if they ſhould meet with Minucianus, they would be particularly attentive to provide for his ſafety, and in conſequence hereof Chereas and Clemens were conducted to their reſpectable friend, who, addreſſing himſelf to Chereas, complimented him on the ſucceſs of his endeavours to preſerve the liberties of his country; ſaying that, in the name of the commonwealth, he would take upon himſelf to congratulate him on the addreſs he had proved himſelf to be maſter of in framing the plan of the revolution, and the ſingular bravery he had diſplayed in carrying it into execution. "However tyranical rulers, ſaid Minucianus, may exult in the ſhort-lived pride of lawleſs dominion, they muſt be the objects of deteſtation to the virtuous part of the world, and their triumphs muſt at length terminate in a miſerable and ſhameful end." The obſervations of Minucianus were exemplified in the caſe of Caius; for by a continual violation of the legiſlative eſtabliſhment, and the inſupportable oppreſſion to which he ſubjected the very people who were moſt firmly attached to his intereſts, he laid the foundation for the conſpiracy: thus was he the inſtrument of his own ruin; for the repeated injuries and inſults which he heaped upon his beſt friends, inſpired them with the moſt inveterate enmity, to which he at length deſervedly fell a ſacrifice. A phyſician named Arcyon was ſent for, in order to adminiſter relief to ſome perſons in the theatre who had been wounded; and the guards being retired, he ſeized the favourable opportunity of providing for the ſafety of his friends by ſending them away, under the pretext of employing them to bring him remedies. The ſudden retreat of the phyſician's friends occaſioned the utmoſt confuſion amongſt the multitude; for they quitted their ſeats, and with the utmoſt anxiety endeavoured to get out of the building where they had been ſo long confined under the moſt terrible apprehenſions.

In the interim, the ſenate aſſembled in the palace, whither a great number of people reſorted, demanding public juſtice upon the murderers of Caius. The ſenate deemed it not prudent openly to oppoſe the demands of the multitude, leſt they ſhould be provoked to outrageous proceedings. Valerius Aſiaticus, a man of conſular dignity, being aſked by the people if the murderers of the emperor had been diſcovered, ſaid, "Would it had been my fortune to deprive the tyrant of life."

The ſenate paſs a decree in condemnation of Caius.

After paſſing a decree in condemnation of the deceaſed emperor, the ſenate iſſued an order for the ſoldiers to repair to their quarters, and the citizens to their reſpective habitations, promiſing money to the former, and a reduction of taxes to the latter, on condition of their behaving in a peaceable and regular manner. Thus was a happy termination put to a popular and violent clamour, which but for ſo ſeaſonable a check, would probably have proved the cauſe of rapine, ſacrilegious violences, and other enormous crimes. The whole number of ſenators being now aſſembled, they proceeded to deliberate on the means of re-eſtabliſhing themſelves in their ancient authority.

CHAP. II.

Claudius declared the ſucceſſor of the deceaſed emperor. Ceſonia and her daughter put to death. The ſenate and the people diſagree as to the form of government to be eſtabliſhed.

WHILE the ſenate was deliberating on the ſtate of public affairs, the ſoldiers aſſembled to debate, Whether an imperial or a popular government would be moſt ſalutary? The ſubſtance of their determination was, that a commonwealth would not be able to provide for the public exigencies; and that as they had been treated as the companions, rather than as the ſervants of Caius, their conſequence muſt be diminiſhed if they were ſubject to the authority of the ſenate. They therefore inſtantly declared Claudius the ſucceſſor of his deceaſed nephew in the imperial dignity. The proceedings of the ſoldiers being reported to the ſenate, Aneus Sentius Saturninus addreſſed to the aſſembly a moſt ſpirited and patriotic diſcourſe, wherein he exhorted his auditors to exert their utmoſt endeavours for reſtoring the ancient glory of Rome by the re-eſtabliſhment of the common-wealth in its former ſplendor; and in the courſe of his ſpeech he adviſed public diſtinctions to be conferred upon Chereas, in acknowledgment of his eminent ſervices.

The ſoldiers declare Cla dius the ſuc ceſſor of Caius.

The addreſs of Saturninus proved highly to the ſatisfaction of the whole aſſembly; but the ſpeaker's attention being wholly confined to the ſubject of his diſcourſe, he did not recollect that he wore a ring on his finger, the ſtone of which bore a repreſentation of the head of Caius; this ring being obſerved by Trebellius Maximus, he ſuddenly roſe, and took it from the finger of Saturninus, and it was inſtantly broken in pieces.

As the night was now approaching, Chereas went to the Conſuls for the watchword, and the word they gave was liberty. The people were exceedingly rejoiced at hearing this word, which they underſtood to be an indication that the ancient authority would be reſtored. Before the Cæſars uſurped the ſovereign power, it was an invariable rule for the Conſuls to give orders to the ſoldiers; and the giving liberty as the watch-word was the firſt authority which the ſenate exerciſed after being depoſed. Chereas delivered the word to the four companies of troops who had declared themſelves firmly attached to the cauſe of the ſenate. Soon after they had received the watch-word, the ſoldiers departed, and preſently afterwards the multitude diſperſed, rejoicing in the happy proſpect of the commonwealth being reſtored to its original ſtate of ſplendor and happineſs, and unanimouſly applauding Chereas as the deliverer of his country.

Apprehending that there would ſtill be danger while the widow and daughter of Caius were living, Chereas directed Julius Lupus, one of the tribunes, and kinſman to Clemens, to put them to death. Several of the confederates, however, judging that Ceſonia had not ſtimulated her huſband to enſlave the people, or exerciſe cruelty upon the many illuſtrious Romans who had fallen victims to the brutal vengeance of Caius, cenſured Chereas for adviſing the deſtruction of the widow, who they conceived to be by no means chargeable with the crimes of her late huſband. On the other hand it was urged, that, with a view to the gratification of her amourous deſires, Ceſonia had adminiſtered to Caius a provocative preparation, which had operated ſo powerfully as to affect his intellects, and precipitate him to the perpetration of the moſt ſhocking barbarities; and that the woman muſt therefore be conſidered as the primary cauſe of the public calamities. Thoſe who eſpouſed the latter opinion prevailing, Julius Lupus haſtened to execute his commiſſion. Upon entering the palace, he perceived Ceſonia bitterly lamenting her unhappy fate, as ſhe lay, with her infant daughter, extended on the floor, by the mangled and bloody corps of her huſband. She was heard to reflect upon her deceaſed huſband for having refuſed to adopt the meaſures ſhe had frequently recommended, which, ſhe ſaid, would have prevented ſo fatal a cataſtrophe. What ſhe alluded to is not known. It was believed by one party that ſhe had adviſed Caius to moderate his too rigorous government, leſt by the continued exerciſe of barbarity and oppreſſion, his ſubjects ſhould be provoked to effect his deſtruction. The conſtruction that others put on her words was, that having received ſome intimation of a conſpiracy, ſhe had adviſed Caius to cauſe every man to be deſtroyed of whoſe loyalty he had the ſlighteſt cauſe for ſuſpicion. Ceſonia deſired Lupus to approach, and view the corpſe of the deceaſed emperor, and from his countenance conceiving a a ſuſpicion of his deſign, ſhe preſented her bare throat, deſiring him to execute his orders by putting an end to her miſerable exiſtence; and Lupus immediately put Ceſonia and her daughter to death.

The widow nd daughter f Caius put to death.

Character of Caius.

Caius died in the fourth year of his riegn. Among his other innumerable crimes, he was guilty of inceſt with his own ſiſter. He cauſed harbours to be formed and ſtorehouſes to be built near Rhegium, and alſo in the neighbourhood of Cicily, for the convenience of the merchants importing grain from Egypt; and theſe were the only works he attempted that could contribute to the welfare of his ſubjects. Even theſe uſeful undertakings he did not purſue to completion; for they were left in an unfiniſhed ſtate, partly through the fickleneſs of his own diſpoſition, and partly through the inattention and indolence of his agents. He was a moſt excellent orator, and a proficient in Greek and Latin. He poſſeſſed great preſence of mind, and was well ſkilled in extempore declamation on all ſubjects. His addreſs tended at once to convince the judgment, and to conciliate the affections of his hearers. Being educated under his father Germanicus, and his uncle Tiberius, who preceded him, he emulated theſe illuſtrious perſons, who were diſtinguiſhed by this kind of eminence, and was anxious, in this particular at leaſt, to preſerve the dignity of his birth and education. But to what purpoſe is it for a man to receive a liberal education, if, the moment he is at his own diſpoſal, he perverts its advantages to purpoſes diametrically oppoſite to what was intended. When Caius firſt took poſſeſſion of his government, he ſelected for his miniſters a number of perſons diſtinguiſhed by their virtue and capacity, by which he greatly conciliated the affection of the people; but as his mind became by degrees depraved, he diſmiſſed his ancient ſervants in a diſgraceful manner; and, at length, by the tyranny of his conduct, urged his ſubjects to ſuch acts of deſperation as ended in the loſs of his life.

Claudius being informed of the death of Caius, and the confuſion that reigned through the court in conſequence of that event, retired for ſafety to a place of concealment. But he had no other cauſe of apprehenſion than that an inſult might be offered to his rank. He was temperate and modeſt, an encourager of learning, and a great admirer of Greek literature.

The ſight of the heads of Aſprenas and his companions, and the confuſion prevailing among the multitude, ſerved to increaſe the fears of Claudius, who concealed himſelf in a place which had no avenue but by ſome dark ſtairs. Being diſcovered and drawn forth by Gratus, one of the guards, the man ſaid to the perſons near the ſpot, that he had diſcovered Germanicus, who was the moſt proper perſon to be advanced to the throne. Suppoſing it was the intention of the ſoldiers to deſtroy him, Claudius, entreated that they would offer no violence to him, and declared himſelf wholly innocent of procuring the death of Caius. Taking him by the right-hand, Gratus deſired him to diſmiſs his fears, and prepare to take poſſeſſion of the government. "It is the pleaſure of the gods, ſaid Gratus, to make me their agent in offering you the government of the Roman empire; therefore reſume your fortitude, and aſcend the throne of your anceſtors." After this, Claudius was raiſed upon the ſhoulders of the people, his fears, joy and ſurprize having rendered him incapable of ſupporting himſelf.

Gratus offers the government to Claudius.

Suppoſing Claudius was on the point of being hurried to execution, the ſoldiers,

5 T

who crouded about Gratus in great numbers, expreſſed their diſſatisfaction that a man of ſuch inoffenſive manners ſhould be deſtroyed. Some were for appealing to the Conſuls; and as the number of ſoldiers continued to increaſe, the people who were unarmed quitted the place, fearing they might ſhare the fate which they ſuppoſed awaited Claudius.

The ſoldiers unanimouſly for Claudius.

Being deſerted by the people that had carried him, Claudius, being too weak to proceed on foot, was ſurrounded by the troops, who were unanimous in a deſire of advancing him to the throne, partly from their reſpect to his brother Germanicus, and partly to diſappoint the ambitious projects of the ſenators, who had before occaſioned great commotions in the ſtate. They conſidered the republican form of government as irretrievably ruined; and ſince it was neceſſary that an emperor ſhould be choſen, were deſirous of conferring the dignity upon whoever they approved. Some of the troops took Claudius upon their ſhoulders, and proceeded with him to the camp, being followed by their companions.

During theſe proceedings a difference aroſe between the ſenate and the people at large; the former being for the eſtabliſhment of the common-wealth in its ancient ſplendor, and defending their authority from the uſurpations of tyranny: on the contrary, the latter, envying the power aimed at by the ſenate, wiſhed for regal reſtraint on the proceedings of its members, and that they might be ſecured from their oppreſſions by an appeal to a higher power. The people at large, therefore, were tranſported at the elevation of Claudius, preſuming that, under his government, they ſhould be protected from the calamities of civil war, and misfortunes ſimilar to thoſe in which they had been involved by the wars of Cæſar and Pompey.

The ſenate ſends Veranius and Brouchus, with a menacing meſſage to Claudius.

Upon learning that the troops had reſolved upon the advancement of Claudius, the ſenate diſpatched commiſſioners ſelected from their aſſembly with inſtructions to admoniſh him of the danger of aſſuming the government; and to ſtate that he would act prudently in contenting himſelf with the honourable ſtation of a ſenator; ſince if he perſevered in acting contrary to their inclination in this reſpect, they were determined vigourouſly to oppoſe his pretentions, being amply provided with troops and arms, and convinced that they ſhould receive the aſſiſtance of Heaven in ſo juſt a cauſe as the defence of the liberties of their country. Veranius and Brouchus were the principal commiſſioners appointed to wait upon Claudius on this occaſion: and having delivered their meſſage, they, throwing themſelves at his feet, earneſtly entreated him not to take any ſtep that might involve the public in a civil war. Obſerving that Claudius was ſo ſurrounded with perſons belonging to the army, that the power of the conſuls was greatly inferior to that of the troops, they ſimply requeſted of him, that if he was determined to aſſume the ſovereignty, he would decline taking it by violence, but accept it from the ſenate; ſince it would by no means appear ſo creditable to ſeize it from the people by force, as to receive it as a proof of their eſteem.

CHAP. III.

Several contentions reſpecting the advancement of Claudius. Chereas, Lupus and others executed. After receiving a pardon, Sabinus kills himſelf.

AGRIPPA was extremely urgent with Claudius to accept the ſovereignty, and the ſoldiers promiſing to ſupport him in his pretenſions, he yielded to their perſuaſions.

Agrippa courages Claudius.

Having diſpoſed of the body of his late friend Caius, who had given him poſſeſſion of a throne, Agrippa reported among the guards that the emperor was not dead, but that he was dangerouſly ill of his wounds. Being informed that Claudius had been carried away by the ſoldiers, Agrippa haſtened through the croud in ſearch of him, and finding him ſo alarmed that he was on the point of yielding to the demands of the ſenate, he mentioned ſome circumſtances which confirmed him in the reſolution of maintaining his pretenſions to the throne. Agrippa then departed.

Soon afterwards Agrippa took his place in the ſenate, being ſuperbly dreſſed. Pretending ignorance of what had happened, he aſked the ſenators in what manner Claudius had diſpoſed of himſelf, when they gave an account of the late occurrences, and aſked his opinion as to the preſent ſtate of public affairs. He ſaid, that to promote the dignity of the ſenate, he would readily relinquiſh whatever was moſt dear to him; and he ſhould be happy to hear meaſures propoſed for the advantage of the commonwealth: but without an ample proviſion of men, arms and money, there could be no foundation to hope for ſucceſs in a conteſt either for dominion or authority. The ſenate replied, that they were ſufficiently provided in thoſe eſſential points. Hereupon, Agrippa ſaid, that the troops under Claudius were men of approved bravery, and long experience in the art of war, deſiring the ſenators to reflect, that they were only able to form an army of undiſciplined men. He therefore propoſed that ſome perſons might be commiſſioned to wait upon Claudius, and endeavour to prevail upon him to relinquiſh his claim; adding, that if any difficulty ſhould ariſe, as to the perſons to be deputed, he would willingly make one of the number.

grippa private ructions to Claudius.

Agrippa's propoſition appeared ſo reaſonable to the ſenate, that they deputed him and ſome others to tranſact the buſineſs. Agrippa, however, contrived previouſly to have a private meeting with Claudius, whom he informed of the uneaſy ſtate of mind in which the ſenate was, and dictated to him what anſwer he ſhould make to the deputies. In conſequence hereof, when the commiſſioners attended, Claudius addreſſed them as follows: "I am not ſurprized that the government being lodged in a ſingle perſon is ſo diſagreeable to the ſenate, when I reflect how much diſtreſs the tyranny of ſome late princes hath cauſed them: but for myſelf, I have not an idea of any greater ſatisfaction than what will ariſe from the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, which will ſecure the liberties and poſſeſſions of my ſubjects: for it is my intention, though ruling under the name of a prince, to govern by the general conſent and advice of my people. With regard to my ſincerity in what I now ſay, I wiſh only to refer the ſenate to thoſe proofs of uprightneſs and moderation which I have already given in times of great diſtreſs and difficulty." Having thus ſaid, he diſmiſſed the commiſſioners; and, after they were gone, made a ſpeech to his ſoldiers, to whom he adminiſtered an oath of fidelity, and preſented each private man with five hundred drachmas, gratifying the officers with proportionable ſums, and promiſing that the ſoldiers who were not preſent ſhould be rewarded in the like manner.

The ſenators ſummoned a meeting to be held the next morning, before day-break, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Some, being apprehenſive of diſagreeable conſequences, declined to attend, and concealed themſelves in the city, while others went into the country; ſo that not more than a hundred ſenators were preſent.

The ſoldiers demand the ſenate to chuſe an emperor.

While they were debating, ſome ſoldiers came to the door of the temple, and called to the ſenators, deſiring they would nominate ſome perſon worthy to be inveſted with the imperial dignity, ſince public confuſion and misfortune muſt enſue from having a multiplicity of governors; adding, that the choice of the perſon was wholly left to the diſcretion of the ſenate. This circumſtance proved highly alarming to the ſenate, among which body were ſeveral perſons, who, from the dignity of their families, and their affinity to Caius, might have reaſonably claimed the imperial honour. Among theſe was Marcus Minutianus, a man of the firſt diſtinction, who was allied to the Cæſars, by his marriage with Julia, the ſiſter of Caius. He aſpired to the throne, but his pretentions were not favoured by the conſuls. Valerius, Aſiaticus, was alſo deſirous of putting in his claim, but declined that intention, through the perſuaſions of another Minutianus, who was one of the conſpirators againſt Caius. Such was the ſtate of affairs, that a competition with Claudius, would inevitably have produced the moſt horrid ſcenes of ſlaughter and devaſtation. In ſupport of their cauſe, the adherents to Claudius, had engaged a great number of gladiators, and military men of all ranks, beſides a large body of watermen and other people of the inferior claſſes, who were to yield their aſſiſtance, if neceſſary.

Chereas an enemy to Claudius.

Upon the approach of day-light, Chereas, with a number of his followers, arrived, and by a ſignal for ſilence intimated, that he wiſhed to be heard. The ſoldiers, however, inſiſted that nothing was neceſſary but to proceed to the choice of an emperor, and by their clamours and vociferations prevented Chereas from ſpeaking. The ſenators were now convinced that this was not a proper time for adjuſting the government, ſince their authority was deſpiſed by the ſoldiery, and treated with ſcorn and mockery by the loweſt claſſes of the people. The conſpirators now became perfectly outrageous; when Chereas, with an air of contempt, ſaid, ſince they would not be ſatisfied without an emperor, he would produce a man fit for the office, if they would obtain an order from Eutychus, in juſtification of his conduct. Eutychus, was a man of moſt abandoned character; he had been charioteer to Caius, and had ſerved him in the vileſt offices. Chereas, diſcharged many bitter invectives againſt Claudius, whoſe head, he ſaid, he would rather produce to the people than acknowledge him as emperor. Regardleſs of what was advanced by Chereas, the ſoldiers unſheathed their ſwords, and taking their colours, went in ſearch of Claudius, in order to ſwear allegiance to him, as great numbers of other people had already done.

The ſenate was now abandoned by thoſe very people that ſhould have been its defenders; the conſuls were nearly reduced to the degree of private men, and the people in general almoſt diſtracted with grief and conſternation, on the reflection how unhappy their fate muſt be, after the inſults that had been offered to Claudius: every man, however, ſeemed to lay the blame of theſe misfortunes on others, in the wiſh to extenuate his own conduct. During the violence of this confuſion, Sabinus, one of the confederates, made his appearance, and ſolemnly proteſted that he would ſtab every man he met, ſooner than acknowledge the authority of Claudius; and, by ſeeing him in poſſeſſion

Sabinus proteſts againſt Claudius.

ſion of the empire, confeſs his own abject ſubmiſſion to ſlavery. Then turning to Chereas, he ſaid, “How will you juſtify your conduct? Will you, who were one of the firſt aſſertors of the general liberty againſt Caius, recede from your magnanimous reſolution, in fear of death; as if a brave man could be happy who is not likewiſe free?” To this Chereas replied, “No: I am determined that my liberty and life ſhall end together; but, at preſent, I ſhould be happy to know the ſentiments of Claudius.”

During this confuſed ſtate of public affairs, great crouds of people from all parts hurried to the camp, to pay their compliments to Claudius; and among theſe came Quintus Pompeius, one of the conſuls, who had acquired the particular enmity of the army, becauſe he had animated the ſenate to the ſupport of their liberties. On his coming forward to pay his reſpects, the ſoldiers drew their ſwords to attack him, and he muſt have fallen a ſacrifice to their rage, but that Claudius placed him by his ſide, and thus protected him. Some other ſenators, who came with Pompeius, were more roughly treated; ſeveral of them who advanced to ſalute Claudius, were kept back by blows; all of them were in great danger of their lives, and among them Aponius went away wounded. King Agrippa, now interfered with Claudius, who, on his requeſt, treated the ſenators and men of rank in a complaiſant and friendly manner: Agrippa, obſerving that, when thoſe ſubjects were loſt, he would have no others but what he would bluſh to acknowledge. In purſuance of his advice, Claudius directed them to meet him at the palace, to which he was conveyed through the town in a litter, the way being cleared by a party of ſoldiers.

Agrippa gives Claudius good caunſel.

Pollio, lately appointed captain of the guard to Claudius, iſſued an order prohibiting the appearance of the confederates in public: but Chereas and Sabinus, two of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of them, preſumed to act in defiance of this command. Upon arriving at his palace, and being ſurrounded by his friends, Claudius pronounced ſentence of death upon Chereas.

Chereas, Lupus, and others of the conſpirators being conveyed to the place of execution, the former did not, by a ſingle look or action, depart from the dignity of his character. Lupus, on the contrary, behaved in a moſt daſtardly manner, on which account, Chereas treated him with contempt. Upon ſome of his cloaths being taken off, preparatory to his ſuffering, he complained of being cold, when Chereas ſaid, that wolves felt no cold. This was in alluſion to the word Lupus, ſignifying a wolf, as well as being the proper name of a man. Chereas ſaid to the executioner, “Are you a proficient in the buſineſs of cutting throats, and has your ſword a keen edge?” He then deſired the officer to perform his duty, and to make uſe of the ſame weapon with which he had himſelf ſtabbed Caius. The man obeyed, and diſpatched him with a ſingle ſtroke. Fearful of death, and ſhrinking from the uplifted weapon, the executioner was under the neceſſity of ſtriking Lupus ſeveral times; ſo that before he expired, he ſuffered much pain from repeated wounds. A few days after, when the people came to celebrate the feaſt of expiatory oblations to the ſpirits of their departed friends, they paid Chereas equal honour with the reſt, by throwing their offerings into the fire with the uſual ceremonies, and requeſting his forgiveneſs of their former ingratitude.

Chereas and Lupus executed.

Claudius, not only pardoned Sabinus, but alſo continued him in his command, in conſideration that, although concerned in the conſpiracy, he had continued in the regular diſcharge of the duties of his official ſtation. But this act of clemency was no ſooner extended to him, than Sabinus put an end to his life, by falling upon his ſword.

Sabinus kill himſelf.

CHAP. IV.

Claudius confirms Agrippa in his government. A contention between the Jews and the Greeks. Edicts paſſed in favour of the Jews.

No ſooner was Claudius eſtabliſhed in poſſeſſion of his government than he diſmiſſed from his army all perſons ſuſpected of being diſaffected to his intereſt. He confirmed Agrippa in his poſſeſſion of the kingdom, beſtowed upon him by Caius, and gave him the government of Judea and Samaria, in conſideration of thoſe countries having formed part of the kingdom of his grand-father Herod, conſidering this as a reſtitution of what the family had a right to claim. In addition, he beſtowed upon him Abela and the lands adjacent to mount Libanus, which had belonged to Lyſanias. Certain articles of agreement between Agrippa and the inhabitants of Rome, were engraven upon a plate of copper, and placed in the centre of the great market-place of that city, as a memorial to future ages.

The kindne of Claudius to Agrippa.

Claudius, reſtored to liberty his old friend Alexander Lyſimachus, the officer of the cuſtoms, and former agent to Antonia, the mother of Caius, which prince had impriſoned him. Claudius contracted that his ſon Marcus ſhould eſpouſe Berenice, the daughter of Agrippa: but the youth dying before the conſummation of the marriage, ſhe was given in wedlock to his brother Herod, on whom Claudius, at the requeſt of Aprippa, beſtowed the kingdom of Phalcis.

During

ition be- the and the ks.

During the reign of Caius, the Jews had been greatly oppreſſed and perſecuted by the people of Alaxandria: but they now began to reſume courage, and in conſequence thereof a ſedition aroſe. Upon receiving news of the diſturbance, Claudius wrote to the governor of Egypt, commanding him to uſe his utmoſt endeavours for reſtoring peace. At the requiſition of the kings Herod and Agrippa, Claudius ſent an edict in favour of the Jews to Alexandria, and another to the ſame effect to Syria. The firſt of theſe ſtated, that it was the pleaſure of Tiberius Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus, tribune, and prince of the ſenate, to reſtore the Jews of Alexandria to, and confirm them in, the enjoyment of all the privileges granted to them by former kings of Egypt. The ſubſtance of the other edict was, that Tyberius Claudius Cæſar Aguſtus Germanicus, high-prieſt, tribune of the people, and conſul elect for the ſecond time, on the requiſition of his valuable friends the kings Agrippa and Herod, had determined the Jews in all parts of the empire ſhould be entitled to the ſame privileges as were granted to the Jews of Alexandria, and that they ſhould enjoy the ſame in as ample a manner as they had done in the time of Auguſtus.

CHAP. V.

Agrippa dedicates his chain of gold to the Almighty. Simon ſucceeds Theophilus in the office of high-prieſt. Silas appointed to the command of the army.

HAVING conferred many bounties upon Agrippa, and given him letters of recommendation to the governors and ſuperintendants of the ſeveral provinces through which he was to paſs, Claudius directed him to repair to his government. Proceeding to Jeruſalem, Agrippa diſcharged himſelf of all his ſacred vows, offered up ſacrifices according to the forms of the law, and compelled a number of the Nazarenes to cut off their hair. Agrippa having been bound with an iron chain, by the order of Tiberius, Caius preſented him with a golden chain of an equal weight, and this chain of gold the king dedicated to the Almighty, directing that it ſhould be hung up in the veſtry, over the box of the holy treaſure, as a laſting monument of the power and kindneſs of providence, in affording relief to mankind in their deepeſt calamities; and to intimate to the people in general, that the God who permits us to be oppreſſed, is able to raiſe us to our former ſtation. This conſecrated chain repreſented a lively picture of a prince become the ſport of fortune, and confined in irons; and then, as ſoon as imagination could form an idea, reſtored to his liberty, and becoming a greater prince than he was before. Nor is this any thing but what is agreeable to the viciſſitudes of human affairs: for it often happens that things the moſt proſperous go at once to decay; while thoſe the moſt adverſe ſoon become proſperous.

Agrippa having thus diſcharged his duty to God, his next ſtep was to diveſt Theophilus, the ſon of Ananus, of the office of high prieſt, which he beſtowed on Simon, the ſon of Boethus, who bore the ſirname of Canthara. Simon had two brothers, who had each already officiated as high-prieſt, as had alſo their father, Boethus, whoſe daughter was married to king Herod, as hath been mentioned in another place. This ſingular diſtinction likewiſe happened in the family of Simon, the high-prieſt, the ſon of Onias, whoſe three ſons ſucceeded to that office, during the Macedonian government, of which notice hath likewiſe been already taken.

Simon ſucceeds Theophilus in the pontificate.

Having adjuſted the affair of the pontificate, the king, in teſtimony of his gratitude to the inhabitants of Jeruſalem, for the reſpect they had ſhewn him, remitted the tax upon houſes, by which act he rendered himſelf extremely popular. In conſideration of the many dangers and difficulties he had formerly ſhared with Silas, Agrippa appointed him general of his army.

Some time after theſe events, a number of young men belonging to Doris, impelled by the heat of their own imaginations, aſſembled together, and under pretence of a regard to religion, dedicated a ſtatue to Cæſar in the ſynagogue of the Jews. This circumſtance gave the utmoſt offence to Agrippa, who thought it would tend, in a high degree, to bring their religion into contempt: he therefore loſt no time in repairing to Petronius, the governor of Syria, to whom he made complaint of the inſult that had been offered: and Petronius diſpatched a letter, reproving the offenders in very ſevere terms, for the innovation they had committed.

A ſtatue dedicated to Cæſar in the ſynagogue.

CHAP. VI.

Simon being removed from the office of high-prieſt, Jonathan declines to accept that dignity, to which he recommends his brother Matthias. Marcus ſucceeds Petronius as governor of Syria.

THE letter written by Publius Petronius commanded the magiſtrates of Doris, to deliver the offending parties into the cuſtody of Vitellius Proculus, or at leaſt to make him acquainted with their names, in order that they might be puniſhed according to their demerits. With this letter was tranſmitted a copy of the edict lately ſent by the emperor to the people of Alexandria, in behalf of the Jews. In conſequence of the directions given by Petronius, the abuſes complained of were rectified, and proviſion was made againſt a repetition of thoſe enormities.

Not long after this time, king Agrippa removed Simon, ſurnamed Canthara, from the office of high-prieſt, deſigning to reſtore Jonathan, the ſon of Ananus, as a perſon better qualified for that honourable diſtinction: but Jonathan declined it, with an acknowledgement of the favour intended by the king, whom he addreſſed in the following manner: "As the Almighty did not think me worthy of retaining that ſacred office, I reſt contented in the conſciouſneſs of having once worn the holy veſtments. I could, originally, have better juſtified my entrance into that holy order, than I now could my re-aſſumption of the dignity: but, Sir, as you ſeem to pay a high regard to the worthineſs of the party, permit me to recommend to your majeſty my brother, who is a man uncorrupted by the vices of this world, blameleſs and without offence before God and man, and of courſe highly proper to fill this dignified ſtation." This candid and modeſt behaviour of Jonathan ſo pleaſed the king, that he readily agreed to his reſignation of the office, which he beſtowed on his brother Matthias. In a ſhort time after this, Petronius was diſmiſſed from the government of Syria, and Marſus ſucceeded to that honourable poſt.

Matthias appointed high-prieſt, and Marſus governor of Syria.

CHAP. VII.

Silas impriſoned. Agrippa fortifies Jeruſalem. The work ſtopped by Claudius. Elioneus ſucceeds to the pontificate. Agrippa dies. He is ſucceeded by Cuſpius Fadus.

PRESUMING on having been an aſſociate with Agrippa in the misfortunes of war, and on the difficulties and dangers he had encountered in his ſervice, Silas deemed himſelf intitled to a joint ſhare in the government. In common converſation he was accuſtomed to boaſt of the great ſervices he had rendered Agrippa, and to inſult him by reminding him of the inferiortiy of his former ſtation in life. So provoking were the inſults of Silas, that the king, at length, deprived him of his command, and ſent him a priſoner into his own country: but ſoon afterwards, reflecting that he was indebted to him in many obligations, he relented, and diſpatched meſſengers to invite him to make one of the company in celebrating the anniverſary of his birth. Silas ſaid to the meſſengers, that if he accepted the honour intended him by the king, it would be of ſhort duration, and therefore he declined it; that his removal from office had injured his reputation, and that, while conſcious of his own integrity, he would not be prevailed upon to diſguiſe the truth, nor to conceal his ſentiments and opinions; for ſince fetters and a dungeon were the reward of his ſervices, the public ſhould be informed of the diſtreſſed ſituation from which he had relieved Agrippa, and the dangers he had braved in his behalf. He deſired the meſſengers to report what he had ſaid to their maſter. Believing the determination of Silas not to admit of being altered, Agrippa ordered him again to priſon.

Silas impriſoned.

The king now directed his attention to the ſafety of the city, and at the public expence fortified the walls of the part called the new town. Theſe he built conſiderably higher and ſtronger than they were before; and he would have rendered Jeruſalem abſolutely impregnable, had not Marſus, the governor of Syria, privately communicated to Claudius his ſuſpicions that ſome dangerous deſign was on foot. Hereupon the emperor wrote to Agrippa, directing him to relinquiſh the undertaking, which was accordingly done.

Agrippa fortifies Jeruſalem: but ſtops the work.

Agrippa was peculiarly gratified in ſeizing every opportunity of exerciſing his naturally liberal diſpoſition. In this reſpect he was the reverſe of his predeceſſor Herod, who was deceitful and cruel. Herod was notoriouſly partial to the Greeks, to the prejudice of the Jews; as was evident from the treaſure he expended in erecting theatres, temples, galleries, bathing houſes, and other ſtructures; but he did not in any caſe whatever employ conſiderable ſums in public works to the honour of the Jews. Agrippa, on the contrary, was gentle and humane, hoſpitable and benevolent to ſtrangers, and a friend to mankind in general; though the people of his own country and religion he diſtinguiſhed as the moſt particular objects of his bounty. He choſe Jeruſalem as the general place of his reſidence. He was punctual in the diſcharge of the duties of religion, though free from all taint of ſuperſtition, and he offered a ſacrifice every day.

While he was at Cæſarea, a lawyer, named Simon, having publicly reflected upon Agrippa as being a man of a diſorderly life, and deſerving puniſhment agreeable to the practice of the church, the governor ſent intelligence thereof to the king, who ordered the man to attend him. Simon arriving, when he was at the theatre, the king ſaid, if he had any cauſe for reproaching him, he wiſhed a public declaration of it to be made in that place. Simon being unable to juſtify the aſſertion he had made, in a confuſed manner implored the king's pardon, which he immediately received, together with a preſent in money.

In every place where Agrippa arrived, ſome proofs were given of his bounty and magnificence; but Berytus was diſtinguiſhed above the reſt; for at that place, at an immenſe expence, he erected a theatre, and an amphitheatre, of equal ſplendor; together with a number of bagnios, and arched walks, which were all finiſhed in the higheſt degree of perfection. Theſe buildings were dedicated with extraordinary pomp: variety of ſhews were exhibited in the theatre; with a diverſity of muſic, and other kinds of entertainments. In the amphitheatre a number of gladiators exhibited their feats in ſingle combat: and this being ended, no leſs than ſeven hundred malefactors were expoſed to another ſeven hundred, forming the reſemblance of a battle, and they fought till every man was deſtroyed.

Several kings viſit Agrippa.

Soon after this, Agrippa went from Berytus to Tiberias, a city of Galilee, where ſeveral royal perſonages paid him their compliments; as Antiochus, king of Comagena; Sampſigeran, king of the Emenſenes; Cotys, king of the Leſſer Armenia; Polemon, an inferior prince of Pontus; and likewiſe Herod, king of Chalcis, and the brother of Agrippa. Theſe were received and entertained with a degree of royal hoſpitality becoming the character of Agrippa and his viſitors; and it was deemed much to the honour of the former to have ſo many gueſts of eminent diſtinction. While the above illuſtrious perſons were with Agrippa, Marſus, the governor of Syria, paid him a viſit, when Agrippa, through reſpect to the ſovereignty of the Roman empire, went ſeven miles from town to meet him: but the above viſit occaſioned a diſſention between them; for Marſus finding ſo many ſovereigns aſſembled, and apparently upon terms of the ſtricteſt friendſhip, became apprehenſive that ſo formidable an alliance might endanger the public welfare; and therefore he diſpatched meſſengers to the ſeveral kings, directing them to depart without loſs of time. This conduct ſo diſguſted Agrippa, that he ever after treated Marſus with great contempt.

Elioneus appointed high-prieſt.

At this time Agrippa removed Matthias from the office of high-prieſt, and appointed Elioneus, the ſon of Citheus, his ſucceſſor. In the third year of his reign over Judea, Agrippa went to Cæſarea, formerly known by the name of Straton's tower, where a great number of the nobility and other people of rank aſſembled on occaſion of the games and ſpectacles inſtituted in honour of Cæſar. Early in the morning of the ſecond day of the ſpectacles, Agrippa went to the theatre, habited in a robe curiouſly wrought with ſilver, the rays of light emitted from which the people deemed to be ſupernatural. They ſupplicated his pardon for having ignorantly ſuppoſed him a mortal; adding, that they were now convinced he was a being of a divine nature. He attempted not to repreſs this impious flattery, but, while contemplating his ideal divinity, and raiſing his eyes towards heaven, he obſerved an owl perched upon a rope over his head. This circumſtance he conſidered as an unfortunate omen, and ſuch indeed it proved, as had been predicted; for he was inſtantly ſeized with a violent pain at his head, and convulſions in his bowels. While in this ſituation, he addreſſed the people ſurrounding him, ſaying, "The inevitable fate awaiting me, will ſhortly prove that I am not immortal, and that thoſe who have told me to the contrary are impious flatterers. The will of Heaven be done! The happineſs of my life has been equal to that of the moſt ſucceſsful monarch that has reigned: but ambition and vanity are the cauſe of my deſtruction."

Being tormented with pain, the king reproves his flatterers.

Having thus ſpoken, his pains ſo greatly increaſed that it was neceſſary to remove him into the palace, and a rumour generally prevailed that the king was at the point of death, in conſequence of which the people cloathed themſelves in ſackcloth, and united in prayers to the Almighty for the recovery of the king, who looking down from his apartment, near the top of his palace, wept bitterly on ſeeing his mourning ſubjects proſtrate on the pavement below. From this time he continued to ſuffer the moſt excrutiating pain for five days, and then he died, being in the ſeventh year of his reign, and the fifty-fourth of his age. During the firſt four years of his reign, Agrippa governed under the emperor Caius; Philip being tetrarch with him the firſt three years; and in the fourth, the tetrarchy being jointly divided between Agrippa and Herod. During the remaining three years, Claudius was emperor, and, excluſive of the government of Judea, beſtowed upon him the command of Cæſarea and Samaria. His annual income was eſtimated at twelve hundred myriads. Silas being now in priſon, Herod, prince of Chalcis, and Chelcias, the general, being his inveterate enemies, they diſpatched Ariſton to deſtroy him, as by order of the king, before the death of the latter ſhould be made public.

Agrippa dies.

The ſurviving family of Herod, conſiſted of a ſon of his own name, aged ſeventeen years, and three daughters. Berenice, the eldeſt daughter, when ſixteen years old, was married to her uncle Herod: Mariamne, the ſecond daughter, was ten, and Druſilla, the youngeſt, was ſix years of age, at the time of their father's death.

Mariamne was contracted to Julius Archelaus, the ſon of Chelcias, and her ſiſter to Epiphanes, the ſon of Antiochus, king of Comagena.

The death of king Agrippa was no ſooner made known to the public, than the inhabitants

The ingratitude of the inhabitants of Cæſarea and Sebaſte.

habitants of Cæſarea and Sebaſte, inſtead of making a proper acknowledgement of the many obligations he had conferred on them, loaded his memory with the moſt ſcandalous and opprobrious epithets that their imaginations could poſſibly give riſe to. It happened that at this time there was a number of ſoldiers at thoſe places, who, in aid of the calumny, took the ſtatues of Agrippa's three daughters from the palace, and conveyed them in triumph to public brothels, with brutiſh terms of reproach that are too infamous for repetition. With their heads ornamented with flowers and garlands, and perfumed with ointments, they feaſted and revelled in the ſtreets, offering libations to Charon, and otherwiſe expreſſing their joy on occaſion of their king's death.

Being informed of the death of Agrippa, and of the inſults offered to his memory by the ungrateful inhabitants of Cæſarea and Sebaſte, Claudius expreſſed great concern on both accounts; and, agreeable with the oath he had taken, he formed the deſign of ſending the ſon of the deceaſed king, who was then at Rome, to take poſſeſſion of his father's government: but, through the perſuaſions of his favourites, the emperor declined that intention. They contended, that it was unſafe to truſt an undertaking of ſuch importance with ſo young a man; for the commiſſion was of ſo difficult a kind, that it would furniſh ample employment for the moſt acute, penetrating, and experienced man in the empire.

Cuſpius Fadus the ſucceſſor of Agrippa.

Claudius appointed Cuſpius Fadus the ſucceſſor of Agrippa, reſtricting him from receiving Marſus into the government, on account of his having been the declared enemy of Agrippa. He alſo directed him ſeverely to puniſh the inhabitants of Cæſarea and Sebaſte, for the indignities they had offered to Agrippa and his daughters; commiſſioning him to diſpatch to Pontus the five cohorts and the other troops ſtationed in thoſe cities, and to ſupply their places with a body of choice men from the Roman legions then in Syria. Claudius, however, was prevailed upon to revoke this laſt order; and hence aroſe very great calamities to the Jewiſh nation.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS,

BY

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

BOOK XX.

From the Year of the World 4009 *to* 4030.

CHAPTER I.

Caſſius Longinus ſucceeds Marſus in the government of Syria. The principal inſtigators of an inſurrection puniſhed. Sentence of death paſſed upon the leader of a band of robbers. Joſeph ſucceeds Canthara in the pontificate.

SOON after the deceaſe of Agrippa, the emperor Claudius manifeſted his reſpect for the memory of his royal friend by removing Marſus from the government of Syria, and appointing Caſſius Longinus to ſucceed him; and this he did in compliance with the requeſt that Agrippa had made to him in divers letters.

A diſpute at this time prevailed between the Jews reſident on the other ſide the Jordan and the Philadelphians, reſpecting the boundaries of a village called Mais, inhabited by a people remarkable for their bravery. The Jews having taken up arms, and put ſeveral of the Philadelphians to death, without receiving authority for ſo doing from their ſuperiors; Cuſpius Fadus was ſo much incenſed againſt them, on account of their ſeditious practices, that he cauſed Annibis, Amaram, and Eleazar, the principal inſtigators of the violence, to be put in chains. He ſoon afterwards ſentenced Annibus to ſuffer death, and his two companions to baniſhment.

nibis,
maram, and
leazar put
death.

The ſedition being quelled, Fadus pronounced ſentence of death upon Tholomeus, the captain of a band of robbers that had committed great devaſtation in Arabia and Idumea. This delinquent being puniſhed, Fadus purſued the moſt vigorous and effectual meaſures for extirpating all the other invaders of the public peace, and deſpoilers of private property. He then ſent to the prieſts and principal men of Jeruſalem, requiring them, under the virtue of a mandate granted by Cæſar, to reſtore the pontifical veſtments to the caſtle of Antonia, where they had been depoſited in ancient days. It being ſuppoſed, that the removal of the ſacred ſtole to Antonia might exaſperate the multitude, the troops were drawn up, in order to preſerve public tranquillity. The prieſts and other leading people of Jeruſalem, ſuppoſing that an abſolute refuſal of the demand might be attended with danger, they applied to Fadus and Longinus, ſoliciting permiſſion to ſubmit their caſe to Cæſar, and that in the mean time, the proceedings might be ſuſpended. Their requeſt was complied with, on condition of their delivering up their children as hoſtages.

holomeus
ecuted.

The deputies in behalf of the Jews going to Rome, Agrippa, who was then at the emperor's court, was ſo ſooner informed of their arrival, than he petitioned the emperor to permit the ſacred veſtments to continue in poſſeſſion of the Jews. Hereupon, Claudius ordered the deputies into his preſence, and informed them of his acquieſcence in their requiſition, at the ſame time ſaying, their acknowledgements were due to Agrippa, through whoſe interceſſion his compliance

Cæſar adjudges the holy veſtments to remain with the Jews.

pliance was obtained. He then delivered to the commiſſioners a letter, addreſſed to the people of Jeruſalem and the whole Jewiſh nation, purporting that Claudius Cæſar Germanicus, tribune of the people, the fifth time elected conſul, the fourth time emperor, and the tenth time father of his country, in compliance with the deſire of Agrippa, was willing that the pontifical habits ſhould remain in the cuſtody of the Jews, conditionally that the regulations eſtabliſhed in the time of Vitellius ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved. Cornelius, the ſon of Ceron; Tryphon, the ſon of Theudion; Dorotheus, the ſon of Nathanael; and John, the ſon of John, were intruſted to deliver this letter, which was dated the fourth of the Calends of July *, to Cuſpius Fadus.

Upon his own ſolicitation, Claudius granted to Herod, prince of Chalcis, the charge of the temple, the holy veſſels and other treaſure, together with the power of appointing the high-prieſts. Theſe privileges continued in Herod's family till the concluſion of the Jewiſh wars. Having depoſed Canthara, Herod promoted Joſeph, the ſon of Caneus, to the pontificate.

Joſeph ſucceeds to the pontificate.

CHAP. II.

Izates, king of Adiabena, and Helen, his mother, embrace the Jewiſh faith. Helen married to her brother Monobaſus. Various particulars relating to them and their family. Izates ſubmits to circumciſion. During a famine, the people of Jeruſalem are relieved by Helen. Artabanus ſucceeded by his ſon Vardanes, who is put to death by his ſubjects, and being ſucceeded by Gotarza, he is alſo deſtroyed. The government deſcends to another brother named Vologeſus. Abias, king of Arabia, deſtroys himſelf. Izates dying, he is ſucceeded by Monobaſus. Helen dies. A falſe prophet, named Theudas, put to death.

HELEN, queen of Abiabena, and Izates † her ſon, about this time embraced the Jewiſh religion. Monobaſus, otherwiſe Bazeus, king of Adiabena, married his ſiſter Helen. They being in bed together, at a time when Helen was pregnant, Monobaſus, being nearly aſleep, unknowingly threw his arm over his wife, at which moment he imagined that he heard a voice, directing him to remove his arm, leſt it ſhould injure the unborn infant, which would become an object of the peculiar care of providence. In the due courſe of time, Helen was delivered of a male child, which received the name of Izates. Before the birth of Izates, Monobaſus had a ſon by the ſame princeſs, which was called after himſelf; and he had alſo ſeveral other ſons by different wives.

Monobaſus entertained a more tender affection for Izates, than for his other ſons; and this partiality was ſo apparent, that they became extremely jealous of the favourite. The king perceived their expreſſions of diſguſt, but imagined it to ariſe wholly from an emulation they reſpectively entertained to gain the firſt place in his eſteem, rather than a deliberate and ſettled rancour. But upon further obſervation, finding he had judged too favourably, he determined to remove Izates into a ſituation where he would be ſecure from the reſentment of his brothers. He therefore ſent him to the fort of Spaſinus, furniſhed with powerful recommendations and magnificent preſents, by way of ſecuring him a favourable reception from king Abennerigus. This ſovereign conceived ſo great an eſteem for the youth, that he gave to him in marriage his daughter Samachas, with a portion of land, by way of dower, which produced him a conſiderable revenue.

Izates en by his br thers.

He is ſent king Aben nerigus.

Being now arrived to a very great age, and apprehending that his diſſolution was ſpeedily approaching, Monobaſus was exceedingly deſirous of once more beholding his favourite ſon; and therefore recalled him from Spaſinus, and after embracing him with the greateſt tenderneſs, aſſigned to him the province of Ceron *, which was celebrated for the production of various kinds of aromatic plants of the moſt excellent quality, and for containing the veſtiges of Noah's ark, which were expoſed to view, and eſteemed matters of great curioſity. During the remaining part of his father's life, Izates reſided in the country of Ceron.

In a ſhort time the king died; and on the ſame day the queen aſſembled the miniſters, commanders, and principal officers, and informed them that her late huſband had elected Izates to ſucceed him in the ſovereign dignity, deeming him more eminently qualified than either of his other ſons for diſcharging the duties of the royal ſtation; but ſhe requeſted their advice, obſerving, that a private opinion would not operate to procure the happineſs of a prince in oppoſition to the general ſentiments of the people. The queen directed this compliment in order to diſcover the intereſts they were inclined to ſupport. According to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the country, the miniſters, when the queen had concluded her addreſs, made a profound reverence, and then proceeded to inform her, that they were perfectly ſatisfied as to the juſt preference of the deceaſed king towards Izates, who they were unanimouſly deſirous of advancing to the regal dignity. They ſaid, the people were ready to acknowledge allegiance to Izates; and that if the queen

Monobaſus dies, and ſucceeded Izates.

---

* Anſwerable to the twenty-eighth of June.

† Tacitus reads Ezates.

* Cardon, in Bochart's Georg. Sacr. l. 1. c. 3.

judged it expedient, they would themſelves engage to deſtroy the brothers, and ſuch other relations as it might be apprehended would diſpute the right of Izates to the throne. Helen thanked them for the inſtance they had ſhewn of their zealous attachment to her ſon; but ſaid, ſhe deemed it improper to take any meaſures againſt the brothers, or other branches of the family, without the ſanction of Izates's approbation. Apprehending that they ſhould not be able to prevail upon the queen to conſent to the death of the brothers, the council urged that the ſafety of the new king rendered it neceſſary to impriſon them, and entruſt the adminiſtration of government to a perſon whom the queen might approve, till the arrival of Izates. The queen acquieſced in the meaſures laſt recommended, and nominated Monobaſus, the elder brother, to aſſume the office of viceroy. She then placed the crown upon the head of Monobaſus, delivered to him the ſignet-ring and royal robe, called the ſampſera, which had belonged to his father, and inveſted him with the full powers of government during the abſence of Izates; who returned to Adiabena immediately upon receiving intelligence of the death of his father; and, on his arrival, Monobaſus reſigned his authority with the utmoſt readineſs.

While Izates was at fort Spaſinus, a Jew merchant, named Ananias, formed an acquaintance with ſome ladies of the court, and having inſtructed them in the principles of the Jewiſh religion, they introduced him to the prince, whom he alſo converted. At the earneſt entreaty of Izates, Ananias accompanied him to Adiabena, when he was recalled, a ſhort time previous to the death of his father. It happened that queen Helen was at the ſame time converted to Judaiſm by another Jew.

Izates was extremely concerned to find his brothers and other relations impriſoned, nor would his conſcience permit him to conſent to their death, nor to their being detained in confinement: but he reflected, that if he reſtored them to freedom, their deſire of revenge for the treatment they had received, might render his own ſafety extremely precarious: and therefore, to avoid either extreme, he ſent them and their children as hoſtages, ſome to Claudius Cæſar at Rome, and the others to Artabanus, king of Parthia.

Izates ſends his relations as hoſtages to Rome and Parthia.

Obſerving his mother's attachment to the religion and laws of the Jew, Izates determined to avow himſelf of the ſame perſuaſion, which he accordingly did. Conſidering that his converſion could not be compleat while he remained in a ſtate of uncircumciſion, he reſolved to ſubmit to the operation. The queen endeavoured to perſuade him from this meaſure, obſerving that it could not be ſuppoſed the people would preſerve their allegiance to a profeſſed Jew. On this ſubject he conſulted Ananias, who declared himſelf perfectly of the queen's opinion; ſaying, that if he perſiſted, he would be under the neceſſity of departing from Adiabena, where he would be conſidered by the multitude as an enemy to the government; adding, that divine worſhip being an act of the heart, the external ceremony of circumciſion would be diſpenſed with, when a compliance would endanger the happineſs of a whole people, provided an implicit obedience was paid to the laws and precepts of Moſes. At length, the king was reconciled to the ſentiments of the queen and Ananias.

Some time afterwards, a Jew, named Eleazar, who was particularly converſant in the Jewiſh inſtitutions, came from Galilee to Adiabena, and being introduced to the king while he was ſtudying the books of Moſes, he ſaid he feared his majeſty was not apprized of the affront he was offering to the Almighty; for an acquaintance with the Divine pleaſure would not operate to ſalvation, unleſs it was accompanied with a due obedience to the ſacred commands of God. If he was ſtill ignorant of the law pronouncing circumciſion to be neceſſary, Eleazar deſired him to purſue his reading, in order to be convinced that the neglect of ſo eſſential a ceremony was an abominable impiety.

This remonſtrance had ſo powerful an effect upon Izates, that he commanded the immediate attendance of a ſurgeon in a withdrawing room, where he ſubmitted to the operation. Having informed his mother and Ananias of the tranſaction, they expreſſed the moſt terrible anxiety for the ſafety of the king's perſon and government; ſaying, that if the leaſt intimation of the circumſtance was communicated to the people, an inſurrection muſt be the inevitable conſequence, ſince they would never ſubmit to be governed by a prince profeſſing a faith contrary to the eſtabliſhed religion of the country: and they were greatly alarmed on their own accounts, apprehending that in the general outrage they ſhould fall a ſacrifice to public vengeance, under the ſuppoſition of being the adviſers and abettors of an act ſo violently militating againſt the inclinations of the people. The caſe of Izates is to be conſidered as an admirable leſſon to mankind; for it pleaſed the Almighty to deliver him from the moſt deſperate and hopeleſs ſituation; thereby intimating that virtue and piety will infallibly meet with due reward.

Izates ſubmits to circumciſion.

Izates being eſtabliſhed in the peaceable poſſeſſion of his government, and having obtained in his own country, as well as in foreign parts, the reputation of being a juſt and wiſe prince, eſteemed by his fellow-creatures, and particularly favoured by the Almighty; the queen conſidered that ſince affairs were ſo happily ſituated in Adiabena, ſhe might reaſonably indulge an inclination ſhe had conceived of viſiting the holy temple at Jeruſalem, and of performing worſhip, and offering ſacrifice, according to the eſtabliſhed regulations. Izates highly approved of the intended expedition, provided his mother with immenſe ſums of money, and proceeded with her ſeveral days on her journey. At this time ſo terrible a famine prevailed in Jeruſalem that many of the inhabitants daily periſhed; the arrival of the benevolent queen therefore proved a very happy circumſtance; for ſhe had no ſooner received information of the public neceſſities than ſhe diſpatched meſſengers to procure the means of ſubſiſtence. In a ſhort time, great quantities of wheat were brought from Alexandria, and dried figs from the iſland of Cyprus; and theſe and other articles which had been procured by her order, ſhe cauſed to be diſtributed among the diſtreſſed Jews, whereby ſhe obtained a degree of reputation adequate to the ſeaſonable proof ſhe had afforded of her munificent and liberal diſpoſition. Upon receiving intelligence of the famine, Izates ſent vaſt ſums conſigned to the governors of Jeruſalem, to be applied to the uſe of ſuch of the people as ſtood in need of relief. But the particulars of the royal bounty, on the above occaſion, will come with more propriety hereafter.

Queen Helen relieves the inhabitants of Jeruſalem.

An inſurrection againſt the king of Parthia.

The principal men at the court of Parthia having fomented a very formidable inſurrection, the king determined to requeſt the advice and aſſiſtance of Izates; and, accompanied by about a thouſand of his relations and moſt truſty friends, ſet out to give him the meeting. Theſe ſovereigns, who were not perſonally known to each other, met on the public way, when, from his numerous and ſplendid retinue, Artabanus judged that the party approaching could be no other than Izates; and therefore he advanced, and, according to the cuſtom of his country, ſaluted him with a reverence, called *adoration*. Addreſſing himſelf to Izates, Artabanus ſaid, "Moſt illuſtrious prince! Though you behold me in the character of an humble ſupplicant, let me not be an object of your contempt. From the regal dignity, it is my misfortune to be reduced to a private ſtation; and the extremity of my circumſtances compels me to ſeek for relief in your majeſty's beneficence. Permit me to obſerve, that it is the common intereſt of princes to protect and aſſiſt each other; for the ſucceſs of a revolt againſt one ſovereign gives encouragement to the reſtleſs and factious ſpirits of other nations to conſpiracy and rebellion." Underſtanding that his ſupplicant was the king of Parthia, Izates diſmounted from his horſe, and in the moſt kind and encouraging manner, exhorted him to cheriſh the hope that Divine providence would reſtore him to the powers of royalty; adding, that he would either re-eſtabliſh him in poſſeſſion of his authority, or reſign to him his own crown. Izates now obliged Artabanus to mount his horſe, declaring his intention of accompanying him on foot, by way of acknowledging his ſuperiority: but in this Artabanus declined to acquieſce, ſaying he would inſtantly diſmount, if he did not take horſe and lead the way. Izates at length complied, and conducted Artabanus to his palace; and he aſſigned him the firſt place at all entertainments and other meetings; and in every other inſtance treated him in the moſt honourable and reſpectful manner.

Izates diſpatched letters to the Parthians, earneſtly recommending them to recal Artabanus to the poſſeſſion of his throne, giving his word of honour, and offering, if they required it, to ratify the ſame with the ſolemnity of an oath, to become engaged for procuring a full pardon of all paſſed offences.

By means of Izates, Artabanus is reſtored to his throne.

Their anſwer was rather an evaſion than an abſolute refuſal; for they urged that having elected a man named Cinnamus to the ſovereignty, an attempt to diſpoſſeſs him of the authority would inflame the populace to ungovernable outrage. Cinnamus, who had been brought up under the care and direction of Artabanus, was greatly affected at the miſerable ſituation of that prince; and being a man of an honourable and generous diſpoſition, he ſent word to him, that if he would return, he would himſelf be anſwerable for his perſonal ſafety, and reſign to him the ſovereign authority. On this aſſurance, Artabanus ſet out, in order to take poſſeſſion of his kingdom; and on the way he was met by Cinnamus, who taking the crown from his own head placed it on that of Artabanus, ſaluting him by the title of king, and behaving towards him with the greateſt reſpect and reverence, and the uſual formalities of ſtate. In teſtimony of his gratitude to Izates for having reſtored him to his throne, Artabanus granted him the privilege to wear a tiara, and lay on a bed reſembling thoſe which the kings of Parthia had the excluſive right to uſe; and he preſented him with the fruitful and extenſive country of Niſibis, formerly belonging to the kings of Armenia, and celebrated for containing the ancient city of Antioch, which was built by the Macedonians, and afterwards received the name of Mygdonia.

tabanus ceeded by ſon Var- es.

Soon after the above occurrences, Artabanus died. Upon the acceſſion of his ſon Vardanes to the throne, he endeavoured to prevail upon Izates to commence hoſtilities againſt the Romans. Izates had ſent five ſons to be inſtructed in the language and diſcipline of the Romans, and his mother had taken up her reſidence in Jeruſalem, for the benefit of devotional exerciſes in the holy temple; and excluſive of theſe conſiderations, he deemed it extremely imprudent to involve himſelf unneceſſarily in a war with ſo powerful an enemy. He therefore endeavoured to divert Vardanes from his purpoſe, by frequently repreſenting to him the undoubted bravery and great ſtrength of the Romans, and the ſurprizing exploits they had performed: but Vardanes was ſo highly offended by theſe expoſtulations, that he immediately declared war againſt Izates. The reſolution that Vardanes had formed, and continued to perſevere in, of commencing a war againſt the Romans, proved ſo highly offenſive to his ſubjects that they put him to death, and elected his brother Gotarza to ſucceed him in the government. After a ſhort reign, Gotarza was treacherouſly murdered; and the throne was aſcended by his brother, named Vologeſus, who gave the government of Media to Parcorus, the elder, and that of Armenia to Terridates, the younger brother by the father's ſide.

ologeſus cceeds to e throne of rthia.

In conſideration of the happy effects that had reſulted from the king's change of religion, his brother Monobaſus, and other relations, formed the deſign of adopting the cuſtoms and manners of the Jews. The religious principles entertained by the royal family proved highly offenſive to the nobility and other principal people: but they diſguiſed their ſentiments, judging that by ſuch caution, they ſhould be the better enabled to gratify their reſentment. They ſent letters to Abias, king of Arabia, repreſenting, that by abandoning the religion of his country, Izates had forfeited all claim to their allegiance, urging him to an immediate declaration of war, and promiſing, that when the armies ſhould meet, they would deſert their ſovereign. In conſequence of this application, Abias marched a formidable body of troops againſt Izates; and when the armies came within view of each other, the latter was deſerted by great numbers of his ſubjects. Without betraying any ſign of confuſion, or abatement of his natural bravery, the king retreated to his camp; and having enquired into, and diſcovered the cauſe of the deſertion, he ordered ſuch of the conſpirators as he was able to detect, to be puniſhed according to their demerits. On the following day, Izates encountered, and utterly defeated the Arabians, committing great ſlaughter upon them, and putting the ſurvivors to flight. Abias having taken refuge in the caſtle of Arſamas, Izates conquered that place by ſtorm, and made ſpoil of treaſure to an immenſe amount. To avoid being made a priſoner, the king of Arabia put an end to his own life. After this exploit, Izates returned to Adiabena in all the pomp of victory.

After being defeared by Izates, the king of Arabia deſtroys himſelf.

Notwithſtanding their treacherous deſigns had been already diſappointed, the leading men of Adiabena wrote to Vologeſus, king of the Parthians, informing him that his apoſtary from the religion of his country, had rendered Izates an object of univerſal deteſtation to his ſubjects, and requeſting that he would appoint ſome perſon of his own nation to aſſume the government. Hereupon, Vologeſus reſolved to make war againſt the king of Adiabena, and this deſign he indicated by a revocation of the grants made by his father, declaring that if his pleaſure was diſputed, hoſtilities would immediately enſue.

Vologeſus menaces Izates with war.

Izates ſent his wives and children to a ſtrong caſtle, and cauſed large quantities of grain and other neceſſaries of life to be depoſited in the moſt ſecure forts in his dominions; after which he burnt all the hay, forage, and other articles that could not be removed, leaſt they ſhould contribute to the advantage of the enemy. Vologeſus encamped a very powerful army on the banks of a river ſeparating Adiabena from Media; and Izates pitched his tents near the ſame ſpot, his forces conſiſting of ſix thouſand horſe. Vologeſus diſpatched a meſſenger to inform Izates, that, with the whole force of his empire, extending from Bractria to Euphrates, he was preparing ſeverely to chaſtiſe him for having refuſed to ſubmit to his authority, and that in depending for ſucceſs in the power of the diety he worſhipped, he would be guilty of the moſt extravagant folly. The reply given by Izates to the meſſenger was, that in point of numbers he did not pretend to rival Vologeſus; but that he reſigned himſelf to the will of an eternal God, whoſe goodneſs and power ſurpaſſed the narrow limits of human comprehenſion. Having diſpatched the herald, Izates proſtrated himſelf upon the earth, and thus addreſſed the Lord: "Almighty and ever bleſſed God, whom thy pious ſervants never ſupplicate in vain, vouchſafe to extend thy mercy to thy faithful creature, who now ſubmits himſelf to thy Divine will, infinite goodneſs, and almighty power: puniſh the impious temerity of thoſe people who have dared to blaſpheme thy ſacred name: but this vengeance upon mine enemies I do not ſupplicate ſo much on my own account, as in vindication of the affronted honour of thy holy name." The humiliation and prayers of this truly pious prince proved acceptable to the Almighty. The ſame night, Vologeſus received information, that the Dahe an the Sace, people inhabiting Seythia, availing themſelves of the king's abſence, had made an irruption into his dominions; whereupon he led off his army to repel the invaders. This misfortune to Vologeſus is to be conſidered as a ſignal interpoſition of Divine providence in favour of Izates.

Izates dies, and Monobaſus ſucceeds him.

Soon after the above events, Izates expired in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his government. He left four ſons, but in acknowledgment of the integrity of his brother in reſigning the authority that had been committed to him in truſt, he appointed Monobaſus to ſucceed him in the ſovereignty. The deceaſe of ſo religious, affectionate and dutiful a ſon cauſed great affliction to queen Helen: but the advancement of Monobaſus to the thrown afforded ſome mitigation to her grief. Upon the death of Izates, the queen returned to Adiabena; but ſhe did not long ſurvive. Monobaſus ſent the remains of his mother and brother to be depoſited in the three pyramids which the queen had erected at the diſtance of three furlongs from Jeruſalem.

While Cuſpius Fadus had the government of Judea, a pretended prophet, named Theudas, prevailed upon a great number of the people to follow him with their moſt valuable effects to the Jordan, under the pretext, that by pronouncing a ſingle word, he would cauſe the waters to divide, and leave them a dry paſſage to the oppoſite banks. Being informed of the departure of the credulous multitude, Fadus diſpatched after them a body of cavalry, by whom many were ſlain, and others taken priſoners. Upon the return of the troops to Jeruſalem, the head of the impoſtor Theudas was ſtruck off and expoſed as a public ſpectacle.

The head of a falſe prophet expoſed.

CHAP. III.

Tiberius Alexander ſucceeds Cuſpius Fadus. James and Simon crucified. Ananius appointed high-prieſt. Cumanus ſucceeds Tiberius Alexander. Herod dies. Claudius gives the kingdom of Chalcis to Agrippa the younger

CUSPIUS FADUS was ſucceeded in the government of Judea by Tiberius Alexander, the ſon of Alexander, who held the office of alabarcha,* in Alexandria, and who was conſidered as the moſt wealthy citizen of his time. Tiberius Alexander apoſtatiſed from the religion of his anceſtors, and was in other reſpects a more exceptionable character than his father. At this time raged in Judea the dreadful famine, during which queen Helen, at a vaſt expence, afforded relief to the people, as we have already mentioned. While Cyrenius was employed in taxing Galilee, James and Simon, the ſons of Judas, excited the utmoſt endeavours to ſpirit up the Jews to a revolt againſt the Romans; and in conſequence thereof, Alexander cauſed them to be crucified.

James and Simon cr fied.

Herod, king of Chalcis, removed Joſeph, the ſon of Camydas, from the pontificial dignity, and appointed Ananias, the ſon of Nebedeus, to ſucceed him. Cumanus ſucceeded Tiberius Alexander; and about the ſame time died Herod, brother of Agrippa the great, in the eighth year of the reign of Claudius. Herod left the following ſons: Ariſtobulus by a former wife, and Bernicianus and Hyrcanus, by Berenice, the daughter of his brother, king Agrippa. Claudius Cæſar appointed the younger Agrippa to ſucceed Herod in the government of Chalcis.

Ananias ſuc- ceeds to th high-prie hood.

Agrippa ſuc- ceeds Hero

CHAP. IV.

An inſurrection in Judea. Twenty thouſand lives loſt. A ſoldier deſtroys the books of Moſes, The offender ſentenced to death.

ON the approach of the paſchal feaſt, or the feaſt of unleavened bread, vaſt numbers of people reſorted to Jeruſalem. Cumanus deemed it prudent to ſtation a company of ſoldiers to guard the temple, leſt any diſturbances ſhould ariſe among the populace. His predeceſſors had frequently taken this precaution on ſimilar occaſions. On the fourth day of the feſtival, a ſoldier had the audacity to expoſe himſelf entirely naked to the public, who were enraged to the higeſt degree by this act of indecency, which they conſidered not ſo much as a mark of diſreſpect to themſelves, as a manifeſt inſult to the Almighty power, to whoſe honour the feſtival was dedicated. Some people, of more daring ſpirits than the reſt, attributed the offence to Cumanus, alledging that it was not probable the ſoldier would have been guilty of ſo daring an inſolence without having received encouragement from the governor. This diſgraceful imputation proved the ſource of great affliction and anger

A ſoldier ex- poſes himſ naked to th people; and tumult en- ſues, in whi many lives are loſt.

---

* See Turnebus's Adverſaria, l. 27, c. 25. Alabarches, or rather Arabarches, which is the correct way of writing it. It is a Greek word, and ſignifies a chief publican or tax-gatherer.

to Cumanus: but he exhorted the people in terms of gentleneſs, to moderate their paſſion, and not to proceed to any acts of violence: but obſerving that inſtead of appeaſing, his arguments ſerved to inflame the rage of the populace, he commanded the troops to march into the caſtle of Antonia, which, as we have already mentioned, commanded a view of the temple. Upon perceiving the army advance, the people apprehended that they were preparing to attack them, and the idea of danger was ſo prevalent, that each endeavoured to provide for his own ſafety by a precipitate retreat, and the paſſages being narrow, twenty thouſand of them were either ſmothered or trampled to death in the croud. Thus did one beaſtly action of a ſoldier turn a public feſtival into a day of general ſorrow; for the public no longer attended to their prayers and ſacrifices and other ceremonies, but employed themſelves in lamentations and mournings.

Soon after the above unhappy events, ſucceeded another heavy affliction to the Jews. A number of people who had eſcaped from the neighbourhood of the temple had proceeded to the diſtance of about an hundred furlongs from the town, when they met one of the emperor's domeſtics, whoſe name was Stephen; and this man they aſſaulted and robbed. When the circumſtance was related to Cumanus, he detached a body of troops, with a commiſſion to ravage the villages of the neighbourhood, wherein the fact was committed, and to make priſoners of ſome of the principal inhabitants. During the plunder of theſe places, one of the ſoldiers found the books of Moſes, and having produced them to his companions, and execrated the whole Jewiſh nation, he tore and utterly deſtroyed thoſe ſacred writings. The Jews now aſſembled in great multitudes, and repaired to Cumanus, at Cæſaria, ſupplicating that juſtice might be executed upon the offender, and urging that they did not conſider him as deſerving puniſhment for the affront he had offered to themſelves, ſo much as for his abominable impiety to the Almighty. Cumanus judged it not prudent to deny the juſtice claimed by the Jews, leſt a popular tumult ſhould enſue; and therefore he commanded the offender's head to be ſtruck off, which was accordingly done.

A ſoldier deſtroys the books of Moſes.

The offender's head ſtruck off.

CHAP. V.

A diſſention between the Jews and Samaritans. Several of both parties ſent for trial before Cæſar. Cumanus baniſhed, and ſucceeded by Claudius Felix. Druſilla eſpouſed by Felix. Meſſalina put to death. Claudius dies. He is ſucceeded by Nero, who contrives the deſtruction of his mother and others. Azizus ſucceeded by his brother. Nero gives ſeveral governments to Agrippa.

IN going to Jeruſalem to celebrate the public feſtivals, it was cuſtomary for the Galileans to paſs through Samaria. While thoſe people were on the road to the capital of Judea, a quarrel took place between them and the inhabitants of Nais, a village ſituated upon the great plain, and under the juriſdiction of Samaria; and in the conteſt ſeveral of the Galileans were ſlain. The Jews now animated their countrymen to take up arms, and elected to the chief command Eleazar, the ſon of Dineus, who had for ſeveral years been a mountaineer, and obtained a ſubſiſtence by making incurſions into Samaria. Cumanus marched againſt the Jews with ſome ſquadrons of cavalry from Sebaſte, four companies of foot, and a body of Samaritans compleatly armed; and with theſe forces he entirely defeated them, committing a great ſlaughter, and taking a great number of priſoners.

Cumanus routs the Mountaineers.

The ſituation of the Jews was now in every reſpect ſo truly deplorable, that thoſe who were moſt diſtinguiſhed for rank, integrity, moderation, and good ſenſe, humbled themſelves in ſackcloth and aſhes, and fervently appealed to Heaven to avert the dreadful calamities which ſtill ſeemed to be ſuſpended over their heads. They repreſented the deſolate ſtate of their country, the eventual deſtruction of the temple, and ſlavery of their wives and children to nations addicted to profane religions; adjuring their countrymen by the love of their religion, country, liberties, families and laws, to moderate their extravagant paſſions, ſuppreſs all farther deſigns of war, and peaceably return to their reſpective habitations. The arguments made uſe of had the deſired effect upon the common people, who gradually diſperſed; and the mountaineers returned to their former quarters, and continued to follow their illegal and rapacious courſe of living. From this period Judea became a receptacle for robbers.

Numidius Quadratus*, governor of Syria, being at this time at Tyre, the principal people of Samaria went thither, and exhibited a complaint to him againſt the Jews, charging them with having ſet fire to, and plundered their villages; and alledging that they were not ſo ſenſibly affected by the injuries themſelves ſuſtained, as by the contempt ſhewn to the ſupreme authority the ſtate of Rome, which poſſeſſed the excluſive right of taking cognizance of all diſturbances ariſing within the province they inhabited. Having made their charge, they demanded juſtice upon the delinquents. The Jews now addreſſed the governor, accuſing their adverſaries with being the firſt promoters of the tumult, and ſeverely arraigning the conduct of Cumanus, who, they aſſerted, inſtead of puniſhing the authors of the riot, had been induced by brides to connive at their barbarous proceedings. Having heard the accuſation and defence, Quadratus told the parties, that he would go into Judea, and inform himſelf of the real ſtate of the facts, and then pronounce judgment according to the merits of the cauſe. In a ſhort time Quadratus went to Samaria, and the matter in diſpute being ſubmitted to his deciſion, he pronounced that the Samaritans were the original fomenters of the tumult. Information being made to him that a deſign had been conceived among the Jews for promoting an inſurrection, he condemned ſeveral of the priſoners taken by Cumanus to be put to death. From Samaria Quadratus went to Lydda, a borough of ſo much conſideration that it might have paſſed for a capital city, and again heard the cauſe of the Samaritans, one of whom charged ane minent Jew named Dortus, and four others of the ſame tribe, with having endeavoured to ſpirit up the people to an inſurrection; and theſe men he cauſed to be put to death. He ſent Ananias, the high-prieſt, Ananus, the captain, and ſeveral of the principal Jews and Samaritans, together with Cumanus, the governor, and Celer, the tribune, to Rome, in order for trial before Cæſar. Quadratus, apprehending further diſturbances in Jeruſalem, haſtened to that city: but finding the people there in perfect tranquillity, and that their attention was engaged by their religious ceremonies, he repaired to Antioch.

---

* According to Salinuſius, Umidius Quadratus. Vide his annotations upon Ælius Spertianus.

Dortus and four others put to death.

On the arrival of the accuſed parties at Rome, a time of trial was appointed; and judgment would, in all probability, have been pronounced in favour of Cumanus and the Samaritans, through the powerful intereſt they had made with Cæſar and the freemen, had not Agrippa the younger entreated Agrippina to prevail upon her huſband Claudius to grant an impartial hearing, and condemn thoſe who ſhould appear to have been the offenders. Having heard the evidence, Claudius adjudged the Samaritans to be guilty, and pronounced ſentence of death upon them. He ſentenced Cumanus to baniſhment, and Celer, the tribune, to be conveyed to Jeruſalem, and dragged through the ſtreets till he ſhould expire. He then nominated Claudius Felix, the brother of Pallas, to ſucceed Cumanus as governor of Judea.

The Samaritans condemned to die, Cumanus to baniſhment, and Celer to be dragged through the ſtreets.

In the twelfth year of his reign, Cæſar appointed Agrippa to the tetrarchy that Philip had held, together with Batanea, Trachonitis and Abilla, which had been the tretrarchy of Lyſanias; but he removed him from Chalcis, after he had enjoyed that government four years. Agrippa gave his ſiſter Druilla in marriage to Azizus, king of the Emeſenes, who had become a proſelyte to the Jewiſh religion. This princeſs had been betrothed to Epiphanes, the ſon of Antiochus, on condition of his embracing the Jewiſh faith, but upon his refuſing to comply, the contract was diſſolved. Another ſiſter, named Mariamne, he gave in marriage to Archelaus, the ſon of Chelcias, to whom ſhe had been promiſed by her father; and a daughter, named Berenice was the iſſue of this marriage.

Soon after their union, a ſeparation took place between Druſilla and Azizus. She was eſteemed the moſt beautiful woman of her time; and Felix, the governor of Judea, conceived a ſtrong paſſion for her. He informed a Jew, named Simon, who was his particular friend, and highly celebrated for his ſkill in magic, of his love for Druſilla, enjoining him to ſecrecy, and urging him to prevail upon her to renounce her religion, abandon her huſband, and contract a marriage with him. In ſhort, ſhe was prevailed upon to conſent; and by Felix ſhe had a ſon named Agrippa, who in the time of Titus Cæſar, together with his wife, fell a victim to an eruption to Mount Veſuvius, as will be more particularly mentioned hereafter.

Berenice, both the wife and ſiſter of Herod, ſurvived him a conſiderable time. A rumour prevailing that an illicit intercourſe ſubſiſted between her and her brother, ſhe judged that the moſt effectual method of clearing herſelf from the ſlanderous accuſation of inceſt would be to prevail upon Polemon, king of Cilicia, to eſpouſe Judaiſm, and connect herſelf in marriage with him. In conſideration the great wealth, Polemon accepted her propoſal; but ſhe ſoon deſerted him, after which he abandoned the principles of our religion.

Mariamne was of a temper equally licentious with her ſiſter. She quitted her huſband Archelaus, and eſpouſed Demetrius, the moſt conſiderable Jew of Alexandria, both on account of his family and extenſive poſſeſſions. He held the office of * alabarcha of Alexandria. By Demetrius, Mariamne had a ſon named Agrippa, of whom further will be ſaid in the ſequel.

---

* We have obſerved, that this word ſignifies a chief publican, or tax-gatherer: but the import of it in this place is, chief governor of the Jews in Alexandria. See Turnebus's Adverſaria, lxx. c. 25.

The death of Claudius Cæſar.

Claudius Cæſar died after a reign of thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days; and it was ſtrongly ſuſpected that his death was occaſioned by poiſon adminiſtered to him by his wife.

She was daughter of Germanicus, the brother of the emperor: ſhe was firſt married to one of the moſt conſiderable men of Rome, named Domitius Enobarbus, to whom ſhe bore a ſon called after his father, but whoſe name was changed to that of Nero, upon being adopted into the family of Claudius. After the deceaſe of Domitius, Agrippina remained in a ſtate of widowhood a conſiderable time before ſhe was eſpouſed by Claudius. By a former wife, named Meſſalina, Claudius had Britanicus and Octavia; being jealous of Meſſalina, he cauſed her to be put to death. The eldeſt of this emperor's children was Antonia, the iſſue of a marriage with Petronia, and he eſpouſed her to Nero.

Meſſalina put to death.

In order to ſecure the ſucceſſion to her ſon Nero, Agrippina contrived the death both of her huſband Claudius and Britanicus, who was formerly called Germanicus. Immediately upon the deceaſe of the emperor, ſhe made intereſt with Burrhus, captain of the guards, the principal officers, tribunes, and other leading people, to convey Nero to the ſoldiers, and declare him ſucceſſor to the throne. The firſt action which rendered him remarkable after his advancement to the ſovereign power, was cauſing Britanicus to be poiſoned.

Nero proclaimed emperor.

Some time after that act of cruelty, he barbarouſly murdered his mother; and he alſo procured the death of his wife Octavia, and many other perſons of rank, falſely pretending that they had concerted plots for his deſtruction.

Azizus dies.

In the firſt year of the reign of Nero, Azizus, king of Emeſenes died, and was ſucceeded by his brother. Nero beſtowed the leſſer Armenia upon Ariſtobulus, the ſon of Herod, king of Chalcis: and he gave the government of Galilee, Tiberias, Tarichea, together with Julius, beyond the Jordan, and fourteen villages in the ſame juriſdiction, to Agrippa.

CHAP. VI.

Jonathan treacherouſly ſlain. The people impoſed upon by a falſe prophet. Iſmael ſucceeds to the pontificate. The high-prieſts oppreſs the other prieſts.

EVERY part of Judea was infeſted by robbers and impoſtors, notwithſtanding Felix ſcarcely ſuffered a day to elapſe without inflicting upon ſome of them the puniſhments due to their crimes. Felix gave Eleazar, the ſon of Dineus, the leader of a conſiderable band of robbers, an invitation to come over to him, ſolemnly pledging his honour that no deſign was harboured againſt either his life or freedom: but in violation of his faith, he ſent him in bonds to Rome.

The government of Judea had been conferred upon Felix, through the interceſſion of Jonathan, who therefore concluded that he ſhould be reproached as the author of the miſchiefs ariſing from the mal-adminiſtration of public affairs. Felix having meditated the deſtruction of Jonathan, he communicated his purpoſe to a native of Jeruſalem, named Dora, offering him a conſiderable ſum of money, on condition of his putting him to death, ſaying that ruffians might, without difficulty, be procured for carrying the plan into execution.

Jeruſalem was at this time infeſted by a deſperate gang of bravoes, provided with daggers concealed under their garments; and Dora employed theſe ruffians to execute the barbarous commiſſion he had accepted from Felix. In their uſual diſguiſe of pilgrims, the robbers diſperſed themſelves among the friends, and thoſe who compoſed the train of the high-prieſt; and, availing themſelves of a favourable opportunity, they ſtabbed him amidſt the concourſe of people by whom he was ſurrounded, and then the whole party eſcaped. The impunity which the perpetrators of this horrid and ſacrilegious murder experienced, proved an encouragement to other iniquities of a ſimilar kind; for it became cuſtomary for ruffians, in the diſguiſe of pilgrims, to commit murders at public feſtivals, either from revenge, avarice, or other motives: and this practice was not confined to the ſeveral parts of the city, for the holy temple itſelf was no protection againſt the moſt abominable impiety and ſacrilege. After the ſacred houſe of the Almighty had been prophaned, it is not wonderful that his wrath ſhould fall upon Jeruſalem; that he ſhould deliver the city into the power of the Romans, to be purified by expiatory flames; and that he ſhould condemn the whole nation of the Jews, with their wives and offspring, to bondage and affliction, in order, by ſo judicial a puniſhent, to give them a proper ſenſe of their abominable iniquities.

Jonathan ſtabbed by ruffians.

At the ſame time great miſchiefs aroſe from the impoſitions of pretended magicians and other impoſtors, who ſeduced the populace into deſarts and other ſolitudes, under pretence of ſhewing them miracles. A great number of theſe people were taken into cuſtody, by the order of Felix, and puniſhed with death for their credulity and folly.

A man came from Egypt at this time, and pretending to poſſeſs the gift of prophecy, invited the people of Jeruſalem to follow him to the ſummit of Mount Olivet, ſituated at about the diſtance of five furlongs from Jeruſalem; promiſing that upon his pronouncing certain words, they ſhould ſee the walls fall to the earth, affording them a free paſſage to enter the city. When Felix received intelligence of what the impoſtor had propoſed, he ordered his troops under arms, and, with a numerous body of horſe and foot, attacked the multitude by ſurprize, putting four hundred to death, and making priſoners of two hundred: but notwithſtanding the moſt vigilant ſearch, the Egyptian impoſtor eſcaped.

The robbers, and other abandoned miſcreants, exerted their utmoſt endeavours to engage the people in an inſurrection againſt the Romans, whom they repreſented as oppreſſive to an intolerable degree. They traverſed the country, making ſpoil of the property, and burning the habitations of thoſe who refuſed to unite with them in oppoſing the power of the Romans.

A diſpute between the Cæſarian Jews and the Syrians.

At this time a contention took place between the Cæſarean Jews and the Syrians, on the ſubject of certain privileges. The Jews founded their claim of precedency in the right of Herod, their king, as the original founder of the city. The Syrians contended, that before the place had been inhabited by the Jews, it had long exiſted under the demonination of Straton's Tower. The governors of the adjacent provinces cauſed the incendiaries on both ſides to be apprehended, and whipped; whereupon the diſputes for ſome time ſubſided. But the Cæſarean Jews, whoſe wealth had rendered them vain and inſolent, revived the controverſy, by diſcharging the moſt acrimonius reproaches, and calumnies againſt their adverſaries. At length, they annoyed each other by caſting ſtones, and in the contention many were ſlain and wounded on both ſides. Felix commanded the Jews to decline further animoſities: but finding his authority treated with contempt, he ordered his troops to march againſt them, when many of them were ſlain, and a much greater number taken priſoners; and, by the permiſſion of the governors, the houſes of the contending parties were plundered of property to a large amount. Dreading ſtill more fatal conſequences, ſuch of the Jews as were of a moderate and peaceful diſpoſition, requeſted that the troops might be recalled, in order that the offenders might have time to repent of their raſh and inconſiderate conduct; and Felix complied with their deſire.

The pontificate transferred to Iſmael.

King Agrippa at this time promoted Iſmael, the ſon of Phabeus, to the pontifical dignity. And now the high-prieſts detatched themſelves from the intereſts of the other prieſts, and the governors and other principal people of Jeruſalem. Each of the high-prieſts was attended by a guard compoſed of the moſt intrepid and moſt ſeditious people they could ſelect; and they vilified their adverſaries in the moſt provoking terms, and moleſted them by caſting ſtones. The magiſtracy purſued no means for repreſſing theſe diſorders, and the arrogant and rapacious ſpirit of the high-prieſts arrived to ſuch a height, that they employed agents to ſeize the tythes of the other prieſts, of whom many of the poorer ſort actually periſhed for want of food.

The high-prieſts oppreſ the other prieſts.

CHAP. VII.

The Cæſarean Jews disfranchiſed. An impoſtor and his followers puniſhed. Agrippa builds a palace commanding a view of the temple; and the Jews raiſe a wall to intercept the ſight. Joſeph advanced to the pontificate.

THE emperor having transferred the government from Felix to Portius Feſtus, ſome of the moſt conſiderable of the Cæſarean Jews repaired to Rome, in order to accuſe Felix of injuſtice and tyranny; and their complaints would inevitably have been followed by his ruin, but for the interference of his brother Pallas, who being in high eſteem with Nero, ſolicited and obtained his pardon.

Pallas obtai a pardon fo Felix.

Two eminent Syrians of Cæſarea, by a preſent of a large ſum of money, prevailed upon Beryllus, who had been preceptor, and now held the office of Greek ſecretary to Nero, to procure the imperial mandate for the disfranchiſement of the Jews, and the revocation of the privileges and immunities of the city of Cæſarea, which they claimed in common with the Syrians. This mandate is to be conſidered as the cauſe of all the miſeries which we afterwards experienced; for the Cæſarean Jews were thereby inflamed to greater violence, nor did their reſtleſs diſpoſitions ſubſide till they were involved in all the calamities of a deſtructive war.

Upon the arrival of Feſtus in Judea, he found the country ravaged and laid waſte, the people compelled to deſert their habitations, and the land over-run by great numbers of robbers, who ſet fire to, and plundered houſes, and committed every other kind of enormity without controul. Theſe deſperadoes were called Sicarii,[*] from the word Sica, ſignifying the weapon they uſed, which was curving towards the point, and otherwiſe made after a form between the Perſian ſcymeter, and the Roman falchion.

---

[*] Vide Druſus de tribus, Sectis Judæorum, l. II. c. 24.

It was the cuſtom of theſe bravoes, on public days, when the people reſorted to the city, to diſperſe themſelves amongſt the multitude, and perpetrate the moſt horrid murders: at other times they attacked towns and villages, and ſubjected the unfortunate inhabitants to the moſt cruel extremities of fire and ſword.

A famous impoſtor lived at this time: he ſeduced great numbers of the people into the abſurd notion that if they followed him into a certain wilderneſs, they ſhould be no longer ſubject to the misfortunes and accidents of life. However, Feſtus ordered the proceſſion to be intercepted by a ſtrong detachment of horſe and foot, who purſued and put to death the ſeducer and his credulous diſciples.

An impoſtor and his followers deſtroyed.

Near the porch of the royal palace at Jeruſalem, formerly belonging to the Aſmonean race, king Agrippa cauſed a ſuperb edifice to be conſtructed. Being ſituated upon an eminence, it commanded a proſpect of the city; and from the king's bed-chamber might be perceived all that paſſed in the temple. Hence the Jews became exceedingly unhappy; for our law does not allow our religious ceremonies, particularly the ſacrifices, to be expoſed. To intercept the view from the king's bed-chamber, the people erected a wall before the ſeats encloſing the interior part of the temple towards the weſt, and it likewiſe concealed the galleries without the building on the other ſide, where on feſtivals and other public days, the Roman guards were ſtationed for preventing tumultuous behaviour. Agrippa and Feſtus were highly diſpleaſed with the Jews for having built the wall; and the latter ordered them to deſtroy it. Hereupon, they ſaid, they would rather forfeit their lives than offer any violence to the temple, and requeſted permiſſion to appeal to Cæſar, by the agency of their deputies. Feſtus complied with this requeſt; and they nominated ten eminent Jews, together with Iſmael, the high-prieſt, and Chelcias, the treaſurer of the temple, as commiſſioners, to repreſent their caſe to Nero. Poppea, a woman of great piety, being a friend to the Jews, interceded in their behalf, and prevailed upon her huſband Nero to authoriſe the continuance of the wall. The empreſs detained Iſmael and Chelcias as hoſtages, but the other ten deputies were permitted to return. Upon learning that the Jews had ſucceeded in their application, Agrippa transferred the pontificate to Joſeph, otherwiſe Cabis, the ſon of Simon, who had before enjoyed that dignity.

The empreſs becomes an advocate for the Jews.

CHAP. VIII.

Albinus ſucceeds Feſtus. Ananus promoted to the office of high-prieſt. James and others condemned to be ſtoned to death. Jeſus, the ſon of Damneus ſucceeds Ananus. A ſuperb theatre built at Berytus. Albinus ſucceeded by Geſſius Florus. Jeſus, the ſon of Gamaliel, advanced to the pontificate.

UPON the deceaſe of Feſtus, the emperor beſtowed the government he had held upon Albinus. At the ſame time, he depoſed Joſeph, and promoted Ananus, the ſon of Ananus, to the pontificate.

The elder Ananus was conſidered as one of the moſt happy men on earth; for he had five ſons, who ſucceſſively enjoyed the pontificate after him: and this was what no other man could boaſt. Ananus, the ſon, was of a vindictive, fierce and haughty temper: he profeſſed the principles of the Sadduces, who, as we have already obſerved, where a ſect remarkable for their cenſorious and uncharitable diſpoſitions. After the death of Feſtus, and previous to the arrival of his ſucceſſor Albinus, Ananus aſſembled a council, and cited James, the brother of Jeſus, who was alſo named Chriſt, and others, to appear and anſwer to an accuſation of having committed blaſphemy, and violated the law; and in conſequence of this charge they were ſentenced to be ſtoned. The conduct of Ananus, with reſpect to theſe ſuppoſed offenders, proved highly diſguſting to thoſe citizens whoſe ſentiments were regulated by motives of piety, and a due regard to the laws; and they privately tranſmitted a repreſentation of the caſe to the king, requeſting that Ananus might be reprimanded, in order to deter him from a repetition of his unjuſtifiable conduct. The matter was alſo related to Albinus, then on his journey to Alexandria, to whom the letter ſet forth, that the parties could not be legally condemned without his concurrence, and that therefore Ananus had been guilty of uſurping his authority and violating the law. Highly incenſed againſt the high-prieſt, Albinus wrote to him a menacing letter, ſtrongly expreſſive of his diſpleaſure: and on the expiration of three months, king Agrippa depoſed Ananus from the pontificate, and appointed Jeſus, the ſon of Damneus, to aſſume that dignity.

James and others accuſed of blaſphemy.

Jeſus made high-prieſt.

Upon the arrival of Albinus at Jeruſalem, he cauſed a conſiderable part of the robbers to be put to death, and exerted his utmoſt endeavours to reſtore the province to a ſtate of tranquillity. Ananus frequently complimented Albinus and the high-prieſts with preſents, and in many other inſtances ſhewed them great reſpect: and he gained the particular eſteem of the people by his affable and generous diſpoſition: but he entertained a number of profligate domeſtics, who, uniting with others of equally abandoned principles, broke into the barns belonging to the prieſts, and ſtole their tythes, cruelly beating and wounding ſuch as oppoſed them; in conſequence hereof, the prieſts, who had no means of ſubſiſtence but their tenths, were reduced to the moſt extreme diſtreſs.

On the eve of a feſtival, the robbers privately gained admittance to the city, and ſurpriſed the ſon of Ananus, the high-prieſt, who was ſecretary to a military officer, named Eleazar; and having confined the young man in bonds, they carried him off. They then diſpatched a meſſage to Ananus, purporting that on condition of his prevailing upon Albinus, to diſmiſs ten of their aſſociates, their priſoner ſhould be reſtored to liberty. Albinus was ſenſible that a compliance with this requeſt would be productive of ill conſequences: but yet, in a caſe of ſuch emergency, he could not refuſe. The redemption of the ſon of Ananus proved a dangerous precedent; for the deſperadoes were continually making priſoners of his other relations, for the purpoſe of redeeming their accomplices. Theſe people greatly encreaſed in numbers and ſtrength, and committed terrible devaſtation throughout the country.

Cæſarea Philippi enlarged, and a theatre built at Berytus.

Having conſiderably enlarged Cæſarea Philippi, king Agrippa gave the place the name of Neronias, in honour of the emperor. He erected a magnificent theatre at Berytus, and endowed the building with an immenſe ſum of money, for the purpoſe of annual exhibitions, and diſtributing corn and oil among the people. He embelliſhed the city with curious ſtatues, and a valuable collection of pictures and antique pieces, the production of the moſt eminent maſters. In ſhort, Berytus was the receptacle of whatever was ſcarce and precious in his dominions: but by thus gratifying ſtrangers, in preference to his own ſubjects, he forfeited his popularity with the latter.

Jeſus, the ſon of Gamaliel, ſucceds to the pontifical office.

Having depoſed Jeſus, the ſon of Damneus, the king appointed Jeſus, the ſon of Gamaliel, to ſucceed him in the pontificate; in conſequence of which, an implacable enmity was occaſioned between them. They were each conſtantly attended by a band of ruffians, and when they met in the ſtreets, they exchanged reproachful and reviling language, and ſometimes even annoyed each other, by caſting ſtones. Coſtobarus and Saul, who were of the royal blood, and nearly allied to Aprippa, had each the command of a party of mercenaries, who were on all accaſions ready to fight their battles. Theſe men grievouſly oppreſſed the poor. From this period, is to be dated the declention of our commonwealth; for the circumſtances of the Jews were afterwards continually verging more near to the extreme of miſery.

Geſſius F
rus ſucce
Albinus.

Upon receiving intelligence, that Geſſius Florus was appointed to ſucceed him, Albinus, with a view of ingratiating the favour of the people, determined to execute juſtice upon the delinquents that had been committed to priſon. Such as were accuſed only of ſlight offences he diſmiſſed: but thoſe who were proved guilty of capital crimes be condemned to ſuffer death. The people releaſed from priſon diſperſed themſelves through the country, and renewed their former illicit practices.

The ſinging-men of the tribe of Levi, petitioned Agrippa for the privilege of wearing the linen-ſtole, a veſtment peculiarly aſſigned to the prieſts. The king convened a council, and granted their requeſt with the uſual formalities; and the other Levites who ſerved in the temple he permitted to officiate as ſingers. Theſe grants were contrary to the laws and cuſtoms of our nation, which were never violated with impunity.

The templ
finiſhed.

The temple being compleated, about eighteen thouſand workmen, who had been punctually paid for their labour, were now deſtitute of employment. The people conſidering that the money they were poſſeſſed of might be ſeized by the Romans, and being deſirous to afford aſſiſtance to the diſtreſſed artificers, they made a propoſal to Agrippa, for repairing an edifice on the eaſt ſide of the temple, which overlooked a deep valley.

The wall of this building was four hundred cubits high: the ſtones were white, each being twenty cubits long and ſix deep, and the ſurface of them was wrought ſmooth and regular. The ſtructure was raiſed by Solomon, the original founder of the temple. Claudius Cæſar commiſſioned Agrippa, to make the propoſed reparations; but Agrippa, conſidering the extenſiveneſs of the undertaking, the immenſe ſums of money it would require, and that all human works might eaſily be deſtroyed, judged that it would not be expedient to comply with the deſires of the public: but he propoſed, inſtead of repairing the ſacred edifice, to pave the ſtreets of the city with white ſtones.

Matthias ap
pointed
high-prieſt.

After this, Agrippa advanced Matthias, the ſon of Theophilus, to the pontifical dignity in the room of Jeſus, the ſon of Gamaliel: and in his time the war between the Romans and the Jews commenced.

Hiſtory of
the pontifi-
cate.

It will not be improper here to introduce ſome particulars reſpecting the origin and qualifications of high-prieſts, and to mention the perſons promoted to the pontificate till the concluſion of the above-mentioned war. Aaron, the brother of Moſes, was the firſt of the order; and he was ſucceeded by his ſons. So inviolable a regard did our progenitors obſerve to the right of heriditary ſucceſſion, that only thoſe of the blood of Aaron were deemed eligible to aſſume the holy office, even kings themſelves being excluded. There were eighty-three high-prieſts from the time of Aaron to that of Phanaſus, who during a time of hoſtilities, was elected to the pontificate by a faction: thirteen of them exerciſed the holy office from the time of the tabernacle to the Almighty being conſtructed in the deſart by Moſes, to the time of the people entering Judea, where the ſacred temple was erected, and dedicated to God, by king Solomon. According to the original inſtitution, there was no opportunity to ſucceed to the pontificial dignity but through a vacancy by death: but that cuſtom was aboliſhed, and it became uſual to diveſt the high-prieſt of his office and appoint a ſucceſſor. The thirteen perſons above alluded to, deſcendants of the two ſons of Aaron, ſucceeded to the pontificate in rotation.

The firſt eſtabliſhment of the government was ariſtocratical, the ſecond * monarchical, after which kings were inveſted with the ſovereign authority. We compute ſix hundred and twelve years from the time of our people being conducted out of the land of Egypt by Moſes to that of erecting Solomon's temple.

Under the government of kings the thirteen high-prieſts, already mentioned, were ſucceeded by eighteen others; reckoning from king Solomon to the time when, after ſubduing Jeruſalem and deſtroying the holy temple by fire, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, ſubjected Jozedec and the whole nation to captivity.

Cyrus, king of Perſia reſtored the Jews to liberty and their country, after they had remained ſeventy years in captivity in Babylon, and granted them permiſſion to re-build the temple, the pontificate being at that time in poſſeſſion of Jeſus, the ſon of Jozedec. For the ſpace of four hundred and fourteen years fifteen of the poſterity of Jeſus enjoyed the high-prieſthood, exerciſing their authority in a popular manner; and then king Antiochus Eupator and his general Lyſias, put to death the high-prieſt Onias, otherwiſe Menelaus, at the city of Berytus, excluding his ſon from the ſucceſſion, and conferring the dignity upon Jacimus, who, though of the race of Aaron, was not of the pontifical family. Upon the death of Onias, his ſon who bore the ſame name, went into Egypt, and prevailed upon Ptolemy Philometer and his wife Cleopatra to conſtruct a temple at Heliopolis, ſimilar to that of Jeruſalem, and appoint him the high-prieſt. After officiating as high-prieſt for the ſpace of three years, Jacimus died, and having no ſucceſſor, the office remained vacant for ſeven years. Jonathan falling a ſacrifice to the treachery of Tryphon, he was ſucceeded by his brother Simon, who being aſſaſſinated by his ſon-in-law, at a public entertainment, the dignity devolved to his ſon Hyrcanus, who enjoyed it thirty-one years. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Judas, otherwiſe Ariſtobulus, who was the firſt that aſſumed the title and quality of king. After reigning one year, he died, leaving his brother, Alexander, the heir both to the ſovereignty and the pontificate. Twenty-ſeven years after his exaltation, Alexander died, bequeathing the regency to his wife Alexandria, authoriſing her to beſtow the pontificate upon one of his ſons, whom ſhe ſhould moſt approve. She conferred the dignity upon Hyrcanus, who enjoyed it during her ſovereignty, which was nine years. Upon the deceaſe of Alexandria, Ariſtobulus declared war againſt his elder brother Hyrcanus, and having reduced him to a private ſtation, he aſſumed the ſovereignty and the pontificate. Theſe offices he held for three years and three months, when Pompey conquered Jeruſalem, and carried him and his children priſoners to Rome. Pompey reſtored Hyrcanus to the dignity of high-prieſt, and appointed him prince of the Jews, but reſtricted him from aſſuming the title and character of king. Excluſive of the nine years already mentioned. Hyrcanus exerciſed the pontifical functions three and twenty years. This time being elapſed, Barzaphanes and Pacorus, generals in the Parthian army, croſſed the Euphrates, and made war againſt Hyrcanus, whom they ſubdued and carried away priſoner. They advanced Antigonus, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, to the throne: but in three years and three months, he was made a priſoner in Jeruſalem, by Herod and Soſus, who ſent him to Antony, by whoſe command he was put to death at Antioch.

Herod being eſtabliſhed in the royal authority by the Romans, he diſpenſed with the practice of ſelecting the high-prieſts from the Aſmonean family, deeming the moſt obſcure perſons in holy orders eligible to the office. The great and increaſing reputation of Ariſtobulus having excited the envy of Herod, he cauſed him to be drowned, while bathing in a pool at

---

* On the firſt view, this paſſage appears ſomewhat obſcure, and the two laſt diſtinctions may, perhaps, ſeem confounded; but by the monarchical, Joſephus means that form of government which obtained among the Jews under the judges. See Seldon de Synedr. Heb. l. II. c. XV.

Jericho, as we have already mentioned. After this, he entirely excluded the Aſmonean race from the poſſeſſion of the pontificial dignity: and the ſame conduct was purſued by his ſon Archelaus, and by the Romans, when Judea came under their government.

In the courſe of one hundred and ſeven years, from the time of Herod to the conflagration of Jeruſalem and the temple by Titus, there were twenty-eight high-prieſts, ſome of them being under Herod, and Archelaus, his ſon. After the deceaſe of Herod and Archelaus, our nation was ſubjected to the ariſtocratical form of government, and the high-prieſt was inveſted with the exerciſe of the ſovereign authority.

CHAP. IX.

Albinus ſucceeded by Geſſius Florus. The commencement of the war between the Jews and the Romans.

Character of Florus.

NERO appointed Geſſius Florus, a Clazomenian by birth, the ſucceſſor of Albinus, and under his government our nation was reduced to a ſtate of the moſt extreme miſery. Cleopatra, the wife of Florus, had great influence over the empreſs Poppea, and to that influence Florus was indebted for his exaltation. The oppreſſion of this man was ſo intolerable, that the Jews even regretted the loſs of Albinus. Though the wickedneſs of Albinus was exceſſive, he ſtudied to put the moſt favourable appearance upon his conduct: but Florus, on the contrary, triumphed in his iniquity, and all his behaviour ſeemed to intimate that the whole buſineſs of his commiſſion was to effect the ruin of our nation. His avarice and cruelty were without bounds: he gave encouragement to public robbers, by ſharing with them in the ſpoil; which induced him to countenance them in every ſpecies of depredation. His rapacity and tyranny were ſo extreme, that the Jews were driven to the cruel neceſſity of deſerting their country, altars and religious ceremonies, and ſeeking refuge among the moſt inhoſpitable ſtrangers. In ſhort, the oppreſſion of this man precipitated the miſerable Jews to take up arms againſt the Romans, preferring to periſh together rather than longer remain the objects of contempt in ignominious ſlavery, and gradually fall ſacrifices to ſo inſupportable a government. The war commenced in the ſecond year of the government of Florus over Judea, and in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero. Such as wiſh to be informed of the particulars of the war will be fully gratified by peruſing the books* written on that ſubject.

I here conclude the ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, contained in twenty books, and ſixty thouſand lines, comprehending a narrative of what happened to them from the creation of the world to the twelfth year of the reign of Nero; their ſituation in Egypt and Syria; their ſufferings under the Aſſyrians and Babylonians; and the treatment they experienced from the Perſians, Macedonians, and Romans. I have given an authentic account of the ſucceſſion of the high-prieſts during the courſe of two thouſand years; nor have I omitted to treat of the ſeveral forms and revolutions of government. The whole is founded on the authority of the holy writings, as was promiſed at the beginning of the work.

No man could have afforded the Greeks a more perfect hiſtory than the preſent production. The Jews will admit, that there is none more converſant in the Moſaical law than myſelf. I have ſtudied the critical and grammatical properties of the Greek language with the ſtricteſt attention: but I pretend to no ſkill in the pronunciation, our people holding the knowledge of many languages in ſlight eſtimation, and conſidering the ſtudy rather as profane, being common both to freemen and ſlaves. The only learning and wiſdom which we account valuable, are a knowledge of and attention to our laws and the holy ſcriptures.

With the permiſſion of the Almighty, I ſhall purſue a deſign I have conceived of writing a conciſe narrative of the war, from its commencement to the preſent time, being the thirteenth year of the reign of Domitian, and the fifty-ſixth of my age; wherein I ſhall briefly ſpeak of my family and my perſonal conduct, while people are yet living to bear teſtimony to the truth of, or to diſprove my aſſertions.

---

* In the time of Veſpaſian, long before the Antiquities were written, the books on the Jewiſh wars were publiſhed. Vide l. xviii. c. 2. Voſſ. de Hiſt. Gr. and Valeſ. in Euſeb. p. 48. and Ed. Pariſ.

END OF THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

A

DEFENCE

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS;

BEING AN

Anſwer to Apion, compriſed in an Epiſtle to Epaphroditus.

BOOK I.

IN my hiſtory of the Jewiſh Antiquities, I have ſaid ſufficient to aſcertain the ancient deſcent of our people, and to prove that they do not derive their origin from any other nation. This I have made apparent by a faithful narrative of the occurrences of five thouſand years, deduced from the authority of the Holy Scriptures. It has been aſked, if the Jews are of ſo illuſtrious a deſcent as I have repreſented, how it happens that the moſt authentic Greek hiſtorians have not mentioned the circumſtance? With regard to my authorities, I ſhall make uſe of thoſe only whom the Greek writers themſelves hold in the higheſt reputation: with reſpect to thoſe by whom myſelf or my writings have been traduced, either through ignorance or malace, I ſhall endeavour to make their own words evidence againſt them. I ſhall alſo try to explain how it happens that the Greeks in general have taken ſuch ſlight notice of the Jews; and ſhall prove, that with reſpect to particular writers, they either were, or pretend to be, totally ignorant of the affairs of which I have treated.

Jewiſh
quities, a
y of five
and

The world abounds with people who are ſo devoted to the opinion of the Greeks, that they conſider them as the only perſons worthy to be conſulted with reſpect to the credibility of hiſtory; to the inſult and diſgrace of men of all other nations whatever. I am aſtoniſhed at the preſumption of theſe pretenders to a knowledge of antiquity, when they are equally oppoſed by plain reaſon and indubitable facts. In matters of hiſtory we ought not to be governed by the private opinions of any particular man, or body of men, but by the internal evidence of the facts themſelves. With regard to the Greeks, every thing among them appears to me to be diſtinguiſhed by the air of novelty. Their buildings, their arts, their laws, are but of late date; and even the uſe of hiſtory among them is but a very modern improvement. On the contrary, they themſelves acknowledge that the Egyptians, Chaldeans and Phœnicians, not to mention the Jews, have kept regular periodical records, to tranſmit to poſterity the memorable acts of former times. Theſe were preſerved by means of monumental pillars and inſcriptions, agreeable to the advice of the wiſeſt men among them; that the memory of their public tranſactions might not be loſt, but faithfully recorded to after ages. It is likewiſe worthy of obſervation, that as theſe people lived in a clear air and fine climate, their monuments were leſs liable to moulder and decay: which was by no means the caſe with the Greeks, who neither gave orders for ſuch inſcriptions, nor would their climate preſerve them.

The Egyptians a people of antiquity and credit.

It is not unuſual for thoſe who erect new ſtates or ſocieties, to think themſelves perfect in the art of government. With regard to the Greeks, their ſkill in letters is of late date, nor are they at the preſent time arrived to a full degree of perfection in this ſcience. Reſpecting their antiquity in this particular, they pretend to no farther origin than the Phœnicians, and conſider Cadmus as their firſt maſter; but neither in their temples, nor on their public

Jericho, as we have already mentioned. After this, he entirely excluded the Aſmonean race from the poſſeſſion of the pontificial dignity: and the ſame conduct was purſued by his ſon Archelaus, and by the Romans, when Judea came under their government.

In the courſe of one hundred and ſeven years, from the time of Herod to the conflagration of Jeruſalem and the temple by Titus, there were twenty-eight high-prieſts, ſome of them being under Herod, and Archelaus, his ſon. After the deceaſe of Herod and Archelaus, our nation was ſubjected to the ariſtocratical form of government, and the high-prieſt was inveſted with the exerciſe of the ſovereign authority.

CHAP. IX.

Albinus ſucceeded by Geſſius Florus. The commencement of the war between the Jews and the Romans.

NERO appointed Geſſius Florus, a Clazomenian by birth, the ſucceſſor of Albinus, and under his government our nation was reduced to a ſtate of the moſt extreme miſery. Cleopatra, the wiſe of Florus, had great influence over the empreſs Poppea, and to that influence Florus was indebted for his exaltation. The oppreſſion of this man was ſo intolerable, that the Jews even regretted the loſs of Albinus. Though the wickedneſs of Albinus was exceſſive, he ſtudied to put the moſt favourable appearance upon his conduct: but Florus, on the contrary, triumphed in his iniquity, and all his behaviour ſeemed to intimate that the whole buſineſs of his commiſſion was to effect the ruin of our nation. His avarice and cruelty were without bounds: he gave encouragement to public robbers, by ſharing with them in the ſpoil; which induced him to countenance them in every ſpecies of depredation. His rapacity and tyranny were ſo extreme, that the Jews were driven to the cruel neceſſity of deſerting their country, altars and religious ceremonies, and ſeeking refuge among the moſt inhoſpitable ſtrangers. In ſhort, the oppreſſion of this man precipitated the miſerable Jews to take up arms againſt the Romans, preferring to periſh together rather than longer remain the objects of contempt in ignominious ſlavery, and gradually fall ſacrifices to ſo inſupportable a government. The war commenced in the ſecond year of the government of Florus over Judea, and in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero. Such as wiſh to be informed of the particulars of the war will be fully gratified by peruſing the books* written on that ſubject.

Character of Florus.

I here conclude the ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, contained in twenty books, and ſixty thouſand lines, comprehending a narrative of what happened to them from the creation of the world to the twelfth year of the reign of Nero; their ſituation in Egypt and Syria; their ſufferings under the Aſſyrians and Babylonians; and the treatment they experienced from the Perſians, Macedonians, and Romans. I have given an authentic account of the ſucceſſion of the high-prieſts during the courſe of two thouſand years; nor have I omitted to treat of the ſeveral forms and revolutions of government. The whole is founded on the authority of the holy writings, as was promiſed at the beginning of the work.

No man could have afforded the Greeks a more perfect hiſtory than the preſent production. The Jews will admit, that there is none more converſant in the Moſaical law than myſelf. I have ſtudied the critical and grammatical properties of the Greek language with the ſtricteſt attention: but I pretend to no ſkill in the pronunciation, our people holding the knowledge of many languages in ſlight eſtimation, and conſidering the ſtudy rather as profane, being common both to freemen and ſlaves. The only learning and wiſdom which we account valuable, are a knowledge of and attention to our laws and the holy ſcriptures.

With the permiſſion of the Almighty, I ſhall purſue a deſign I have conceived of writing a conciſe narrative of the war, from its commencement to the preſent time, being the thirteenth year of the reign of Domitian, and the fifty-ſixth of my age; wherein I ſhall briefly ſpeak of my family and my perſonal conduct, while people are yet living to bear teſtimony to the truth of, or to diſprove my aſſertions.

---

* In the time of Veſpaſian, long before the Antiquities were written, the books on the Jewiſh wars were publiſhed. Vide l. xviii. c. 2. Voſſ. de Hiſt. Gr. and Valeſ. in Euſeb. p. 48. and Ed. Pariſ.

END OF THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS.

A

DEFENCE

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS;

BEING AN

Anſwer to Apion, compriſed in an Epiſtle to Epaphroditus.

BOOK I.

IN my hiſtory of the Jewiſh Antiquities, I have ſaid ſufficient to aſcertain the ancient deſcent of our people, and to prove that they do not derive their origin from any other nation. This I have made apparent by a faithful narrative of the occurrences of five thouſand years, deduced from the authority of the Holy Scriptures. It has been aſked, if the Jews are of ſo illuſtrious a deſcent as I have repreſented, how it happens that the moſt authentic Greek hiſtorians have not mentioned the circumſtance? With regard to my authorities, I ſhall make uſe of thoſe only whom the Greek writers themſelves hold in the higheſt reputation: with reſpect to thoſe by whom myſelf or my writings have been traduced, either through ignorance or malace, I ſhall endeavour to make their own words evidence againſt them. I ſhall alſo try to explain how it happens that the Greeks in general have taken ſuch ſlight notice of the Jews; and ſhall prove, that with reſpect to particular writers, they either were, or pretend to be, totally ignorant of the affairs of which I have treated.

Jewiſh
ities, a
of five
and

The world abounds with people who are ſo devoted to the opinion of the Greeks, that they conſider them as the only perſons worthy to be conſulted with reſpect to the credibility of hiſtory; to the inſult and diſgrace of men of all other nations whatever. I am aſtoniſhed at the preſumption of theſe pretenders to a knowledge of antiquity, when they are equally oppoſed by plain reaſon and indubitable facts. In matters of hiſtory we ought not to be governed by the private opinions of any particular man, or body of men, but by the internal evidence of the facts themſelves. With regard to the Greeks, every thing among them appears to me to be diſtinguiſhed by the air of novelty. Their buildings, their arts, their laws, are but of late date; and even the uſe of hiſtory among them is but a very modern improvement. On the contrary, they themſelves acknowledge that the Egyptians, Chaldeans and Phœnicians, not to mention the Jews, have kept regular periodical records, to tranſmit to poſterity the memorable acts of former times. Theſe were preſerved by means of monumental pillars and inſcriptions, agreeable to the advice of the wiſeſt men among them; that the memory of their public tranſactions might not be loſt, but faithfully recorded to after ages. It is likewiſe worthy of obſervation, that as theſe people lived in a clear air and fine climate, their monuments were leſs liable to moulder and decay: which was by no means the caſe with the Greeks, who neither gave orders for ſuch inſcriptions, nor would their climate preſerve them.

The Egyptians a people of antiquity and credit.

It is not unuſual for thoſe who erect new ſtates or ſocieties, to think themſelves perfect in the art of government. With regard to the Greeks, their ſkill in letters is of late date, nor are they at the preſent time arrived to a full degree of perfection in this ſcience. Reſpecting their antiquity in this particular, they pretend to no farther origin than the Phœnicians, and conſider Cadmus as their firſt maſter; but neither in their temples, nor on their public regiſters, are they able to produce one authentic memorial of the period to which they pretend to allude. It is an acknowledged fact, that when it was debated, if the uſe of letters was known at the time of the Trojan war, the queſtion was carried in the negative; and it was determined that no ſuch characters then exiſted. Certain it is, that there is no Greek manuſcript now extant, written before the poem of Homer; and it is equally certain that the Trojan war was at an end before that poem was produced. It muſt likewiſe be acknowledged, that Homer did not commit his poem to writing, but that it was ſung about at different places as a ballad, till the people had learnt to repeat it from the memory of the writers: and hence thoſe errors and contradictions abounding in the firſt manuſcripts.

No Greek manuſcript before the time of Homer.

With reſpect to Cadmus, the Mileſian, Acuſilaus, and ſome other Grecians who have attempted hiſtorical writing, they lived but a ſhort time previous to the irruption made into Greece by the Perſians. Phericides of Syros, Pythagoras and Thales, agree that they derived their knowledge from the Egyptians and Chaldeans. It is matter of aſtoniſhment that the Greeks ſhould claim not only the credit of a ſuperior knowledge in antiquity, but alſo that of hiſtorical faith and candour, in preference to all other people. From their own works it is evident, that they are founded upon conjecture and opinion, rather than on matter of fact; for their authors relate the ſame events with much inconſiſtency. Equally tedious and ineffectual would it be to deſcribe the diſagreements between Helanicus and Acuſilaus, with reſpect to their geneologies; the contradictions between Heſiod and Acuſilaus; the abſurdities of Helanicus, which have been expoſed by Ephorus; thoſe of Ephorus, remarked by Timeus; thoſe of Timeus noticed by his ſucceſſors; and finally, how Herodotus is contradicted by them all.

In their Sicilian hiſtories, Timeus diſagrees with Philitus and Callias: and the hiſtorians of Athens and Argos accuſe each other of miſrepreſentation. The events of the Perſian war are variouſly recounted. And the authenticity of Thucydides, the moſt careful and unprejudiced writer of his age, has been frequently queſtioned.

Thucydides cenſured.

If neceſſary, many reaſons might be aſſigned for the diſagreements among the Greek hiſtorians: but the points I principally inſiſt upon are: that they do not lay the foundation of their hiſtory on public records and memorials, and that they give falſe accounts of the tranſactions of ancient times. The mode of keeping public regiſters hath been neglected, not only in the exterior parts of Greece, but even in Athens itſelf, where the people, with regard to their original, are diſtinguiſhed by the name of *earth-born*, and pride themſelves above all other people, on account of their antiquity and learning. It is generally acknowledged that Draco's penal laws preceded all their other writings, though they are of not much greater antiquity than the time of the tyrant Piſiſtrates. What then is to be ſaid with reſpect to the Arcadians, who received the uſe of letters later than any of their countrymen, and yet pretend to a precedence in point of antiquity.

Now as there was no valuable intelligence extant, for the inſtruction of thoſe who were deſirous to be well informed, or for rectifying the errors of thoſe who might wilfully deviate from the line of rectitude; how was it poſſible but that their hiſtorians ſhould give contradictory accounts; eſpecially if we conſider that truth was leaſt of all their object, though they made perpetual profeſſions of a contrary nature? In fact, they wrote with a view to popular applauſe, and if they could but obtain the name of diſtinguiſhed orators, they were little ſolicitous for the character of honeſt men. Some of them wrote from whim and caprice, totally diſregarding the truth of their recitals: others were mere panegyriſts, and ſought only the favour of perſons of eminence; while a third ſort prided themſelves in depreciating the perſons and writings of thoſe that preceded them; all of which deviate entirely from the office and duty of an hiſtorian. Were the controverſy between the Greeks and the Jews only reſpecting the elegance of diction, we ſhould not ſcruple to yield them precedency: but with regard to antiquity and matters of fact, the caſe is otherwiſe.

The Gre better or than hiſto- rians.

The ancient Egyptians and Babylonians are known to have been extremely exact in their records and annals. Among the Egyptians the care of this regiſtering was committed to the prieſts, who were very aſſiduous and careful in the diſcharge of this duty. The example of the Babylonians was followed by the Chaldeans; and the Phœnicians, on their incorporation with the Greeks, taught them the uſe of letters, and how far theſe were ſubſervient to the conduct of life, and the preſervation of public traditions. But as this is a matter confeſſed by all parties, it is unneceſſary that I ſhould ſay any thing farther of it in this place: wherefore I ſhall content myſelf with briefly obſerving that our predeceſſors took at leaſt as great care as any other people, if not greater, to ſecure this order and regulation; for the high-prieſts and prophets were charged with this commiſſion: and the practice hath been regularly kept up to the preſent time: and I do preſume to ſay it will never fail: for care was originally taken

ſtoms re-
ſting mar-
es and
igrees.

taken in the choice of perſons of diſtinguiſhed piety and virtue for the office of prieſt, excluſive of thoſe who were devoted to the ſervice of the altar, and a proviſion was made that the line of prieſthood ſhould not be contaminated by a mixture with any other family; for no man is qualified to execute the office of a prieſt, unleſs his mother be deſcended in the ſacerdotal line; wherefore, regardleſs of riches or honours, the man who makes pretentions to the right of officiating at the altar, muſt produce a number of witneſſes to prove himſelf deſcended in a regular line from the prieſthood. This is not only the practice in Judea, but it prevails in Egypt, Babylon, and all places where our people are diſperſed: and our prieſts make it a point of conſcience not to intermarry but with their own tribes.

When a prieſt is diſpoſed to marry, he ſends the name of the bride to Jeruſalem, together with an atteſted account of her pedigree. In times of war, as in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, Pompey the great, Quintillius Varus, and likewiſe within our own memory, the ſurviving prieſts compleated and reformed the old regiſters, made new ones, and examined the women that were to be married with the greateſt circumſpection. The prieſts never eſpouſe captives, leſt they ſhould contract a foreign mixture; and there cannot be a ſtronger proof of their integrity, than the circumſtance of their names having ſtood upon record, from father to ſon, in regular ſucceſſion for the ſpace of two thouſand years. If a prieſt be found to prevaricate, or to depart from the truth, he is depoſed, and interdicted from attendance at the altar. All men are not allowed to write: but in the productions of the few that exerciſe the pen we meet with no contradictions. With regard to thoſe wonderful antiquities contained in the books of the prophets, we conſider them rather as divine revelation, than hiſtory. The writers who have recorded the hiſtory of their own times are not numerous; but in general there is a correſpondence in their reſpective narratives.

The number
of books of
holy writ.

We are bound to believe two and twenty books, containing the hiſtory of the world from the creation to the preſent time. Of theſe books five are occupied in giving a narrative of the creation of the world, and the generation of mankind. The hiſtory is continued to the death of Moſes, and comprizes a period of near three thouſand years.

Each of our prophets wrote an account of the occurrences of the age in which he lived, from the death of Moſes to the reign of Artaxerxes, the ſon of Xerxes, and king of Perſia: and this hiſtory is contained in thirteen books. The other four books conſiſt of divine hymns and precepts of morality. We have likewiſe a ſeries of hiſtory* from the days of Artaxerxes to the preſent time, which we hold in great eſteem, though we do not venerate it as we do the other, becauſe it is not authenticated and made ſacred by a continuation of the deſcent of the prophets. As for the other works we hold them in as high eſtimation as we could do, had we been actual witneſſes to the facts recorded; for we are convinced of their antiquity, and that no attempts have been made to enlarge, abridge, or in any manner to diſguiſe or alter them. In ſhort, from our earlieſt infancy we are taught to revere theſe writings as being of divine original, and, if neceſſary, to ſuffer death rather than forego opinions thus ſacredly impreſſed.

The courage
and fortitude
of the Jews.

Numbers of our countrymen are at this time captives, ſuffering a variety of torments, ſtruggling with death in its moſt formidable ſhape, and contending in theatres with beaſts, and men, ſtill more brutal than they: and all this becauſe they refuſe to abandon the laws of their country, and blaſpheme the God whom their anceſtors worſhipped! Can it be ſaid that the Greeks have ever given an equal proof of their faith and reſolution? Theſe people would refuſe to abide ſuch trials in defence of all they hold moſt dear; but the fact is, that they deem thoſe things which ought to be held ſacred as mere matter of form: and their beſt hiſtorians are culpable in this particular. They frequently commence the writing of their hiſtories, without any knowledge of the facts to which they allude; without conſulting thoſe who have been on the ſpot, and parties in the actions; or, if they do conſult them, without crediting what they ſay. Very extraordinary hiſtories of our late wars have been publiſhed by thoſe who were never near enough to the ſcene of action to form the ſlighteſt opinion of the matter of fact: but their plan has been to compile a confuſed hiſtory, partly from report, and partly from imagination, and then to aſſume the character of hiſtorians of the firſt credit.

I have acted, however, in a very different manner; for I have related nothing of which I had not either occular demonſtration, or other indubitable authority. I have been as faithful in the report of, as I was accurate in the ſearch after facts. As long as the Jews were able to ſupport themſelves againſt the Romans, I had the honour of a command in Galilee; but it was at length my misfortune to be made captive, and carried to Veſpaſian and Titus. In this ſituation I was kept in chains: but was ſoon permitted to make my obſervations on all that paſſed; and not long afterwards obtained

---

* Our author here means the Books of the Apocrypha.

tained my liberty; when the ſiege of Jeruſalem taking place, I went abroad with Titus from Alexandria.

I was now diligent in my remarks on all that happened. I was well acquainted with all the motions of the army, and was extremely careful to repreſent every circumſtance exactly as it occurred. With regard to the ſituation of the city, I was informed of it by priſoners and deſerters, as they were all under my particular direction and management, by the abſolute command of the emperor. In fact, I took every opportunity of making written obſervations; and from thoſe obſervations my hiſtory is compiled.

This hiſtory compiled at Rome.

Having thus laid the foundation of my work, when I returned to Rome, I got the aſſiſtance of ſome friends accompliſhed in the Greek language, and proceeded with the hiſtory, in which I have paid ſo ſtrict an adherence to the rules of veracity, that I have no doubt but even Veſpaſian and Titus will give teſtimony to my honour. As ſoon as my book was finiſhed, I preſented it to theſe illuſtrious perſons, and after them to ſeveral noble Romans who had been commanders in the war. I ſold other copies to ſeveral of our own people who had a knowledge of the Greek language; particularly to Julius, Archelaus, the accompliſhed Herod, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed king Agrippa. Now all theſe univerſally applaud me, as having diſcharged the duty of a faithful hiſtorian.

While acting in the capacity of a prieſt, I extracted my antiquities from the books of the holy ſcriptures, and methodically arranged them. With reſpect to the war, I took an active part therein, and was a ſpectator of numbers of its moſt important events. Others were faithfully reported to me; and I was informed of all that was worth recording. My enemies have ſpoken in diſparagement of my veracity, ſaying my narrative does not accord with the journals of Titus and Veſpaſian, which they have peruſed. But theſe arrogant aſſertions do not invalidate the truth of my hiſtory, which recounts facts that could not have come within the knowledge of the Roman generals.

The cuſtoms and manners of the Jews different from thoſe of other people.

I muſt now addreſs myſelf to thoſe who pretend that the Jews are a modern people, urging in ſupport of their aſſertion, that we are not noticed by the Greek hiſtorians. We inhabit a mid-land country, and are not accuſtomed either to purſue trade and commerce, or to undertake journies and voyages. Our cities are chiefly at a diſtance from the ſea, our ſoil is fruitful, and our lands are well cultivated. A great portion of our time is devoted to the education of our children, according to the laws of our country; and this we deem the moſt important duty of our lives. Our manner of living is peculiar to ourſelves; and therefore we are well-aſſured, that in ancient times we had no intercourſe with the Greeks, as the Phœnicians, Egyptians, and other people had, for the ſake of promoting their intereſt by commerce, trade, and navigation. Our anceſtors were not, like other nations, diſpoſed to encreaſe their territories, by making incurſions upon thoſe of their neighbours, though, on account of their numbers and bravery they moſt unqueſtionably might have ſucceeded in ſuch purſuits.

The Medes and Perſians having obtained the command of Aſia, the latter carried the war into Europe. The Greeks became acquainted with the Thracians from their neighbourhood; the Scythians from their correſponding with thoſe who uſed the Pontus; and thus there could be no want of hiſtorians on the coaſt of the eaſtern and weſtern ſeas: but the inner parts of the country were in a manner unknown to them for ſeveral ages. This was likewiſe the caſe in Europe; for after the Roman power had been eſtabliſhed by ſucceſſive conqueſts, yet this mighty Empire is not mentioned by Herodotus, Thucydides, or any of the writers living at that time; and it was a long time before the Greeks obtained a knowledge of its exiſtence.

Ephorus hiſtorian proved.

What opinion ſhall we form of the writers in general, when Ephorus, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed among them, could commit ſuch an error as that I am about to recite? Having undertaken to give an account of the Gauls and Iberians, he repreſents the kingdom of Spain, and the whole continent on which it ſtands, only as a ſingle city: and thus mentions things that were never tranſacted or thought of there, as the hiſtory of the place itſelf. Thus ignorance ariſes from an endeavour to reach truth at too great a diſtance; and in other inſtances, from an affectation of exceeding the truth.

Can it, therefore, afford any kind of ſurprize, if people who live as a ſort of ſtrangers in the world, wholly detached from it, and under ſuch regulations as the Jews do, ſhould not afford any ſubject for the hiſtorical pen?

Suppoſe, now, I ſhould turn the Greeks mode of reaſoning againſt themſelves, and deny their antiquity becauſe our books do not mention it? Would not this be deemed abſurd? And would not the Greeks appeal to their neighbours in juſtification of their claim? If this would be right in them, it cannot be leſs ſo with me. The principal witneſſes I ſhall uſe are the Egyptians and Phœnicians. No exceptions can be taken to their evidence, for the Egyptians are well known to be our determined enemies;

nor are the Phœnicians, particularly thoſe of Tyre, leſs ſo. The Chaldeans, however, form a different opinion of us. We were formerly in ſubjection to them; and on the ſcore of affinity, as well as on account of our country, they mention us in the moſt reſpectful manner in their writings.

teſtimo- f Mane-

Manetho, a native of Egypt, and a proficient in the Greek language, as appears from his hiſtory concerning the Jewiſh religion, attacks Herodotus in many parts of his work for giving falſe repreſentations of the Egyptians. From the account given by Manetho, it is evident, beyond contradiction, that our anceſtors had quitted Egypt three hundred and ninety-three years before the departure of Danaus for Argos, though the antiquity of that Prince is ſtrongly inſiſted upon by the Greeks. From the Egyptian writings Manetho adduces two capital circumſtances in favour of the Jews. The firſt is, that our anceſtors came into Egypt from ſome other country; and the other, that their departure from Egypt, was near a thouſand years previous to the ſiege of Troy. Many records of great antiquity have been preſerved by the Tyrians; and among other matters reſpecting our people, they mention the temple erected in Jeruſalem by king Solomon, one hundred and forty-three years and eight months before Carthage was built by their anceſtors. "Such was the friendſhip that Hiram, king of Tyre, had for David, that on account of the father, he had the greater eſteem for his ſon Solomon; and as a proof of his regard, he preſented to him a hundred and twenty talents of gold, towards defraying the charge of adorning the edifice, and ſupplied him with the fineſt wood from Mount Lebanon, for the wainſcot and roof. Solomon teſtified his gratitude by making magnificent preſents in return, and among other acknowledgments gave him Zebulon and Napthali." A principal inducement to the friendſhip between theſe illuſtrious perſonages was a mutual love of knowledge. They exchanged problems and difficult queſtions for being reſolved; and in this exerciſe Solomon proved the moſt expert. Among the Tyrians ſeveral copies of letters that paſſed between them are ſtill extant. In confirmation of what I have ſaid reſpecting Hiram, I ſhall here quote the words of Dius, a Phœnician hiſtorian of undoubted credit.

netho rs two s.

iram ſuc- ds his fa- er Abibal.

"Abibal was ſucceeded by his ſon Hiram. This prince repaired and improved ſeveral cities in the eaſtern diſtrict of his dominions: he enlarged Tyre, endowed it with many valuable gifts, and by means of a bank joined it to the temple of Olympian Jupiter, which was ſituated upon an iſland. He afterwards repaired to Mount Lebanon, and cut down wood for building temples. It is recorded that Solomon, king of Jeruſalem, and Hiram, ſent difficult queſtions to each other to be reſolved, on condition of a penalty being incurred by him that failed; which happening to be the caſe with Hiram, he paid the forfeiture: but afterwards Abdemonus, a Tyrian, explained the problem, and propoſed others for Solomon to interpret, on the condition of paying a certain ſum to Hiram, if he failed."

Menander, a writer of Epheſus, who collected a number of the memorials of the lives of the Grecian and Barbarian princes, having mentioned the preceding kings of Tyre, thus proceeds:

"Abibal being dead, he was ſucceeded in the regal dignity by his ſon Hiram, who wore the crown no leſs than thirty-four years. This prince joined Eurichorus to the city of Tyre, by means of a large mount which he cauſed to be thrown up; and in the temple of Jupiter in that place, dedicated a pillar of gold to the honour of that god. He then proceeded to a foreſt, on a mountain named Lebanon, where he cut down a large quantity of cedar to make roofs for temples, of which he pulled down many old, and built others in their ſtead. One of theſe he dedicated to Hercules, in the month Peritius, and another to Aſtartes, at the time that he turned his arms againſt the Tyrians on account of their refuſing to pay their taxes: but he returned as ſoon as he had conquered them.

At this time there was in the ſervice of Hiram a young man named Abdemonus, who lived in the palace, and was employed in reſolving difficult queſtions ſent by Solomon. The following is a computation from the time of Hiram to the building of Carthage.

The family of Hiram.

Hiram was ſucceeded by his ſon Beleazar, who died in the ſeventh year of his reign, and the forty-third of his age; after him came his ſon Abdaſtartus, who reigned near nine years; but when he was in the twentieth year of his age, he was murdered by the four ſons of his nurſe, of whom the eldeſt reigned in his ſtead twelve years; and next to him was Aſtartus, the ſon of Deleaſtartus, who likewiſe reigned twelve years, and lived ſixty-ſix. This prince was ſucceeded by his brother Aſerymus, who reigned nine years, and, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, was murdered by Phelles his brother. Phelles aſſumed the government when he was fifty years old, and having reigned eight months, was killed by Ithobalus, a prieſt of the goddeſs Aſtarta,* who reigned thirty-three years, and died at the age of ſixty-eight. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Badezor, who reigned nine years, and lived forty-five. After Badezor, came his ſon Matagenus, who reigned nine years, and died at the age of two and thirty. Matagenus was ſucceeded by Pygmalion, who governed forty years, and lived fifty-ſix.

---

* She was a Phœnician goddeſs, and the ſame as Aſhtaroth in Scripture, which denoteth ſheep or flocks. In compliment to one of his concubines, Solomon is ſaid to have erected an altar to this deity.

Carthage in Africa was built by his ſiſter, Dido, in the ſeventh year of his reign. Thus, from the time of Hiram to the building of Carthage, we compute one hundred and fifty-five years and eight months. So that admitting the temple of Jeruſalem to have been erected in the twelfth year of the reign of king Hiram, it will appear, that from the time of the building of the temple to the building of Carthage, there was a ſpace of one hundred and forty-three years and eight months."

Now I ſhould wiſh to aſk, if any thing can be more full evidence on our ſide of the queſtion than this teſtimony of the Phœnicians. Certain it is, that the arrival of our anceſtors in Judea muſt have been antecedent to their building a temple in that country, and that they could not form the ſtructure till they had conquered the land by force of arms.

The Chaldean and other writers agree.

It will now be proper to take notice of the correſpondence between the Chaldeans and other writers in reſpect to our hiſtory. Beroſus, a writer of the firſt credit, who has produced ſeveral learned tracts in the Greek language on the ſubjects of aſtronomy and the Chaldean philoſophy, agreeable to the cuſtom of the ancient hiſtorians, mentions the deſtruction of mankind by the deluge, as recorded by Moſes: and among other particulars of the ark, ſays, it reſted on the mountains of Armenia. He then traces the genealogies of the ſons of Noah, and records their names and ages, continuing his hiſtory regularly from Noah to Nabulaſſar, king of Babylon and Chaldea. He relates, that this king ſent his ſon Nabuchodonoſor with a large army into Egypt and Judea, where he attacked the rebels then in arms, and having ſubdued them, ſet fire to the temple of Jeruſalem, taking with him the whole body of the Jews priſoners into Babylon. From this time the city of Jeruſalem remained in a ſtate of deſolation ſeventy years, till the time of Cyrus, king of Perſia. Beroſus relates, that Egypt, Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia, were in poſſeſſion of the Babylonians, and that none of the predeceſſors of Nabuchodonoſor were equal to him in dignity. He ſpeaks in the following manner.

Beroſus's account of Nabulaſſer and Nabuchodonoſor.

"Nabulaſſar being informed that his deputy for Egypt, Cœle-Syria, and Phœnicia had taken up arms, and being too far advanced in years to ſuſtain the fatigues of war, he diſpatched his ſon Nabuchodonoſor, then in the prime of life, to reduce the rebel; and with a powerful army, he put the inſurgent to flight, and recovered all the revolted provinces. Having reigned nine and twenty years, Nabulaſſar died in Babylon. Being informed of his father's death, Nabuchodonoſor adjuſted his concerns in Egypt and the other provinces, and, after deputing perſons in whom he could confide to take care of the captive Jews, Phœnicians and Syrians, and eſcort them to Babylon with the army and baggage, he proceeded towards that capital through the deſart, with but a ſmall retinue. On his arrival he found the ſtate of affairs much to his ſatisfaction, the Chaldeans and the people of eminence in general expreſſing themſelves attached to his intereſt, and reſolutely diſpoſed to eſtabliſh him in poſſeſſion of the throne. While the priſoners were upon their journey, he ordered all neceſſary accommodations to be provided for them in the city. He applied the ſpoils of war to the embelliſhments of the temples dedicated to Bell and other deities. He cauſed a new town to be erected in addition to the ancient city; and that the river on the banks of which it ſtood, might not be diverted from its natural channel, in caſe of a ſiege, the buildings were incloſed with a tripple wall, being partly of brick only, and partly of brick mixed with bitumen*. He alſo erected a noble palace, near that of his father, but abundantly larger, and more magnificent and coſtly. It would be too tedious to deſcribe this building: but it is worthy remark, that though ſo rich and curious a ſtructure it was completed in fifteen days. Within this building were a number of artificial rocks, reſembling mountains, with nurſeries for various kinds of plants, and a ſort of hanging garden, which, with a ſingular degree of ſkill, was ſuſpended in the air. This was done to oblige the queen, who being educated in the free air, among the hills of Media, was highly gratified by ſo delightful a proſpect."

The kindn
of Nabuch
donoſor to
captive Je

Thus far Beroſus, reſpecting this king. In the Chaldean antiquities are other circumſtances worthy of notice; particularly his cenſure of the Greeks, for aſſerting that Babylon was founded by Semiramis, queen of Aſſyria. The greater credit is to be given to Beroſus, becauſe he ſo nearly agrees with the Phœnician records reſpecting the king of Babylon, and his conquering all Syria and Phœnicia. The ſame thing is by Philoſtratus obſerved in ſiege of Tyre, and by Megaſthenes, who, in his Indian hiſtory, aſcribes to this king a degree of bravery ſuperior to that of Hercules, and ſays farther, that the greateſt part of Lybia and Iberia was at his command.

---

* Bitumen was a thick fat ſort of clay or ſlime, like pitch, found near Babylon, made uſe of in building, inſtead of mortar, its cement being of incredible ſtrength and duration.

rosus con-
ning the
mple of
rusalem.

With regard to the temple of Jeruſalem, Beroſus aſſerts, that the Babylonians reduced it to aſhes; and that the rebuilding of it was commenced by Cyrus, to whoſe dominion all Aſia had at that time ſubmitted. The following is an extract from the third book of the writings of Beroſus.

“ Nabuchodonoſor fell ill and died juſt as he had begun to build the third wall, and when he had reigned near forty-three years. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Evil-Merodoch,* who became the averſion of the public by his laſcivious and oppreſſive conduct; and in the ſecond year of his reign was deſtroyed by the treachery of Niriglifſoror, the huſband of his ſiſter, who, ſoon after his death aſſumed the regal government, of which he held poſſeſſion four years. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Laboroſardochus, then quite a youth, who at the end of a reign of only nine months was deſtroyed by thoſe who called themſelves his friends, who diſpatched him becauſe his inclinations were thought of a vicious and dangerous tendency. Immediately after his death the conſpirators aſſembled, and choſe for their king Nabonidus, by birth a Babylonian, and of the ſame family. This prince compleated the building of the walls round the city of Babylon.

Cyrus over-
nas Aſia.

“ When the king had reigned near ſeventeen years, Cyrus came out of Perſia with a very great army, ravaged all Aſia, and then proceeded towards Babylon. He was met in the field by Nabonidus, who encountered him; but being routed, himſelf and a few of his followers only, eſcaped to the town of Borſippe. Cyrus advanced to Babylon, which he expected to become maſter of on forcing the firſt wall: but he afterwards changed his opinion, raiſed the ſiege, and retired to Borſippe, with an intention to have attacked that place; but Nabonidus declining the hazard of defending it, ſurrendered to the mercy of Cyrus, who, upon his making that ſubmiſſion, baniſhed him from Babylon, and preſented to him an eſtate in Caramaria, where he reſided during the remainder of his life, in a retired and humble ſituation.”

Beroſus
agrees with
the Jewiſh
accounts.

This account by Beroſus perfectly correſponds with that in our books, where it is recorded, that the temple was demoliſhed by Nabuchodnoſer, in the eighteenth year of his reign; that it remained in a ruinous ſtate for ſeventy years; that the foundations of it were again laid in the ſecond year of the reign of Cyrus; and that the building was completed in the ſecond year of king Darius.

To the above accounts it may not be improper to annex ſome particulars from the Phœnician hiſtory, ſince correſponding chronological proofs cannot be too numerous.

During the reign of king Ithobal, Tyre was beſieged by Nabuchodnoſer for the ſpace of thirteen years. He was ſucceeded by Baal, who reigned ten years. After his deceaſe, it became cuſtomary to truſt the powers of government with judges inſtead of kings. Of theſe judges Ecnibalus, the ſon of Baſleck, governed two months; and he was ſucceeded by Chelbis, the ſon of Abdeus, who was ten months in authority; the high-prieſt Abbar three; Mytgonis and Geraſtus Batus, the ſons of Abdelimus, ſix years; they were followed by Balatorus, who having governed one year, the people ſent to Babylon for Merbalus, who was in authority four years; upon his deceaſe he was ſucceeded by his brother Iram, who governed twenty years, in the courſe of which Cyrus compleated the conqueſt of the Perſian empire. The above periods added together make fifty-four years and three months. Nabuchodonoſor began the ſiege of Tyre in the ſeventh year of his reign, and Cyrus gained poſſeſſion of the empire in the fourteenth of that of king Iram. Thus we perceive, that the accounts given by the Chaldeans and Tyrians reſpecting our temple, add confirmation to what our own hiſtorians have written on that ſubject.

What I have advanced is ſurely ſufficient to prove the antiquity of the Jewiſh nation; but as I am arguing with thoſe who deem all perſons except themſelves to be Barbarians, and refuſe credit to whatever is not advanced upon their own authority, it may not be improper to adduce the teſtimony of the Greek authors in our juſtification, thus appealing even to our adverſaries, and compelling them to become witneſſes in ſupport of our cauſe.

The Jews appeal to their enemies.

Pythagoras, the famous Samian philoſopher, a man of great wiſdom and piety, was very converſant in the Jewiſh laws, and in many inſtances a ſtrict obſerver of them, as appears from his own writings, as well as from the teſtimony of others. Hermippus, a faithful hiſtorian, in his firſt book of Pythagoras, relates a ſtory of one Calliphon of Croton, the confidential friend of the philoſopher. He ſays that Calliphon dying, Pythagoras was haunted day and night by his ſpirit, inſtructing him with regard to his conduct; among other things directing him not to paſs by where his aſs had ſtumbled; to drink only water from the ſpring; and to ſpeak well of all perſons, thereby copying the example of the Jews and Thracians; and applying the whole advice to his own conduct; which was juſt, for many of the cuſtoms of the Jews are incorporated into the philoſophy of Pythagoras.

---

* Scr. Evil-Merodach.

In times of very remote antiquity our people were ſo well known in places of eminence, that our rites and cuſtoms are this day preſerved in many cities, and others, on inveſtigation, have deemed them worthy their imitation. This appears in the book of laws written by Theophraſtus, who mentioning the laws of Tyre againſt ſwearing by ſtrange gods, inſtances the Corban amongſt the forbidden oaths. Now Corban, in Hebrew, ſignifies the "Gift of God:" and the corban is peculiar to the Jews.

It is evident that our people were not unknown to Herodotus Halicarnaſſus, who in his ſecond book, where he ſpeaks of the people of Colchos, has the following words: "With regard to circumciſion, I find that, in ancient times, it was uſed only by the Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians. The Phœnicians, and the Syrians of Paleſtine acknowledge to have received this cuſtom from the Egyptians: the Syrians living near the rivers Hermodon and Parthenius, and alſo their neighbours, the Macronians, are ſaid to have adopted it of later times from the Colchians. No other people are circumciſed, and theſe follow the cuſtom of the Egyptians: but whether the Egyptians derive this from the Ethiopians, or the contrary, I cannot determine." This writer appears to be certain that the Syrians of Paleſtine are circumciſed: now the fact is, that in Paleſtine the Jews only are circumciſed, and as he is poſitive in his aſſertion, what he ſays reſpecting this circumſtance can have reference to no other people.

Chærilus, a poet of great antiquity, giving an account of the various nations that carried arms againſt the Greeks under the command of Xerxes, king of Perſia, having mentioned the other parties, ſpeaks finally of the Jews, after the following manner:

Theſe people form'd the rear with grace their own,
Their language Tyrian, and themſelves unknown:
From mountains near to Solymus they came,
Of which a lake immenſe proclaims the fame.
Tann'd horſe-hides form'd the covering of the head,
The hair cut round o'er which theſe hides were ſpread.

It is plain that the poet, who ſpeaks of the mountains of Solyma or Jeruſalem, and of a large lake that is ſituated in its neighbourhood, can refer to no other people than the Jews, who dwell among thoſe mountains, and mean no other lake than that of Aſphaltitis, which is the moſt conſiderable in all Syria. Thus much with reſpect to Chærilus. The Jews were not only known to the Greeks, but alſo lived upon terms of intimacy and friendſhip with their philoſophers and people of the firſt rank.

In his firſt book on the ſubject of ſleep, Clearchus, a diſciple of Ariſtotle, perſonates his maſter, in a converſation with Hyperochides, reſpecting a Jew with whom he was acquainted. The taſk would be tedious, ſays he, to recite the particulars of the hiſtory of the Jews: I ſhall therefore only give you a ſpecimen of the wiſdom of this perſon. He was a Jew by birth, a native of the Lower Syria, of a line of philoſophers whom the Indians diſtinguiſh by the appellation of Calani, but they are called Jews by the Syrians, from the place of their reſidence, which is the country of Judea.

The name of their principal city is difficult to pronounce, being called Jeruſalem. The Jew I allude to was remarkable for his benevolence to ſtrangers and travellers, and highly eſteemed for the wiſdom of his diſcourſes, and the purity of his manners. When I was in Aſia, in company with ſome of my diſciples, we received a viſit from this wonderful man, whoſe converſation proved highly inſtructing. Thoſe who are deſirous of further information reſpecting this extraordinary perſon, may be gratified by referring to the work above mentioned.

Hecateus, the Abderite, a man of great wiſdom, who was educated with Alexander the great, and afterwards lived in the court of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, the ſon of Lagus, wrote on the affairs of the Jews; and from this work I ſhall make ſuch extracts as may ſerve to elucidate my ſubject. Hecateus ſays, "In the hundred and ſeventeenth Olympiad, being eleven years after the death of Alexander, Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus, fought and defeated Demetrius, the ſon of Antigonus, near Gaza." It is well known, that Alexander died in the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad; and it muſt be concluded, that the Jews were a very flouriſhing people in the time of that great prince. The ſame writer further ſays, "After the battle of Gaza, Ptolemy conquered Syria and the adjacent countries. His humane and condeſcending behaviour ſo attracted the eſteem of the people, that many of them followed him into Egypt, Hezekias, a Jewiſh high-prieſt, being of the number. He was ſixty years of age, an admirable orator, and a man well acquainted with the manners of mankind." In another place he ſays, "The prieſts of the Jews who received tenths were about fifteen hundred in number; and they lived in common."

Character o
Hezekias, t
the honour
the Jews.

Again ſpeaking of the above-mentioned Hezekias, he ſays, "We have ſeveral times waited on and conferred with this eminent man, and his friends, reſpecting the difference in our opinions, practices and cuſtoms: he conducted us to his houſe, where he explained to us the government and diſcipline of the Jews, and he gave us written teſtimony of the truth of what he ſaid."

Hecateus next mentions the veneration in which we hold our laws, ſuffering with patience every extremity of torment and death, rather than be guilty of violating them. He then proceeds to mention the ſubmiſſiveneſs of the behaviour of the Jews under ill treatment. "How cruelly have theſe people been treated by their neighbours! How have the Perſian kings and their officers perſecuted them, yet been unable to ſhake their reſolution! An inſtance occurs in the falling of the temple of Bel, at Babylon, when Alexander being preſent, and reſolving to repair it, directed that all the ſoldiers ſhould carry timber and other materials towards finiſhing the ſtructure. The Jews only refuſed to give their aſſiſtance, and were at firſt ſeverely puniſhed; but when the king ſaw that nothing would induce them to change their reſolution, he ordered them to be ſet at liberty, on account of their magnanimity. On their journey into their own country they levelled to the ground all ſuch temples and altars as had been erected to the honour of ſtrange gods; for which offence ſome were pardoned, but others puniſhed by fines and otherwiſe."

This writer ſpeaks much of our perſevering reſolution, and the immenſe numbers of our people, of whom multitudes were made captives, and carried into Babylon, and many others into Egypt and Phœnicia, when a diſturbance happened in Syria, after the death of Alexander. He mentions the beauty, fertility, and extent of the country of Judea, which, he ſays, is an excellent ſoil, and eſtimated contain three millions of acres. With regard to the city of Jeruſalem, its temple, extent, and populouſneſs, he ſpeaks in the following manner:

A deſcription of Jeruſalem.

"Many towns, cities, and fortreſſes, are in poſſeſſion of the Jews; but they have one city which much exceeds the reſt in ſtrength and ſize. It is called Jeruſalem, deemed fifty ſtadia in circumference, and to contain one hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants. In the midſt of the city is a ſtone incloſure, an hundred cubits round, having two large gates; and within this incloſure is a ſquare altar, ten cubits in depth and twenty in breadth, made of unwrought ſtones, never touched by the tool of any workman. Adjacent to it is a conſiderable building, having in it a golden altar and candleſtick weighing two talents, and lamps burning day and night: but it has no plants, groves or images, as is common in other temples. It is at all times attended by prieſts, who live with the greateſt regularity, and wholly abſtain from wine."

Agatharchides, who though not a friend, perhaps is not wilfully an enemy to our people, ſays that, "After abandoning her huſband Demetrius, Stratonice went from Macedonia into Syria, with an intention of eſpouſing king Seleucus; but the marriage not taking place, ſhe fomented an inſurrection in Antioch, while the king was with his army in Babylon. On his return, the king took Antioch, and made a priſoner of Stratonice, when ſhe was on the point of eſcaping to Seleucia, and ſhe was put to death. Had ſhe attempted her eſcape by ſea, ſhe in all probability would have ſucceeded: but ſhe was diverted from that undertaking by a dream, which ſhe believed to be omnious of misfortune.

"The Jews, ſays Agatharchides, are in poſſeſſion of a city called Jeruſalem, which is deemed impregnable. It is the cuſtom of theſe people to abſtain from all kinds of labour on the ſeventh day, when they employ themſelves from morning till night in acts of devotion in their temples. On the ſabbath, when the Jews were not permitted to take up arms, Ptolemeus, the ſon of Lagus, entered their city with an army, and the people ſuperſtitiouſly declining to defend themſelves, they were reduced to the yoke of oppreſſion, and, when incapable of relieving themſelves, convinced of the folly of their cuſtoms." Thus is our conduct cenſured by Agatharchides: but thoſe who ſeriouſly reflect will acknowledge, that we have acted from the beſt principles; for ſurely to make every other conſideration yield to a ſenſe of our duty to the Almighty is an indubitable proof of righteouſneſs and virtue.

Agatharchides cenſures the Jewiſh cuſtoms.

It is true, that many hiſtorians who were contemporaries with our people, do not mention them: but this neglect was not the reſult of ignorance, but of envy, as I ſhall clearly prove. Jerome, governor of Syria, and a favourite of king Antigonus, who lived in the time of Hecateus, wrote a book reſpecting the ſucceſſors of Alexander. Hecateus wrote a volume concerning the Jews; but Jerome does not mention us, though he lived adjacent to our country. But writers indulge their own inclinations: ſome record our famous actions to poſterity; while others are found ſuppreſſing them, in violation of the truth.

Yet there remains ſufficient evidence to juſtify our claim among the Egyptians, Chaldæans, Phœnicians and Greeks: for excluſive of the writers already noticed, we are particularly mentioned by Theophilus, Theodotos, Mnaſeas, Ariſtophanes, Hermogenes, Euemerus, Conon, Zopyrion, and many others. Now the majority of theſe writers muſt have been ignorant with regard to the firſt ages of the world, as they had not the ſacred ſcriptures for their direction. As to Demetrius Phalercus, Philon the elder,

der, and Eupolemus, their cenſures are to be forgiven, as they had not the proper means of information.

It yet remains for me to ſpeak to a particular article, which is to invalidate that ſcandal which hath been caſt on us, and expoſe the authors of it by their own teſtimony, ſince what they ſay againſt us hath equal weight againſt themſelves: but the partiality and malice of prejudiced writers is well known to thoſe acquainted with hiſtory. Some indulge their ill-will againſt whole nations, and the manners of the people; as the Athenians were treated by Theopompus, the Lacedemonians by Polycrates, and the Thebans by the author of Tripoliticus. Theſe people, and others, have been likewiſe much cenſured by Timeus, and it is the cuſtom with ſuch writers to abuſe diſtinguiſhed merit.

The Egyptians a partial people.

The Egyptians being our profeſſed enemies, nothing could be better calculated to pleaſe them, than a falſe repreſentation of our anceſtors coming into Egypt, and returning thence: for we were envied and hated by them becauſe we grew ſo conſirably while among them, and were ſo happy when releaſed from their dominion. Another cauſe of enmity aroſe from the variance of religion, for their religion differed from ours as much as the author of nature from the works of his hands: for they made gods of beaſts, and paid homage to them indiſcriminately. In this doctrine they were educated from their earlieſt infancy, and rendered incapable of better ſentiments by that prepoſſeſſion. They entertained the utmoſt averſion to thoſe proſelytes who embraced our religion, and became ſo loſt to every liberal opinion, that they ſcrupled not to contradict themſelves, and refute their own records. This I ſhall prove from the authority of one of their diſtinguiſhed writers, whoſe teſtimony I have already quoted, in ſupport of the antiquity of the Jews.

Manetho's Egyptian hiſtory.

Monetha, in the beginning of his Egyptian hiſtory, ſolemnly declares that he will carefully extract it from the holy ſcriptures; and he introduces his diſcourſe with an account of our anceſtors reducing Egypt, ſaying, that being ſoon afterwards driven from thence, they retired into a province called Judea, where they built the city of Jeruſalem, and likewiſe a temple. But he afterwards recounts a number of idle tales and abſurd traditions. He repreſents the Jews as a rable of Egyptian lepers and other infected perſons, driven from the country on account of uncleanneſs. He ſays they had a king named Amenophis: but he preſumes not to aſcertain at what period he reigned; conſcious that the want of connection would have expoſed his ſalacy.

Manetho Cheremon

An Egyptian, named Cheremon has alſo written concerning the Jews: but to be convinced of his deception it is only neceſſary to oppoſe his teſtimonies to thoſe of Manetho. The laſt mentioned author ſays, that the lepers that were baniſhed were eighty thouſand; and the other aſſerts that the number was two hundred and fifty thouſand. The former conveys them to the quarries, and from thence to Avaris, where they procure aſſiſtance from Jeruſalem, and commence the war. Cheremon ſupplies them with three hundred and eighty thouſand troops, who invade Egypt, and compel an imaginary king called Amenophis to fly into Ethiopia, in revenge of his having baniſhed all leprous people, among whom were Moſes and Joſeph. But it is well known that Joſeph died four ages before the time of Moſes; and had our legiſlator himſelf been a leper, it is not to be ſuppoſed that his ordinances wou'd have been ſo ſevere as they are againſt people in the ſame ſituation. According to Manetho, Rhamſes was in the war with his father Amenophis, and an exile with him in Ethiopia. Cheremon ſays he was born in a cave, after the death of his father, and upon growing to manhood, drove two hundred thouſand Jews into Syria. He mentions not who were the three hundred and eighty thouſand, nor whether the eighteen thouſand deſerted to Rhamſes, or fell in battle; nor does he explain who he means by Jews; whether the three hundred and eighty thouſand at Eluſium, or the two hundred and fifty thouſand lepers. The falſehood of Lyſiamachus are ſtill more extravagant than thoſe of the writers before-mention He aſſerts, that "When Bocchoris reigned over Egypt, the Jews preſſed into the temples to ſolicit alms, being afflicted with variety of diſorders, of which great numbers of them died; whereupon a famine enſued. Thus diſtreſſed, Bocchoris ſent to conſult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, on the occaſion of the famine; and the anſwer was, that the temples muſt be purified by ſending into the deſart the unclean perſons, and that thoſe who were ulcerated and leprous ſhould be drowned, for the ſun itſelf abhorred ſo obnoxious a ſight: and that theſe injunctions being complied with, the fruits of the earth ſhould re-appear, according to their natural order. Hereupon Bocchoris ſummoned his prieſts and ſoothſayers, and agreeable to their advice, ordered the ſick to be collected and delivered to the ſoldiers: thoſe who were ſcorbutic or leprous to be wrapped in lead, and thrown into the ſea, and the others conveyed to the wilderneſs, and there left to ſtarve. The night advancing, theſe unhappy creatures deliberated how to act. They made fires, and appointed centinels; and on the next night kept a faſt, to entreat pardon of the Gods. On

Lyſimachus undeſerving credit.

On the following morning, one Moſes recommended it to them to decamp; but enjoined them to do no good on their journey; not even ſo much as to give good advice if it was aſked; and to deſtroy all the temples and altars they met with. This advice being approved, the company proceeded through the wilderneſs, and after encountering great hardſhips, came at length to a country well inhabited and cultivated. They behaved in a moſt cruel manner to the inhabitants, whoſe temples they ravaged and burnt; and arriving at a place now named Judea, they built a city, and called it Hieroſyla, the meaning of which is, "The ſpoil of holy things:" but afterwards acquiring power and reputation, they changed the name to Hieroſolyma; and from the name of the city took their own."

Lyſimachus thus gives us a king unknown to Manetho and Cheremon. By Jews does he mean lepers? For he ſeems to inſinuate that our people alone were afflicted with the leproſy. Why does he not mention whether they were natives or ſtrangers? If Egyptians, he is wrong in giving them the names of Jews: if they were ſtrangers, why does he not mention from what country? If ſo many were drowned, and ſuch numbers driven into the deſart, how happens it that ſuch numbers of our people yet remain? It is ſtrange that he ſhould mention the name of our law-giver, and yet ſay nothing reſpecting his perſon, family, or country. It is ridiculous to ſuppoſe that a number of friendleſs and miſerable people ſhould combine as declared enemies againſt the reſt of mankind. In ſhort, it would be needleſs to employ more time in refuting aſſertions that are at once falſe, abſurd, contradictory and malicious.

BOOK II.

WHAT I have already ſaid on the authority of ſeveral Phœnician, Chaldean and Egyptian hiſtorians, and ſome of the Greek writers, I preſume will be admitted as a full vindication of the antiquity of the Jews. I ſhall now proceed to anſwer thoſe who have perſonally attacked me, and particularly Apion, the grammarian, though I muſt acknowledge, that a writer of his character but little merits attention.

Apion an intricate, fabulous, and coarſe writer.

His narrations are in the higheſt degree vulgar and fabulous: his writings are dull and obſcure: he appears to be ignorant of his ſubject, but is calumnious in every thing that he advances: in fact, there is a mixture in his writings, which prove that the author is illiberal, boiſterous, and troubleſome in the extreme. Apion's mode of writing is ſo obſcure, confuſed, and contradictory, that it is difficult to determine what he aims at. Sometimes he miſtakes the account of the departure of our anceſtors from Egypt, as hath been done by others, whom I have already refuted; at others he traduces the Jews of Alexandria; and then our religious rites and ceremonies become the ſubject of his cenſure.

In the third book of his Egyptian hiſtory, Apion ſays, "Moſes was a native of Heliopolis, where the people were accuſtomed to hold their religious meetings in the open air; but he prevailed upon them to aſſemble in the buildings of the city, enjoining them to pray with their faces towards the ſun. The buildings were open at the top, and conſiſted of pillars erected on the figures of baſons, with engravings thereon, and the ſhadow of the pillars falling upon the baſons, moved with the ſun."

Moſes ſays nothing of preſcribing the romantic form above-mentioned at the time of building the temple; nor doth he inſtruct poſterity to adopt it. Solomon, the founder of the temple, was not acquainted with any ſuch building as is mentioned by Apion. He ſays Moſes was a native of Heliopolis, according to the information he had received from old men. Apion could not diſcover the country of Homer, though he lived comparatively in modern times; but he pretends to be indiſputably clear with regard to Moſes, who flouriſhed many ages before; and this merely from the information of old men.

I have already mentioned, that ſeveral hiſtorians diſagree with regard to the time of the lepers, lame, and blind, being conducted out of Egypt by Moſes. Apion, who affects the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs, ſays this happened in the firſt year of the ſeventh olympiad, in which year he aſſerts that Carthage was built. By mentioning Carthage he ſeems to expect to authenticate his computation: but had he reflected a moment, he would have been convinced that he was giving evidence againſt himſelf; particularly if he had attended to the Phœnician records; for that hiſtory makes it plain that Hiram lived full an hundred and fifty years before the building of Carthage, as hath been already proved. Hiram had a ſingular attachment to Solomon, and contributed great numbers of materials towards building the temple at Jeruſalem. The fact is, that it was not till ſix hundred and twelve years after the Jews left Egypt, that Solomon laid the foundations of the temple.

Apion's falſe derivation of the word ſabbath.

With regard to the number of exiles, Apion concurs with Lyſimachus in the erroneous account of one hundred and ten thouſand. His account of the origin of the word Sabbath is truly ridiculous. He ſays, "The Jews having been ſix days on their journey, were compelled to reſt on the ſeventh, being ſeized with ulcers and inflammations in the groin. When they had arrived in the country they now call Judea, they named their reſting-day the Sabbath, from the Egyptian word *Sabbatoſis*, which ſignifies, The diſeaſe of the groin." How ſtrange is it that any man could write ſuch an aggregation of nonſenſe, and attempt to impoſe it on the world as authentic hiſtory! He repreſents one hundred and ten thouſand men, all afflicted with the ſame diſeaſe! If theſe were lame and blind, as he aſſerts in another place, how was it poſſible for ſuch a diſtempered multitude to proſecute their journey through the deſart, even for a ſingle day? How improbable is it, I repeat, that ſuch an immenſe number of men ſhould be at once ſtruck with the ſame diſorder? The common courſe of nature could never occaſion this; and to ſay that it aroſe from chance would be an unpardonable abſurdity. He ſays, an hundred and ten thouſand miſerably diſeaſed perſons travelled to Judea in ſix days only. Can it be ſuppoſed poſſible for that number of people to have traverſed ſo immenſe a deſart in ſo ſhort a time: and is it poſſible they could ſubſiſt in a place affording neither food nor water? His account of Moſes going to the ſummit of Mount Sinai, remaining there forty days, and on his deſcent delivering the law to the Jews, is not leſs ſingular and fabulous.

His obſervations reſpecting the ſenſe of the word Sabbath, are trifling in the higheſt degree. There is no affinity between the meaning of the words *ſabbo* and *ſabbatum:* the former, according to his explanation, ſignifies the Egyptian diſeaſe; by the latter we underſtand the day that the Jews devote to reſt. This may be conſidered as a fabulous appendix which Apion has given to the hiſtory of Moſes, and account of the departure of the Jews from Egypt. But it is not wonderful that a man ſhould traduce others, who contradicts himſelf. His birth-place was Oaſis in Egypt; but this he diſclaims, to be deemed an Alexandrian; which proves that he had no veneration for the Egyptians; and, indeed, by that name he diſtinguiſhes all thoſe whom he wiſhes to calumniate: and for this reaſon, among others, he ſeeks to diſguiſe his extraction. In vilifying our nation, Apion ſought to gratify the Alexandrians, for having granted him the freedom of their city; and though he pretended to expoſe only one deſcription of Jews, his rancour extends to the whole race.

The Ale
drian Je
vindica

Let us inquire into the nature of the accuſations he maliciouſly exhibits againſt the Alexandrian Jews. He ſays, that when the Jews came from Syria, they took up their habitations upon the coaſt, within reach of the tide, but not in a port where a veſſel could ride. Is he not deſerving reproach for depreciating ſo diſtinguiſhed a city, which he boaſted, though without truth, to have been the place of his nativity. The above-mentioned diſtrict is in the dependency of Alexandria, and univerſally admitted to be a moſt commodious and convenient ſituation. If the Jews gained an eſtabliſhment there by force, and maintained their poſſeſſion, their conduct therein merits applauſe. But the truth is, that the place in queſtion was aſſigned to the Jews by Alexander the great, who granted them equal privileges with the Macedonians. If Apion have read the epiſtles of Alexander, Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus, and the ſucceeding kings of Egypt, with the inſcriptions engraven, by the order of Cæſar, on the pillar at Alexandria, in commemoration of the privileges granted to the Jews, he can have no pretention to the character of veracity, ſince he muſt have written concerning our nation in direct contradiction to his knowledge; and if he have not peruſed thoſe memorials, he ſtands condemned of having undertaken an employment for which he was unqualified.

Apion no
qualified
wri econc
ing the J

The ſurpriſe this writer expreſſes on occaſion of the Jews aſſuming the names of Alexandrians is alſo a proof of his ignorance. It is uſual for colonies to take the names of their founders, of which many inſtances may be produced. The Jews of Antioch are called Antiochians, king Seluces having made their anceſtors free of that city; thoſe of Epheſus are denominated Epheſians; and the Jews of Ionia are called Ionians. By ancient grants they are intitled to theſe appellations. Favours of the ſame kind the Romans have granted to whole nations and provinces, as well as to individuals. Elſe how happens it, that the name of Romans was given to the ancient Ibernians, Tuſcans, and Sabines? Apion is unwilling to allow this priviledge to others, and yet claims it himſelf. By his rule, no man born in the interior parts of Egypt, ſhould aſſume the name of an Alexandrian.

The Jews
favourd
Alexande

While building the city, Alexander accepted the aſſiſtance of the Jews, not that he was deficient of workmen, but becauſe he was willing to teſtify his reliance on their faith, integrity and honour. Hecateus ſays, Alexander had ſo high an opinion of the loyalty and moderation of the Jews, that he gave them Samaria, free of taxes, and various other gratifications.

ry.

Ptolemy, the ſon of Lagus, ſucceeded Alexander, and was not leſs pleaſed with the Alexandrian Jews, to whoſe care he committed all the fortreſſes in Egypt; and fixed colonies of theſe people in Cyrene, and other cities of Lybia, for his greater ſecurity.

emy
adelphus.

This Ptolemy was ſucceeded by Ptolemy Philadelphus, who releaſed all the Jewiſh priſoners in the country, remitted their taxes and other debts; and was ſo zealouſly inclined to be inſtructed in our laws and cuſtoms, and in the holy ſcriptures, that he employed interpreters to explain theſe matters to him. That no time might be loſt in ſuch a work, it was committed to the care of Demetrius Phalereus, who was diſtinguiſhed for his knowledge and probity, and to Andreas, and Ariſteas, two captains of the king's guards. Now it is unreaſonable to think that this veneration for the cuſtoms and laws of the Jews could ſubſiſt without a proportionable reſpect for their predeceſſors. But Apion muſt be unacquainted with this part of hiſtory, if he did not know that all the Macedonian kings favoured the Jews.

olemy
ergetes.

Ptolemy, named likewiſe Euergetes, having ſubdued Syria, did not worſhip the Egyptian gods, in acknowledgement of his victory; but ſacrificed after the Jewiſh manner; and returned thanks to God in the temple of Jeruſalem.

The whole weight of the government was committed, by Ptolemy Philometer, and the queen Cleopatra, to two Jews, named Onias and Doſitheus. Apion ſeeks to cenſure their conduct; whereas his thanks were due to them for preſerving Alexandria, of which he pretended to be a citizen: for when a rebellion prevailed in Egypt, and the place was nearly loſt, all was adjuſted by the conduct of theſe Jews. Apion ſays, that ſoon after this, the place was entered by Onias, with a ſmall army; Thermus, the Roman ambaſſador, being preſent; but he ſays no more of this affair; though the action was undoubtedly a very brave one.

Ptolemy Phyſcon ſucceeds Ptolemy Philometor.

Phyſcon makes war upon Cleopatra, and Onias engages in her defence.

Ptolemy Philometer was ſucceeded by his ſon Ptolemy Phyſcon, who marched from Cyrene, to drive Cleopatra, and the king's ſons, from Egypt, and aſſume the government. Hereupon, Onias made war on Phyſcon, in favour of Cleopatra, to defend the rights of royalty at all events: but never happened a more ſingular inſtance of the Divine power and juſtice than on this occaſion: for Ptolemy being ready to engage in battle with Onias, he gave orders that the Jews of Alexandria, of both ſexes, and all ages, ſhould be ſtripped, bound, and thrown to the elephants, that they might be trampled to death; the beaſts having been previouſly intoxicated, to inflame their rage: but moſt unexpectedly, the elephants touched not the Jews, but deſtroyed numbers of the beſt friends of Ptolemy, to whom, at this moment appeared a horrid figure, commanding him to ceaſe perſecuting the Jews. Ptolemy's favourite miſtreſs likewiſe ſupplicated him to the ſame purpoſe; on which he was not only prevailed upon to comply, but repented of all the cruelties which he had either perpetrated or intended. This fact is ſo well known, that an annual feſtival in memory of their eſcape, is to this day kept by the Jews of Alexandria, yet ſuch is the antipathy of Apion to every thing generous, that he cenſures the Jews for engaging in this war againſt Phyſcon; whereas he ought to have extolled them for the ſenſe of juſtice which animated them to that action.

A miraculous providence in favour of the Jews.

Apion celebrates the laſt Cleopatra, though the lewdeſt of women.

The laſt Cleopatra that reigned in Alexandria is highly commended by Apion, though it was his duty to ſtigmatize her memory for her lewd and licentious manners; her infidelity to a good huſband; her ingratitude to the Jews; her treachery to the Romans; her cruelty in cauſing her ſiſter Arſinoe to be put to death in the temple; her perfidious murder of her brother; her rifling the temples dedicated to the deities of her anceſtors; violating the ſepulcres of her deceaſed relations; rebelling againſt the adopted ſon and ſucceſſor of the firſt Cæſar, from whoſe bounty ſhe received her throne. The charms and facinations of this woman rendered Antony a traitor to his friends and country: ſhe dethroned ſome princes, and made others the inſtruments of gratifying her vicious inclinations.

At the naval battle of Actium, Cleopatra meanly abandoned her beloved Antony, the father of many of her children, urging him to relinquiſh his command, and follow her, which he accordingly did, to the utter ruin of his martial fame. When Cæſar took Alexandria, ſhe was tranſported with ſuch mercileſs barbarity, that ſhe declared ſhe ſhould not have regretted the loſs of the place could ſhe have put all the Jews to death with her own hands. The refuſal of Cleopatra to grant corn to the Jews at the time of a ſevere famine, cannot ſurely, as Apion pretends, be conſidered as a circumſtance diſgraceful to our people.

The Jews appeal to the Cæſars and the ſenate in their own juſtification.

In their juſtification the Jews may appeal to the reigning emperor, to the teſtimonials of Auguſtus Cæſar, and the decrees of the Roman ſenate. Hence ſufficient evidence might be obtained of our ſteady faith and allegiance to the empire, and particularly during the Egyptian war. If he meant to do juſtice to the Jews, Apion ought to have conſulted the above authorities. In ſhort, he ſhould have informed himſelf of the opinions entertained of our people by Alexander, the Ptolemies, and the moſt illuſtrious of the Roman emperors. It was owing to a ſeaſon of ſcarcity, and not to any fault of the Jews, that Germanicus did not ſupply all the Alexandrians with grain. The eſteem of the emperors for the Alexandrian Jews was never doubted: wheat was granted them in common with their neighbours; they had at all times ample credit, and were truſted more than any other people in affairs of importance.

Apion aſks, if the Jews are citizens of Alexandria, why they do not worſhip in the ſame manner with the other inhabitants? On the ſame principle, we may enquire as to the reaſon of the difference of opinion on religious points among the Egyptians; and alledge, that on account of thoſe diſſentions, you are not intitled to the appellation of Egyptians. We may even pretend to doubt whether you are men, ſince you breed up brutes in a manner contrary to the order of nature, and then make them the objects of your adoration. The Jews live in friendſhip and harmony: and is there reaſon for the Egyptians, who are divided into ſentiment, to be ſurprized that the Alexandrian Jews, who came from a different country, ſhould adhere to their old laws, however diſſimilar to thoſe of the other inhabitants.

Apion aſcribes the ſtate factions to the diviſions of the Jews.

Apion imputes all the factions in the ſtate to the diviſions reſpecting matters of religion between the Alexandrian Jews, and the old inhabitants. If this were true of the Alexandrian Jews, why not of all the Jews in other places; ſince wherever we are diſperſed, there is an uniformity in our conduct? Thoſe who attend to the nature of theſe commotions, will find that they were excited by perſons of Apion's diſpoſition: ſince, while the Greeks and Macedonians reſided in this city, the Jews exerciſed their religion unmoleſted, and the people in general lived in harmony: whereas, on the increaſe of the Egyptians, the times grew more tumultuous. The Jews, in all revolutions remained the ſame; while the others, leſs conſonant than the Macedonians, leſs prudent than the Greeks, made all the diſturbance; being previouſly irritated by the averſion they had to the Jews, and inſtigated by the ill example of the Egyptians. Theſe people, I ſay, were the authors of our confuſion; and we are blamed for the crime of the very perſons who accuſe us. We are likewiſe treated by Apion as ſtrangers, though undoubtedly inveſted with all the rights of freemen; while our adverſaries pretend to be citizens, without the ſhadow of a title to ſupport their claim. Hiſtory does not inform us that the princes of ancient times, or the later emperors, granted freedom to the Egyptians: whereas Alexander the great was the firſt who beſtowed that favour on us, and his grants have been extended by the future monarchs; and ſince their time the Romans have continued and confirmed them.

The Jews are likewiſe cenſured by Apion for not erecting ſtatues in honour of the emperors. Inſtead of reflecting on us, he ought rather to have extolled the Romans, for permitting their ſubjects to enjoy their own religion, without demanding of them ſuch honours as they could not diſcharge conſiſtent with the rights of conſcience. The value of an obligation is enhanced by the unſolicited freedom with which it is granted. It may be ſaid, that it is common, among the Greeks and other people, to hold in high eſtimation the pictures, or images of their parents, children, ſervants, and even ſtrangers; and ſhall not an equal degree of reſpect be paid to their ſovereigns? To this I reply, that the caſe with us is different, having reſpect to our venerable lawgiver, who hath poſitively enjoined us not to uſe images of the likeneſs of any thing, animate, or inanimate, This he could not have done with a view to derogate from the dignity of the Roman empire; but ſingly to forbid the bodily repreſentation of a God inviſible and incomprehenſible. But we are not forbid a veneration for good men, next to the deity. We pray for the emperors and people of Rome; and at the public expence, offer daily ſacrifices for their poſterity: but this we do not for any other people.

The Jews commande not to mak uſe of imag

I thought proper to ſay thus much reſpecting the extravagancies of Apion concerning Alexandria. I am aſtoniſhed at the preſumption of Poſidonius and Apolonius Molon, who furniſhed materials for the work, and who charge us with worſhipping gods different from thoſe of other people. I forbear to remark on the fabulous accounts propagated on this ſubject, which are intended to ridicule our temple. A wilſul falſhood, on any occaſion is an attrocious crime: but the offence is aggravated when it tends to ſcandalize a temple univerſally celebrated for the purity and regularity of the religion therein ſolemnized.

A ſenſeleſs ſtory of the golden head of a aſs.

Apion ſays, "In this temple was the head of an aſs wrought in gold, of immenſe value, which was worſhipped by the Jews, being a deity correſponding with their religion: it was lodged in the treaſury, and when the place was rifled, it was carried away by Antiochus Epiphanes." This is an impious falſity; for though Jeruſalem and the temple have fallen into the power of our enemies, our people have never degenerated into idolatrous worſhip.

trea- y and ilege of chus.

In plundering the temple, Antiochus acted not as an open enemy, but as a concealed and traiterous friend, who being in want of money, ſupplied himſelf by robbery. A number of hiſtorians concur in doing juſtice to our cauſe, as Polybius, Strabo, Nicolaus, Timagenes, Caſtor, and Apollodorus, who agree that, urged by his neceſſities, Antiochus violated his faith with the Jews, and deſpoiled their temple of gold and ſilver to a vaſt amount. Theſe circumſtances would have been conſidered by Apion, had he not been as ſtupid as an aſs, and as impudent as a dog, which animals are worſhiped by the Egyptians, as well as aſps and crocodiles. So far from having any veneration for aſſes, we look upon them as other people of ſenſe do, employing them in laborious offices: but if they diſobey us, or tread down our corn, we puniſh them with ſtripes.

eeting in temple ndly pre- ded be- een Anti- us and a ecian.

Apion's ſtories are invented with ſo little art, and ſo unconnected, that they have not gained ſufficient credit to operate to our diſadvantage: but the moſt extraordinary of them is a malicious forgery which he has borrowed from the Greeks. "Upon entering the temple, Antiochus perceived a man in bed, with a table before him, ſpread with the rareſt produce of the land and ſea. Having proſtrated himſelf before the king, the man was directed to explain the cauſe of his preſent extraordinary ſituation, when he ſpoke to the following effect:

"I am a native of Greece, and being wandering through this country in ſearch of ſubſiſtence, I was ſuddenly ſiezed by ſtrangers, who conveyed me hither, and confined me, with orders that no one ſhould viſit me. At firſt I was not diſpleaſed with the elegance of my entertainment; but on reflection I grew uneaſy; and prevailed on ſome of my keepers to aſſign the cauſe of ſuch treatment; and their anſwer was, that on a certain day, annually, it was the cuſtom of the Jews, to ſieze on a Grecian ſtranger, whom they fed luxuriouſly for one compleat year, and then took him into the woods and ſacrificed him agreeable to their own forms; that each taſted of his blood, and ſwore utter enmity to the Greeks, living and dying: and then threw the mangled carcaſe into a ditch." This man ſaid farther to Antiochus. "My time wants but few days of being expired; deliver me then from the barbarity of the Jews, by the veneration you hold for the gods worſhipped by the Grecians."

Thus ſhameleſs was the invention of this ſtory; but it does not in the leaſt acquit Antiochus of the ſacrilege, as thoſe who contrived it would wiſh to inſinuate: for Antiochus did not enter the temple on account of the Greek, but found him there unexpectedly. His conduct was founded in wickedneſs, and is not juſtifiable on any principle whatever. Our laws differ more from thoſe of the Egygtians, and other countries, than from the Greeks: but there is no country through which people of all religions do not paſs at times. It ſeems ſtrange, then, that this ridiculous barbarity ſhould be exerciſed on the Greeks alone: nor is it poſſible that all the Jews could aſſiſt in the ſolemnization of ſuch a ſacrifice: even according to Apion's account, their numbers were too great to have each taſted of the miſerable wretch. We are not told the name of this unfortunate Greek; nor did Antiochus ſend him back with honour into his own country; which would have became his character as a pious prince, and the father of his people, and excited the indignation of the public againſt the cruelty of the Jews.

But arguments are loſt on fools; ocular demonſtration can alone convince them. Every man who has ſeen our temple, can witneſs to the rigid rules by which it was kept pure and undefiled.

Another ridiculous fiction.

To render the Jews contemptible, Apion gives the following abſurd account, which he ſays is taken from the Grecian writings. "The Jews and Idumeans being engaged in an obſtinate war, a man named Zabidus, revolted to the Jews from a city of Idumea, where Apollo, the God of the Dorians, was worſhipped, promiſing to give them poſſeſſion of the deity, if the whole body of the Jews would aſſemble in the temple. He then placed himſelf in a wooden machine, and having fixed upon it three rows of lights, it had the reſemblance of a comet upon the ground. While the Jews were gazing in admiration at a diſtance, Zabidus contrived to get into the temple, and ſeize the golden aſs, which he conveyed to Dora. This tale is equally impudent and ridiculous. Apion is accuſtomed to mention places that have no exiſtence. He is a ſtranger to the country of Idumea, which contains not ſuch a city as Dora. In the neighbourhood of Mouut Carmel, in Phœnicia, is a city called Dora; but this is not the place mentioned by Apion.

Apion's forgery of an oath.

What Apion ſays of the oath taken by the Jews is equally falſe. He pretends that we ſwear by our maker, never to do good to ſtrangers, particularly the Greeks. The Jews and Greeks were ſituated at ſo great a diſtance from each other, that it is not probable any enmity could ſubſiſt between them. On the contrary, many of the Greeks embraced the Jewiſh religion, in which numbers of them perſevered, though others returned

returned to their former profeſſion. The oath Apion ſays was taken by our people, never exiſted but in his own wild and extravagant imagination.

Apion argues againſt the juſtneſs of our laws, our mode of worſhip, and the truth of our religion; that we are reduced to a ſtate of ſervitude and oppreſſion; that our city, formerly free and powerful, is now under ſubjection to the Romans. I would aſk what people are able to contend with the Roman power: who but Apion would argue as if dominion were entailed; Government and ſubjection are alternate. The Egyptians alone pretend to be free from obedience to the governors of Europe and Aſia; and this is founded on the gratitude of the ſtrange gods, who fled to their country for ſanctuary, and aſſumed the ſhape of beaſts. How ridiculous this, from a people who have been always ſlaves at home or abroad. The Egyptians have frequently ſubmitted to the Perſians, who have razed their cities, plundered their temples, deſtroyed their idol gods, and ridiculed their religion. I would not write in Apion's manner, reproaching people for their misfortunes. The Lacedemonians were always brave, and the Athenians diſtinguiſhed by their piety; yet neither valour nor religion could protect them from the viciſſitudes of war. Cræſus, one of the beſt of kings, was deplorably miſerable: even the tower of Athens, the temples of Epheſus and Delphi, and many other diſtinguiſhed places have been laid in aſhes: but the crime of deeds like theſe reſts with thoſe who commit, not with thoſe who ſuffer them.

Apion has diſcovered a new mode of crimination, without recollecting how far Egypt might be concerned: but he was at this time ſo vain of Seſoſtris being king of Egypt, that he ſcarcely knew what he wrote. If the Jews were diſpoſed to vanity, they might boaſt of their kings, David and Solomon, and recite the hiſtory of princes and nations ſubdued by their valour. But let us adhere to our ſubject. The Egyptians were originally ſlaves to the Perſians, and other princes of Aſia, and then to the Macedonians. At this time the Jews lived in freedom, and commanded the adjacent cities, during one hundred and twenty years, even to the time of Pompey the great. At length, when the Romans had ſubdued the ſeveral kings they contended with, they treated our anceſtors as friends and allies, in conſideration of their fidelity and courage: but Apion pretends to be unacquainted with theſe circumſtances, though they are ſo well known.

The calumnies of Apion expoſed.

This writer inſinuates that we are an obſcure and ignorant people. "The Jews (ſays he) have no men among them diſtinguiſhed by arts, ſciences, or the wiſdom requiſite for political government, like Socrates, Zeno, Cleanthes, and others." Apion even mentions himſelf as a man of eminence, and congratulates Alexandria on poſſeſſing ſo reſpectable a citizen. But Apion's character is ſo notorious for his impure life, that Alexandria is by no means to be envied the having ſo illuſtrious a freeman. With regard to the conteſt between the two nations, which poſſeſſes moſt men of learning, the reader may be ſatisfied by conſulting our antiquities. Reſpecting the ſcandal yet unanſwered, we refer to Apion's writings, which actually accuſe the other Egyptians and himſelf.

He pretends to be greatly offended at our cuſtom of ſacrificing beaſts, and abſtaining from the fleſh of ſwine, and makes the ceremony of circumciſion the ſubject of ridicule. Beaſts are ſlaughtered by the reſt of mankind, as well as by the Jews. His objection to our ſacrifices proves him to be an Egyptian; for neither a Greek nor a Macedonian would have condemned our practice in that reſpect, ſince they offer whole hecatombs to their gods.

The precept of the Egyptian prieſts.

Were Apion to be aſked which claſs of the Egyptians he conceived to comprehend the wiſeſt men, he would doubtleſs name the prieſts, who are directed by a tradition form their ancient kings to worſhip the Gods, and apply themſelves to the ſtudy of wiſdom. Theſe prieſts are circumciſed, abſtain from Swine's fleſh, and join not in ſacrifice with the other Agyptians. Thus inſtead of gratifying the Egyptians by traducing our people, Apion has rather made them the object of his reproach, by indiſcreetly levelling againſt them an accuſation of practiſing the ceremonies which he cenſures in the Jews. I conſider Apion to have been juſtly puniſhed for tranſgreſſing the laws of his country. Being adviſed to undergo circumciſion, he conſented; and the wound becoming ulcerated, he died in conſequence thereof, under the moſt excruciating torments. May the miſerable fate of this man caution others againſt neglecting the ſtudy and practice of virtue, and employing their talents in depriciating the merits of the people.

The miſerable death of Apion

Since Apollonius, Molon, Lyſimachus, and other writers have reflected upon Moſes, repreſenting him as a magician and an impoſter, and deſcribing his laws as of a pernicious tendency, it may not be here improper to ſpeak in vindication of the precepts of our admirable legiſlator.

Moſes defended againſt Apollonius and others.

Apollonius does not, like Apion, traduce us in a regular diſcourſe: but he ſeeks every occaſion to miſrepreſent us, at one time he declares us to be athieſts; he then accuſes us of cowardice; and the next charge is, that we are preſumptuous, and more ignorant

rant than the moſt illiterate Barbarians: adding that the Jews never were diſtinguiſhed as the authors of any invention that could operate to the benefit of mankind. Theſe calumnies will be at once refuted by a retroſpect to the laws by which we are governed, and by enquiring into the degree of regularity with which we conform to thoſe laws. Being compelled, in vindication of ourſelves, to expoſe the imperfections of other political inſtitutions, thoſe who have provoked us to make the diſagreeable compariſon, muſt remain ſatisfied, under the odium that our defence makes it neceſſary.

In this caſe are two material points of conſideration. The firſt is, whether our laws have a ſalutary tendency; and the ſecond, whether we ſtrictly conform to thoſe laws. The former fact we can eſtabliſh by extracts from our legiſlative inſtitutions; and the other is ſo obvious as not to admit of a doubt.

But let us conſider this matter further. It is indiſputeable that thoſe who, through their benevolence, firſt framed our laws for the promotion of good order, are worthier characters than thoſe who live in defiance of all order; though they boaſt of their antiquity, and are ambitious of teaching others how to act, rather than imitate the good actions of others.

It is the duty of the law-giver to enact ſuch regulations as may tend to the promotion of the public welfare, and the people are bound to adhere to thoſe precepts, in defiance of all dangers and other diſcouragements.

Homer wanted to expreſs the meaning of law.

In point of antiquity our law-giver has an indiſputed precedence to all others: for Lycurgus, Solon, Zaleucus of Locris, and the other diſtinguiſhed Greeks ſo boaſted of, are mere moderns in reſpect to Moſes. In ancient times the name of law was unheard of, and even Homer wanted a word by which to expreſs it. In thoſe times the people were not governed by any written law, but by the ſole command of kings, who iſſued their orders as exigencies required. Even his enemies grant the precedence to our law-giver, who gave wonderful proofs of his abilities in council and in the executive government. He firſt compoſed a body of laws admirably calcuated for the regulation of ſociety; and then prevailed on the people to accept, and declare they would pay obedience to them. But the actions of this man are the beſt teſt of his merit.

When many thouſands of our anceſtors marched out of Egypt, to the land which God had allotted them, through a ſandy deſart deſtitute of water, and were frequently attacked by enemies, againſt whom they were obliged to defend themſelves and families, our great law-giver was their guide through every difficulty; acting at once as a general, a councellor, and protector. His modeſty was ſo ſingular, that though the whole multitude were abſolutely at his command, he never made the leaſt unreaſonable uſe of the power that was veſted in him; and in inſtances where others would have tyrannized, or acted licentiouſly, Moſes made a point of walking in the fear of God, and by his example encouraged others in acts of piety and moral honeſty, as moſt conducive to their welfare: and he alſo improved every occurrence to their advantage.

In all things Moſes followed the commands of God, aſſured that he was then acting right; and he laboured to promote the ſame conduct in others. Nothing is ſo effectual a check to irregular actions, as the conſideration that we are perpetually obſerved by an all-ſeeing God. Our law-giver was not a magician, as he hath been repreſented; but rather reſembled the character of Minos, and others who are ſaid to have been among the Greeks. Some aſcribe the origin of the Greek laws to Jupiter, others to Apollo, or the Delphian oracle. Whether the authors of theſe accounts credited them is doubtful: but which code of laws hath the ſuperiority will be beſt aſcertained by a compariſon.

Moſes deſcribes the Jewiſh government to be a divine commonwealth, of which the Almighty being the head, he is to be worſhipped as the diſpenſer of all good, and the fountain of all authority. To Him we have recourſe in all our diſtreſſes; he hears our prayers, and knows our moſt ſecret thoughts. Moſes delivers the doctrine of one God uncreated, eternal, immutable, infinitely glorious, and only comprehenſible through the medium of his own wonderful works. This doctrine does not ill correſpond with what the more celebrated of the Grecian philoſophers have revealed by the mere light of nature; for they are almoſt unanimouſly of opinion, as to the majeſty and tranſcendent excellency of the Creator. Pythagorus, Anexagorus, Plato, and the ſtoics, have nearly the ſame ſentiments on this ſubject. Our law-giver is diſtinguiſhed for making his precepts the rule of his conduct, which has confirmed the preſent age, and will eſtabliſh poſterity in a belief of the truths he has delivered. He pronounced the worſhip of God to be only one part of the duty of a good man; and that the other parts conſiſted in fortitude, juſtice, and univerſal benevolence; and all his laws were calculated to promote the happineſs and welfare of mankind.

The opinions of the Greek philoſophers.

The Jews educated in religion and morality.

The inhabitants of Lacedemon and Crete were inſtructed in morality, though not regularly: but the Athenians and moſt other Greeks had laws adapted to all occaſions, though they frequently paid too little reſpect to them. We conſider a tranſgreſſion of the law as an unpardonable fault: and that we may not offend through ignorance, we are ſtrictly enjoined to aſſemble on the Sabbath, in order to hear the law read, that it may be indelibly impreſſed upon our memories. This rule is not eſtabliſhed by any other law-givers.

Our intimate acquaintance with the law is the ſource of our unanimity in ſentiment: we entertain the ſame ideas of the Almighty: our mode of worſhip, our lives, and manners are the ſame. Thus we differ from every other people who entertain various opinions of the ſame God. This is not only the caſe with the vulgar, who talk at random, but even with the philoſophers, ſome of whom deny the divinity of God, and others his providence, by the inſinuation of the equality of all men who ſhould poſſeſs all things in common. On the contrary, we ſay that all things are directed by God, and that our whole lives ſhould be devoted to his ſervice; and even our wives and children are of the ſame ſentime

Qualifi a-tinos for the preiſthood.

I would now advert to the reflection, that we are void of induſtry and genius in arts or letters; whereas men of ſpirit refine on the cuſtom of their anceſtors. We make it a point of conſcience to adhere in all things to the eſtabliſhments of ancient times, thinking their antiquity a mark of their virtue, and that neither time nor arguments will deſtroy them. Thoſe who believe the divine authority of our laws, will think themſelves bound to hold them ſacred. Who ſhall preſume to remove the foundations laid by God, or attempt to amend them by an intermixture of the laws of other governments? Can any conſtitution be ſo firm, as that of which the King of kings hath been the author? Our prieſts are qualified for their reſpective ſervices, and are all ſubject to the power of the high-prieſt. Our law-giver did not promote them to gratify their ambition, or advance their intereſt, but becauſe they have given proof of their piety, wiſdom, and temperance; and the care of religion and God's worſhip is committed to them. They are judges in perſonal diſputes, and have power to puniſh the aggreſſor. What form of government can be more venerable than ours? How can we honour the Deity more than by devoting our lives to his ſervice, under the direction of his prieſts? The ſolemn dignity of our devotion makes every day appear a feſtival. Other people are fatigued by the celebration of their ſacrifices but for a few days; yet we are ſtill happy in the performance of our duties though ſo many ages have elapſed ſince their firſt inſtitution.

One of the moſt acknowledged precepts of our religion is, that God is all in all; ſelf-ſufficient, happy, perfect; the beginning, midſt, and end of all things; that all his works are glorious: that his power and greatneſs are equally obvious and incomprehenſible; that man can neither expreſs or conceive any thing to reſemble the divine Majeſty. We hold him to be incomprehenſibly excellent in all its attributes, and that, being a ſpirit, he is invinſible. But we are permitted to contemplate him in his works; as in the light, the heavens, earth, ſun, moon, rivers, ſea, animals, plants, and his other wonderful works.

All theſe were created by God, without labour, and without aſſiſtance. They are the effect of his will, and the creatures of his word, which gave birth to all things, and he pronounced them good.

One God, one world, and one temple.

It appears to us, that as there is but one God and one world, there ſhould be but one temple, for the deity delights in order and unanimity. Daily devotations are offered in this temple by the prieſt; the chief of whom performs the ſacrifices, orders due obedience to the laws, hears cauſes, and puniſhes the violators of the law. We hold that appealing from the judgment of God is not more criminal than diſputing the authority of the prieſt.

Abſtract of the laws an precepts of Moſes.

When we eat the fleſh of ſacrifices, we are careful not to indulge in gluttony; conſidering that God approves temperance, and is averſe to all profuſion. The firſt prayer the prieſt offers is for the general welfare of mankind; then each man, as a part of the whole, prays for himſelf; for we believe mutual charity and affection to be highly acceptable to God. In our prayers we are forbid to aſk for wealth, honours, or other worldly poſſeſſions; for thoſe bleſſings the Almighty is pleaſed to beſtow in common upon mankind; but we are to petition for the grace rightly to uſe what we poſſeſs. Certain forms are preſcribed reſpecting the purification of women, and limitations and reſtrictions are provided in a variety of other caſes. Marriages muſt be celebrated with the conſent of the parents of the contracting parties, without fraud or compulſion. The attempt to gratify unnatural propenſities is puniſhed with death.

Of marriages.

Incontinenc puniſhed wi death.

Our law declares that a woman ſhall in all things be ſubject to her huſband; but it is not hence to be inferred, that the man will be juſtifiable in treating her with cruelty, his ſuperiority being given only for the preſervation of domeſtic harmony and decorum. Adultery in either ſex is puniſhed with death, and the man who ſeduces a betrothed virgin, or the mother of children, is alſo liable to be condemned to die. After an intercourſe between the ſexes, the parties are deemed unclean; and the woman is commanded to waſh herſelf with purifying water, provided for ſuch occaſions; for in this caſe, we conſider a very intimate communication to ſubſiſt between the ſoul and body.

Our law diſapproves of feaſting on occaſion of the birth of children, leſt intemperance ſhould enſue. Children are to be inſtructed in a knowledge of the law, and of hiſtory, and to be ſtimulated to the imitation of great examples.

urials.

Immoderate expence is not allowed to be incurred in funeral ceremonies, or monuments: but the domeſtics of the deceaſed are to perform the office of interment with decency. The generality of people are permitted to lament over the dead, but thoſe of the family, being deemed unclean, are to remain at a diſtance; and after the funeral, the houſe is to be purified. In caſes of wilful murder, or chance medley, the law decrees puniſhment proportioned to the degree of criminality.

A veneration of the Almighty is our firſt, and a reverence towards our parents our ſecond duty; and the diſobedient are to be ſtoned to death. Young people are to pay reſpect to their elders. There muſt be no concealment among friends; but they are to live in mutual confidence; and when friendſhip is diſſolved, former ſecrets muſt not be revealed. A judge who accepts a bribe is to be puniſhed with death. All people are prohibited from invading the property of their neighbours, and from lending money upon uſury.

e Jews ndly to ngers.

We afford friendly and generous reception to people of all nations who agree with us in the common principles of life and manners. Thoſe, indeed, who come to us without intention of joining with us, are not permitted to attend our ſolemnities: but we are commanded to do them good offices; to ſupply them with food, fire, and water; to give them good advice, and decently to bury their dead. Theſe we conſider as duties of mere humanity.

Our law-giver likewiſe directs moderation to be obſerved towards our enemies; and enjoins us to be charitable to priſoners; particularly women. He would not permit ſtripping the bodies of thoſe who fell in battle. So great was his zeal for the encouragement of benevolence, that he recommended the practice of it towards the irrational creation, allowing no other power over them than for abſolute uſe. We are commanded to ſpare domeſtic animals; and with regard to others, not to deſtroy the dam and young together. We are likewiſe to forbear deſtroying beaſts of labour.

Such were the conſtitutions of our law-giver, to promote the cauſe of humanity, and ſeverely to puniſh tranſgreſſors. In many caſes death follows the crime, as in adultery, rape, and unnatural practices, in which both parties are doomed to ſuffer: and the puniſhment extends to bond and free, and to all ranks of life. Our weights and meaſures are regulated by law, which forbids frauds in our dealings, or that we appropriate another man's goods to our uſe. Perſons thus offending are more ſeverely puniſhed by our laws than by others.

Thoſe who blaſpheme their God, or revile their parents, are doomed to inſtant death. Our people expect not, for their obedience to theſe laws, the rewards of gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, or worldly honours; but the ſilent approbation of a good conſcience, and the perfect hope of endleſs happineſs; of which our law-giver has aſſured us, and which God has promiſed to thoſe who obey his laws: and in this confidence they conſider death itſelf only as a paſſage from this world to a better.

I ſhould have ſcrupled urging thus much, if the facts had not been as clear as the ſun, as appears by the hiſtory of our anceſtors, who bore the moſt exquiſite torments without murmur, rather than ſpeak a word to the diſcredit of their profeſſion. But let us ſuppoſe that the Jews had been a people never heard of, and that there were no witneſſes of the veneration they had conſtantly maintained for their laws. What idea would the Grecians form, if any one ſhould recite to them a ſtory of a ſtrange people in an unknown land, who had ſo ſtrictly adhered to the laws and religion of their anceſtors, through ſuch a long ſucceſſion of ages. Would not a people ſo unſettled in themſelves be aſtoniſhed at the recital.

Plato ridiculed by his cotempories.

How much are modern writers, who treat of government, ridiculed for their ſuppoſed impracticable ſchemes? Plato, the Greek philoſopher, and a man diſtinguiſhed by his wiſdom and piety, is ridiculed on a public theatre, for what they call his abſurb notions of government: yet his writings, on a careful peruſal, will be found conſiſtent with the laws of nature and reaſon. Plato ſays, "It is unſafe for a wiſe man to declare his opinion concerning the Almighty, leſt he ſhould be ridiculed by the vulgar. The Greeks ſays that Plato writes too vainly and licentiouſly, pronouncing Lycurgus to be a perfect legiſlator, and on account of their antiquity, they hold his inſtitutions in great reverence. If it be admitted that laws derive merit from this antiquity, the Lacedemonians can have no ground to contend with us, ſince our claim is of more than two thouſand years ſtanding.

Lycurgus deemed a compleat law-giver by the Greeks.

The reverence of the Macedonians for their laws continued no longer than while theſe people were in a ſtate of freedom:

when they were abandoned by fortune, they abandoned their laws. But even when reduced to the utmoſt extremities in Aſia, the Jews ſteadily adhered to the cuſtoms of their anceſtors. A ſlight compariſon will prove that the Lacedemonians were not expoſed to ſuch ſevere duties as the Jews. The former lived in the city at eaſe, all the neceſſaries and conveniences of life being provided for them. Their principal duty was in occaſionally making attacks upon public enemies; and in that ſervice they failed, their people frequently deſerting in great numbers. This cannot be ſaid of the Jews. I recollect not more than two or three of our people, having abandoned their cauſe from the fear of death. I mean not the death of a ſoldier in the field of battle, but a death of exquiſite torment. To this diſtreſs numbers of our people have been expoſed: not, according to my firm belief, from a principle of malice, but in order to prove their heroiſm.

Moſes allowed not reputed gods to be ſpoken of irreverently.

Our law-giver would not permit any kind of indignity to be offered to the reputed Gods of other nations. The wiſe men among the Greeks cenſure their poets and law givers for inculcating the impious doctrine of a plurality of Gods. When the old deities were out of faſhion, their places were ſupplied with new ones; various alterations have been introduced in their mode of worſhip; and when one temple has decayed, another has been raiſed with the old materials, according to the model ſuggeſted by the humour of the times. But in the worſhip of the Almighty no variation ſhould be admitted.

Thoſe among the Greeks who are intitled to the appellation of philoſophers know what I have ſaid to be true; they entertain the ſame ideas of God that we do, and have the ſame contempt for ſuperſtitious fables. Plato was right in refuſing poets admittance into his common-wealth, from whence he excludes even Homer, though he aſcribes great honour to him on the ſcore of his ſplendid talents. Thus was he careful that the true religion ſhould not be contaminated by an intermixture with the fabulous.

In his common wealth Plato in ſome degree reſembles Moſes.

In the model of his common-wealth, Plato approaches nearer to the example of Moſes than any other man; for he enjoins his ſubjects to ſtudy the laws, to impreſs them upon their memories, and not to intermix with ſtrangers. This ſeems not to be recollected by Molon, when he attacks the jews for not communicating with people of a different perſuaſion.

The Lac monians a mit no ſtr gers.

The Lacedemonians refuſed to admit ſtrangers among them, nor would they allow their citizens to travel into other countries, leſt their principles ſhould be contaminated by evil example. So far are the Jews from acting thus rigorouſly, that, though they do not intrude into the concerns of other people, they in a friendly manner receive all perſons who are willing to join them, which is a proof of the generoſity of their temper.

The Athe ans receiv ſtrangers, put thoſe death who ſpeak agai their religi

The Athenians boaſt of admitting ſtrangers: but of this Apollonius ſeems not to have been appriſed. So zealous were the Athenians for the honour of their Gods, that one irreverant word applied to them was deemed a capital offence. Sacrotes forfeited his life for having made new oaths, which he pretended to have been ſuggeſted to him by a divine ſpirit. Whether he made this aſſertion in jeſt or in earneſt, is ſtill unknown: but certain it is, that on this accuſation he was condemned to die by poiſon, and ſuffered accordingly. He was alſo charged with inſpiring the people with falſe ideas of the religion and laws of their country.

Anaxagoras, the Clazomenian, was put to death for declaring that the ſun, which the Athenians worſhipped as a god, was but a red-hot ſtone. Diogorus, the Melian, having ridiculed their religion, proclamation was made, offering a talent* for his head. The ſame meaſure would have been taken with regard to Protagoras, had he not made his eſcape. He was charged with being author of a production wherein doubts are expreſſed as to the exiſtence of the Athenian gods. But it is not ſurpriſing that men ſhould thus be treated, ſince equal barbarity was exerciſed upon the other ſex. A prieſteſs was put to death upon being accuſed of worſhipping ſtrange gods; and capital puniſhment was denounced againſt perſons who introduced a new religion.

The barba rous Scythi ans have a tenderneſs f laws and cu toms.

Even the Scythians, who are a barbarous and ſavage people, are yet ſo cautious of keeping the myſteries of their religion ſacred, that they put Anacharſis to death for ſpeaking too reſpectfully of the Grecian gods: and we are told of ſeveral perſons who were executed upon a ſimilar account. Now Apollonius was a warm friend of the laws of the Perſians, and admired them as well as the Greeks, for their conſiſtency of worſhip. He not only thought well of, but partly imitated theſe people, by abuſing the wives of other men, and putting out their children's eyes.

---

* As there were two Attick talents, which was here meant is not certain: the leſs weighed fifty ſeven pounds, ſeven penny weights and twelve grains, and its value in ſilver amounted to one hundred ſeventy-one pounds one ſhilling and tenpence halfpenny, and in gold to two thouſand ſeven hundred thirty ſeven pounds ten ſhillings. The greater weighed ſeventy-ſix pounds ten penny-weights, and its value in ſilver amounted to two hundred twenty-eight pounds two ſhillings and ſixpence, and in gold to three thouſand ſix hundred and fifty pounds of Engliſh money. I ſhould think it moſt probable that the greater ſilver talent is here to be underſtood.

The

conſtan-
tine Jews.

The Jews are ſo ſtrict in obſerving their laws, that they cannot be tempted by fear, emolument, power, or any other conſideration, to deſert their duty. We do not willingly encounter hazards but in ſupport and protection of our lawful rights. We have patiently ſubmitted to all other outrages; but the violation of our laws moſt ſenſibly affects us, and has made us in the higheſt degree daring and obſtinate. Why ſhould we envy the laws of other nations, when thoſe who have founded abandon them? How will the Lacedemonians excuſe their want of hoſpitality, and their cuſtom of cohabiting without marriage? The inhabitants of Elis and Thebes are abandoned to unnatural luſts to ſuch a degree, that cuſtom hath almoſt made them lawful. This vice has likewiſe prevailed among the Greeks, till it has been attributed to their gods, who are ſaid to have lain with their own ſiſters, and then compounded for the offence.

Time is the teſt of excellence, and antiquity the beſt proof of the goodneſs of a law. Here we reſt the argument, for the credit of our law-giver, and his laws reſpecting the worſhip of God. No one will deny that Moſes was, by ſeveral ages, the earlieſt law-giver; all nations have imitated them in ſome degeee. I admit that the ancient Greeks had ſeparate laws; but their philoſophers had the ſame ideas of God that we have, and advanced the ſame doctrines for the conduct of life.

ll nations
tate the
ws, more
leſs.

The piety and regular government of the Jews are ſo well eſtabliſhed, that there is ſcarce any nation, that has not in ſome degree followed their example, either in obſerving our ſabbath; in faſts; in the uſe of lamps; in abſtaining from particular food; in the exerciſe of humany; in ſocial ſentiments; in induſtry, or in reſolution to ſuffer for the truth.

But the moſt extraordinary circumſtance remains unnoticed; which is, that our code of laws ſhould have ſuch an univerſal influence on the minds of men. Whoever takes a view of his own country or family will ſee the force of this remark.

Now would any one but an enemy adviſe us to change our old laws for new, and thoſe leſs valuable? If not, all reproach ought to ceaſe. We have no enmity to any man; but ſpeak reverently of our prophet, convinced that God ſpeaks to us through him. But ſuppoſe we were not enough acquainted with our laws to eſteem them on their own account; yet the number of eminent perſons who have reverenced them, muſt engage our regard. Of this I have ſpoke more fully in my Antiquities; but am impelled to make this obſervation in ſupport of the truth againſt detraction.

But to conclude, I think I have made good my promiſe; having fully proved the antiquity of our people, and quoted many reſpectable authorities that ſpeak highly of us in their annals. It has been aſſerted, that our anceſtors came originally from Egypt: this I have diſproved. It has been likewiſe ſaid, that we were expelled Egypt on account of contagious diſeaſes. I have made it appear that our anceſtors valiantly fought through their enemies to their own country. Some writers have repreſented Moſes as a man of the moſt immoral character, which is contrary to the united teſtimonies of a ſucceſſion of ages to his credit.

All who underſtand our laws, are convinced that they are unexceptionably excellent. They are inimical to vice, extravagance, and faction: they tend to promote peace, juſtice, induſtry, and benevolence; they forbid war from motives of ambition or avarice, and diſcountenance returning evil for evil; they admoniſh men to act with intrepidity in defence of their common rights; to guard againſt deception by falſe pretences, and to practice virtue rather than make a parade of it by words.

The deſign and intent of the Jewiſh laws.

Upon the whole, I may affirm our laws to be unequalled; ſince they are admirably adapted to promote rightouſneſs; unanimity in proſperity; friendſhip in adverſity; bravery in war; an unremitting application to arts and huſbandry in peace; and a firm confidence, that we are conſtantly ſuperintended by an incomparably excellent and omnicient Being.

The Jews make their laws the rule of their lives and manners.

Had our laws been elſewhere written, or depoſited in other hands, before being tranſmitted to us, we ſhould unqueſtionably have been willing to acknowledge great obligation to thoſe who had preſerved them: but as they never were otherwiſe diſpoſed of, and as we have made them the invariable rule of our conduct, I bid defiance to Apion, Molon, and all other writers of the ſame claſs, being happy in the opportunity of making this appeal to the generous minded Epaphroditus, and other liberal enquirers into the authenticity of our hiſtory, whoſe ſatisfaction was the principal motive inducing me to write this DEFENCE OF THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWISH NATION.

THE
WARS
OF THE
JEWS.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

Antiochus Epiphanes conquers Jeruſalem, and aboliſhes the worſhip of God. Bacchides ſlain by Matthias. Judas reſtores the religious rites. The death of Antiochus. Eleazar killed by the fall of an Elephant. Judas ſlain at Adaſa.

See Antiquities, lib. 12. cap. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 19.

ANtiochus Epiphanes and Ptolemy the ſixth engaged in a war reſpecting the right to the kingdom of Syria. The principal people among the Jews were divided into factions, ſome eſpouſing the cauſe of one, and ſome that of the other ſovereign. The party to which Onias, one of the high-prieſts, had attached himſelf proving moſt powerful, they compelled the ſons of Tobias to abandon the city of Jeruſalem. They repaired to Antiochus, entreating him to make an incurſion into Judea, offering to become his guides, and otherwiſe to aſſiſt him to the extent of their power. He had entertained an anxious deſire to engage in this enterprize, and therefore but little perſuaſion was neceſſary to obtain his conſent. He entered Judea with a formidable army, reduced Jeruſalem by ſtorm, and put to death a vaſt number of perſons who were ſuppoſed to be attached to the intereſt of Ptolemy. He allowed his troops the benefit of the plunder, deſpoiled the holy temple of its dedications and immenſe wealth, and for the ſpace of three years and an half cauſed the daily ſacrifices and prayers to the Almighty, and every religious ceremony, to be entirely ſuppreſſed. Onias, the high-prieſt, fled to Ptolemy, who granted him permiſſion to erect a temple adjacent to the city of Heliopolis, formed after the model of that at Jeruſalem.

Antiochus takes Jeruſalem.

The remembrance of the difficulties he had encountered during the ſiege, inſpired Antiochus with the moſt implacable rancour towards the Jews. He iſſued a proclamation prohibiting them from circumciſing their children, and commanded that no victims ſhould be ſacrificed upon the altar except ſwine, the ſacrifice of which animals is expreſſly forbidden by our law. Theſe outrageous proceedings were held in the utmoſt abhorrence, but thoſe who expreſſed the leaſt diſſatisfaction were immediately put death. At this period Bacchides held the command of Judea under Antiochus: he was a man perfectly qualified to execute the mercileſs orders of the tyrant, being naturally of a ferocious, cruel, and unrelenting diſpoſition. The inſolence of this man was ſo great that he conſtantly treated perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed rank with the higheſt indignity. In ſhort, every day preſented a repreſentation of the horrors that prevailed at that fatal time when Jeruſalem was vanquiſhed.

The outrageons behaviour of Bacchides became, at length, ſo intolerable that ſome of the injured parties concerted meaſures for revenge. One of the prieſts, named Matthias, who was an inhabitant of Modin, and the ſon of Aſmoneus, being attended by his five ſons, and a company of his domeſtics, all armed with poniards, went in ſearch of Bacchides, whom he put to death; immediately after which he retreated to the mountains, in order to avoid the fury of the garriſons eſtabliſhed by Antiochus. Being ſoon joined by great numbers of people, he ventured into the plains, and engaged the enemy, whom he vanquiſhed and

Bacchides ſlain by Matthias.

and drove out of Judea. This enterprize obtained him ſo high a veneration among the people, that in gratitude for their deliverance, they elected him their general. Upon his death, Matthias bequeathed his authority to Judas, his eldeſt ſon.

Judas, apprehending that Antiochus would endeavour to revenge the injuries he had ſuſtained, collected a powerful army of his countrymen, and contracted a league of amity with the Romans. Antiochus again led his army into Judea, where he was again repulſed by Judas, who having aſſaulted the garriſon, compelled the troops to abandon the upper city, otherwiſe called the holy place, after which they ſought refuge in the lower town. Having gained poſſeſſion of the temple, Judas purified every part of the building, ſurrounded it with a wall, ſupplied it with the ſeveral kinds of veſſels, and utenſils neceſſary to the religious ſolemnities, in the room of thoſe which were deemed polluted, and cauſed an altar to be erected, whereon ſacrifices were offered to the Almighty.

Antiochus dies, and his ſon Antiochus ſucceeds him.

At this time Antiochus died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, who bore the ſame name. With an army of fifty thouſand foot, near five thouſand horſe, and eighty elephants, he made an incurſion into Judea, by the way of the mountains. After he had conquered the town of Bethſura, he engaged Judas in a narrow paſs in the place called Beth-zacharias. Previous to the battle, Eleazar, the brother of Judas, obſerving an elephant in the adverſe army conſiderably taller than the reſt, gorgeouſly ornamented with golden trappings, and bearing a caſtle upon his back, concluded that Antiochus muſt be the rider; and therefore he fiercely preſſed upon the enemy, and made his way to the elephant, when finding the perſon he had miſtaken for Antiochus to be beyond his reach, he ſtabbed the creature in the belly, upon which the unwieldy animal fell, and cruſhed Eleazar to death. Judas interpreted the unhappy fate of his brother into a prognoſtic that the enemy would prove victorious. The armies meeting, the Jews maintained the battle a long time with ſurpriſing bravery: but after great numbers of them had been ſlain, Judas retreated with the remainder into the toparchy of Gophnis. Antiochus marched to Jeruſalem, but after continuing there a few days, retired, on account of a ſcarcity of proviſions, leaving a ſufficient garriſon there, and ordering the reſt of his army to take up their winter quarters in Syria.

Eleazar cruſhed to death by the fall of an elephant.

Availing himſelf of the abſence of Antiochus, Judas aſſembled ſuch of his troops as had eſcaped in the late encounter, together with many other of his countrymen, at a place called Adaſa, and gave battle to ſome of the adherents to Antiochus. In this action he greatly ſignalized himſelf by his ſkill and reſolution: but being oppreſſed by numbers, he was ſlain. Soon after this event, John, the brother of Judas, was decoyed into an ambuſh, and put to death by the friends of Antiochus.

Judas ſlain by the troops of Antiochus.

CHAP. II.

Jonathan put to death by Tryphon. Simon murdered by Ptolemy, who alſo puts the mother and brothers of Hyrcanus to death. Antiochus lays ſiege to Jeruſalem. Sebaſte deſtroyed, and the inhabitants put to death by Ariſtobulus and Antigonus.

Ant. l. 13, c. 1, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

UPON the deceaſe of Judas, his brother Jonathan ſucceeded to the dignity of prince of the Jews. He conducted himſelf with great circumſpection and prudence towards the people under his government. He confirmed himſelf in his authority, and added ſtrength to his intereſt, by forming an alliance with the Romans, and effecting a reconciliation with the ſon of Antiochus: but the ſtrict propriety of his conduct was not ſufficient to inſure his ſafety. Tryphon, the preceptor of young Antiochus, treacherouſly concerted meaſures for the deſtruction of Jonathan; and upon his arrival at Ptolemais, in order to join Antiochus, he ſeized the opportunity of making him priſoner by ſurprize; after which he marched his forces to attack Judea: but the tyrant was effectually repulſed by Simon, the brother of Jonathan, which circumſtance ſo highly exaſperated him, that he returned and ſacrificed the life of Jonathan to his revenge.

Jonathan betrayed by Tryphon, and put to death.

Simon was naturally diſpoſed to activity and reſolution: he ſubdued Gazara, Joppa, and Jamnia, and laid Accaron in ruins: he then joined Antiochus in oppoſing Tryphon; and previous to his expedition to Media, Antiochus beſieged Dora. So extreme was the avarice and ingratitude of Antiochus, that, notwithſtanding Simon had rendered him a very conſiderable ſervice by aſſiſting in effecting the death of Tryphon, he ſoon after that circumſtance diſpatched an army under the command of Cendebeus, in order to ravage the country of Judea, and make Simon a priſoner. Though he had arrived to an advanced age, Simon maintained the war with as much ſpirit, reſolution, and vigilance as he could have ſhewn in the prime of life. Having diſpatched his ſons and his beſt troops, he led the reſt of his forces by a different rout; he planted ambuſhes in divers parts of the mountains; and at length he gained a compleat victory. After this event he was appointed to the pontifical dignity. Thus Simon delivered his country, after it had been for the ſpace of an hundred and ſeventy years ſubject to the Macedonians.

Simon overthrows Cendebeus, and recovers Judea.

After

Simon murdered by the treachery of Ptolemy his ſon-in-law.

After rendering the moſt eminent public ſervices, Simon was murdered at an entertainment by Ptolemy, his ſon-in-law, who, at the ſame time, cauſed his wife and two of his ſons to be made priſoners, and diſpatched a party of ruffians to deſtroy John, the third ſon, who was alſo called Hyrcanus. Being informed of the deſign againſt his life, the young man eſcaped to Jeruſalem, where he found a great number of people ſtrongly attached to his intereſt, partly from a veneration to the memory of his deceaſed father, and partly on account of their abhorrence of Ptolemy. Being refuſed admittance into the city, Ptolemy marched to the caſtle of Dagon beyond Jericho. Being declared the ſucceſſor of his father, in the pontifical dignity, Hyrcanus offered ſacrifice and performed other ſacredotal functions, after which he laid ſiege to the caſtle into which Ptolemy had retreated, with a view of reſtoring his mother and brothers to liberty.

Hyrcanus ſucceeds his father in the pontificate.

Perceiving the advantage that Hyrcanus was likely to obtain, Ptolemy cauſed his mother and brothers to be expoſed on the battlements, threatening that they ſhould be caſt down from the walls, if the ſiege was not inſtantly raiſed, at the ſame time cauſing them to be puniſhed with blows. Urged by motives of compaſſion, Hyrcanus drew off his forces: but his mother exhorted him to perſevere in the ſiege, regardleſs of the ſufferings ſhe endured, or the death with which ſhe was threatened, ſaying, that ſhe would reſign her life with pleaſure, if that could prove a means of vengeance being executed upon the inhuman tyrant. The arguments made uſe of, and the fortitude diſplayed by his mother animated Hyrcanus to continue the ſiege; but obſerving that as he proſecuted the aſſault, the cruelty to his mother was increaſed, his reſolution abated, and his mind was engroſſed by ſentiments of grief and filial tenderneſs. On this account he protracted the ſiege till the ſabbatical year, every ſeventh year, like every ſeventh day, being pronounced a time of reſt by the Jewiſh laws. Knowing the aſſault could be no longer continued, Ptolemy put the mother and brothers to death, and fled for refuge to Philadelphia, which was then under the government of Zeno, alſo named Cotylas.

Antiochus lays ſiege to Jeruſalem.

In revenge for having been ſubdued by the deceaſed Simon, Antiochus beſieged his ſon Hyrcanus in Jeruſalem. Being thus diſtreſſed, Hyrcanus opened the ſepulchre of David, the richeſt ſovereign that had been known, and thence took upwards of three thouſand talents, of which he paid to Antiochus three hundred, on condition of his raiſing the ſiege, engaging for a further ſum to be delivered at a future period. Hyrcanus was the firſt prince of the Jews who employed foreign ſoldiers. Having raiſed the ſiege of Jeruſalem, Antiochus marched towards Media.

Upon learning that the towns of Syria were in a defenceleſs ſtate, Hyrcanus led his forces into that country, and gained poſſeſſion of Medaba, Samea, * Sichem, Gazirim, and other places. He alſo conquered the Chuthites, who inhabited a country wherein a celebrated temple, built after the model of that at Jeruſalem, was ſituated. In Idumea he ſubdued Dorion, † Mariſſa, and ſeveral other towns.

After theſe exploits, Hyrcanus went to Sameria, a city built by Herod, and now called Sebaſte, and having environed the place with his troops, appointed his ſons Ariſtobulus and Antigonus to proſecute the ſiege, which they continued till the people were reduced to the extremity of ſubſiſting upon food that was not proper for human creatures. Thus diſtreſſed, the inhabitants ſupplicated the aſſiſtance of Antiochus, otherwiſe named Aſpendius‡, who readily conſented to their requeſt: but he was entirely ſubdued by the brothers, who purſued him as far as Scythopolis, where he eſcaped their vigilance. Ariſtobulus and Antigonus returned to the ſiege of Samaria, reduced the city to ruins, and made priſoners of the inhabitants. All the undertakings of the brothers ſucceeded to the extent of their warmeſt hopes; and, leſt the ardour of their troops might ſubſide, they marched directly to the other ſide of Scythopolis, where they ſhared between them the lands in the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel.

Sebaſt deſtroyed by Ariſtobulus and Antigonus.

CHAP III.

Ariſtobulus ſucceeds Hyrcanus. Ariſtobulus impriſons his mother, and denies her food, in conſequence of which ſhe dies. He puts his brother to death. He dies of a judicial illneſs. After being declared king, Alexander is vanquiſhed by Theodore. Alexander ſubdues Raphia, Gaza, and Anthedon. He conquers the Galaadites and Moabites, and deſtroys Amathus. He is defeated by Obodas, king of the Arabians. An engagement between Alexander and Demetrius. Eight hundred priſoners crucified as a ſpectacle.

BEING envious of the proſperity of Hyrcanus and his ſons, the neighbouring princes engaged in a conſpiracy againſt them: but Hyrcanus proved vic-

See Ant. l. XIII. c. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, torious, and paſſed the remainder of his days in proſperity and happineſs.

---

* Samega. *Vide* Antiq. l. xxviii. c. 17. † Al. Adora. ‡ Spondius *Ruf.* probably Cizicenus. *Vide* Valliants's Num. Seleucidarum. p. 350

death
character
Hyrcanus.

After having enjoyed the government thirty-three years, he died, leaving five ſons. He was diſtinguiſhed in a manner almoſt peculiar to himſelf; being at the ſame time prince of the Jews, poſſeſſed of the pontifical dignity, and favoured by the Almighty with the gift of prophecy. He predicted that the government of his two eldeſt ſons would be of ſhort duration. The conduct of Hyrcanus was ſo happily regulated as entirely to eſcape cenſure, and he was univerſally eſteemed a man of probity and virtue.

riſtobulus
arves his
other to
ath.

Ariſtobulus, the eldeſt ſon of Hyrcanus, altered the form of government from a principality to a monarchy. This event took place four hundred and eighty-one years and three months ſubſequent to the time when the Jews were delivered from captivity in Babylon. So particular a regard had Ariſtobulus towards his brother Antigonus, that he beſtowed upon him a joint ſhare of the royal authority; but he impriſoned his mother and his other brothers. The mother made ſome pretenſions to the government, aſſerting that Hyrcanus had bequeathed to her the regency; and on this circumſtance was founded the cruelty of Ariſtobulus, which he purſued to the laſt extreme, by ſtarving her to death in her confinement. In compliance with the wiſhes of a faction who had propagated divers ſlanders for effecting the ruin of the youth, he put his favourite brother Antigonus to death.

During the feaſt of the tabernacles, Ariſtobulus was attacked by ſickneſs; and at this time Antigonus returned in great martial pomp from the camp of Jeruſalem, and, intending to do honour to his brother, was cloathed with unuſual magnificence, and attended by a number of armed men: thus he proceeded towards the temple, with a deſign of ſupplicating Heaven for the recovery of the king. Availing themſelves of this opportunity for effecting his ruin, his enemies repreſented to Ariſtobulus, that they were greatly alarmed by the return of Antigonus in all the ſplendour of royalty, he being attended by a numerous body of ſoldiers under arms: adding, that they were unable to deduce any other concluſion from his conduct, than that being diſſatisfied with a part of the government, he was determined to poſſeſs himſelf of the whole.

Though the king at firſt rejected the calumnies againſt his brother, he was, at length, prevailed upon to give them credit, and then reſolved to provide for his ſafety, without betraying any ſymptoms of jealouſy or ſuſpicion. He ordered his guards to ſtation themſelves in a dark ſubterraneous paſſage, and that if Antigonus ſhould come that way unarmed, they ſhould permit him to paſs unmoleſted, but on the contrary, if he ſhould be provided for defence, that they ſhould put him to death. He then diſpatched a meſſage to his brother, requeſting to ſee him, and deſiring that he would come unarmed. But the queen and the other enemies of Antigonus prevailed upon the meſſenger to ſay, that the king was deſirous of ſeeing him equipped in a ſuit of armour of moſt exquiſite workmanſhip, which he had brought from Galilee. Willing to comply with the ſuppoſed requeſt of his brother, the prince accoutred himſelf in arms, and as he was paſſing along the dark paſſage already mentioned, he was ſeized and put to death by the ſoldiers ſtationed there.

Antigonus murdered.

A prediction by Judas, an Eſſene.

It will here be proper to introduce a remarkable occurrence that is related of an Eſſene, named Judas. He was a man highly celebrated for his knowledge of future events; and his predictions had been conſtantly verified with ſo much exactneſs that he was never accuſed of either wilful deception or caſual error. Upon obſerving Antigonus enter the temple, Judas, addreſſing himſelf to his diſciples, exclaimed, "The Lord protect us! My death would now be welcome. Why ſhould we deſire longer to live, ſince we have ſurvived even truth itſelf? I have made a falſe prediction; for Antigonus, whom I declared ſhould be this day ſlain at Straton's tower, is ſtill living; the ſpot where the fatal ſcene was to have taken place, is at the diſtance of ſix hundred ſtandia from hence; and we are are now in the fourth hour of the day." The venerable man now ſeriouſly ruminated on the circumſtance, and his countenance ſufficiently expreſſed the painful ſtate of his mind: but while he was muſing, intelligence was brought that Antigonus had been ſlain in a ſubterranean paſſage, which, as well as a place of Cæſarea upon the ſea-coaſt, bore the name of Straton's tower. Thus was the prediction verified; the prophet being led into an error by the ſame name being given to two places.

The ſhocking cruelty had been no ſooner perpetrated than the diſeaſe with which Ariſtobulus was afflicted was increaſed to ſo terrible a degree, by the ſevere upbraidings of his conſcience, that his intrails came out, and he vomited great quantities of blood. The domeſtics who removed the blood, caſt it, by a ſingular providence, upon the exact ſpot where Antigonus had been ſlain, and where the ſtains of his blood were ſtill to be perceived. The ſpectators imagined this to be the effect of deſign, and intended as an oblation to the manes of the deceaſed prince, and ſo loudly expreſſed their ſurpriſe as to be overheard by the king, who inſtantly enquired as to the cauſe of what he had heard: but as he became anxious to be informed of the matter, the others were more deſirous of ſuppreſſing it. However, by the force of threats and entreaties, he at length prevailed: but his deſire was no ſooner complied with, than ſhedding abundance of tears and deeply ſighing, he exclaimed, "Could I hope that my iniquities would eſcape the knowledge of the all-ſeeing God: or that my enormous crimes would not provoke the Divine vengeance? How long, alas! thou moſt miſerable body, wilt thou confine my ſoul from rendering juſtice to a mother and a brother, both cruelly murdered? Inſtead of loſing my blood thus drop by drop, why do I not yield it up all at once? But I am condemned to be the ſport of fortune, and to expire in the moſt excruciating agonies." Having delivered theſe words, he expired, after a reign of only one year.

Upon the deceaſe of Ariſtobulus, the queen, his widow, reſtored the brothers to liberty; and ſhe advanced Alexander, the eldeſt of them, to the regal dignity. He was eſteemed a man of moderation and juſtice: but when he had obtained the poſſeſſion of power, he put to death one of his brothers, who had aſpired to rival him in the ſovereignty. The others he did not attempt to moleſt, as they conſented to live in a private ſtation.

After Ptolemy Lathur, king of Egypt, had taken Aſochis, Alexander gave him battle, and made a great ſlaughter in his army; but the engagement terminated in favour of the former. Cleopatra having compelled her ſon to go into Egypt, Alexander beſieged and ſubdued Gadara; he alſo took Amathus, by much the ſtrongeſt caſtle beyond the Jordan, wherein Theodore, the ſon of Zeno, had depoſited his moſt valuable treaſure., But Theodore attacked him by ſurpriſe, and gained a complete victory, nearly twenty thouſand of the Jews being ſlain in the encounter. The conqueror recovered the property that had been ſeized, and made booty of Alexander's baggage. After reinforcing his army, Alexander removed the ſeat of war to the ſea coaſt, and ſubdued Raphia, Gaza and Anthedon. The latter place was afterwards named Agrippias by Herod.

During the celebration of a ſolemn feſtival, the Jews revolted againſt Alexander, which induced him to employ foreign mercenaries. He took Piſidians and Cilicians into his pay, but rejected the Syrians, knowing their implacable enmity towards the Jews. He marched againſt the inſurgents, and put upwards of ſix thouſand of them to death. He then declared war againſt Obodas, king of Arabia, and having vanquiſhed and impoſed tributes upon the Galaadites and Moabites, he returned to the ſiege of Amathus. The fame of Alexanders victories ſtruck Theodore with ſuch terror, that he abandoned the place; and the other, finding it in a defenceleſs ſtate, reduced it to ruins.

Alexander routed by Obodas.

Alexander's next expedition was againſt Obodas, king of Arabia, who had encamped a part of his army in the province of Gaulon, a place advantageouſly ſituated for ambuſcades. In this place Alexander was attacked by ſurpriſe, and driven into a deep valley, where the camels of the enemy cruſhed great numbers of his people to death, and his army was entirely ruined. With the utmoſt difficulty, Alexander eſcaped to Jeruſalem; but on account of his late defeat, he found his enemies ſtill more violently exaſperated againſt him. He was driven to great extremities by frequent inſurrections among his ſubjects, over whom he had the advantage in every encounter, and in the ſpace of ſix years, he put no leſs than fifty thouſand Jews to death.

Conſidering that his conqueſts over his ſubjects muſt materially weaken his power, Alexander became extremely unhappy; and inſtead of employing the force of arms, he reſolved upon endeavouring to reduce them to obedience by argument and perſuaſion. But this change of conduct ſerved but to increaſe the popular diſſatisfaction; and upon his aſking the people, by what means he could conciliate their friendſhip, they replied, that were he to ſacrifice his life to their reſentment, they could ſcarcely pardon him for thoſe actions that had involved them in the utmoſt diſtreſs.

Demetrius aſſiſts the Jews.

The Jews now requeſted the aſſiſtance of Demetrius Eucerus; and this king by intereſted views, was induced to join them with his army in the neighbourhood of Sichem. The force of the Jews conſiſted of three thouſand cavalry, and forty thouſand infantry: and this formidable army Alexander oppoſed with only one thouſand horſe, ſix thouſand mercenary foot, and about ten thouſand Jews who ſtill maintained their allegiance. Demetrius endeavoured to induce Alexander's mercenaries to deſert and join him; and Alexander was equally ſolicitous to gain over the Jews in the army of Demetrius; but neither party was able to prevail; and an engagement enſued, which ended in the defeat of Alexander, but it muſt be acknowledged, that his mercenaries fought with aſtoniſhing bravery. The event of this victory, however, was contrary to the expectations of both the kings; for ſix thouſand of the Jews who had fought againſt Alexander, being now moved to compaſſionate his ſufferings, fled to, and joined their king, in the mountains, whither he had retreated for refuge. Demetrius apprehending that the reſt of the Jews in his army might follow the example of thoſe who had deſerted, abandoned all thoughts of continuing the war, and drew off his forces. But the reſt of the Jews ſtill continued to proſecute the war againſt Alexander, till great numbers were ſlain, and the reſt driven into Bemezel*, which place Alexander conquered, and then carried them priſoners to Jeruſalem.

We ſhall now proceed to ſhew what exceſs of paſſion people may be hurried into when they ceaſe to make the principles of piety, honour, and virtue, the rule of their conduct. Alexander gave an entertainment to his concubines; and on this occaſion he cauſed eight hundred priſoners to be crucified, after the throats of their wives and children had been cut in the preſence of theſe miſerable ſufferers. In the height of the debauch this horrid ſcene was preſented for the diverſion of the women: but ſo ſhocked were the inhabitants of the city at this execrable barbarity, that, on the following night, eight thouſand of them deſerted their country; nor did they return till after the death of Alexander.

ght hun-
d priſoners
cified for a
ctacle.

CHAP. IV.

Antiochus ſlain, and his army routed by Aretas, who is declared king of Cœle-Syria. Alexander dies, bequeathing the regency to his wife. Hyrcanus appointed high-prieſt. The influence of the Phariſees over the queen. Hyrcanus ſucceeds Alexandra in the government. An engagement between the brothers. Their reconciliation.

e Ant. l.
3. c. 23. 24.
14. c. 1.

ANTIOCHUS, otherwiſe Dionyſius, the brother of Demetrius, and the laſt of the line of Seleucus, having ſubdued the Arabians, Alexander became apprehenſive that he might attempt the conqueſt of his kingdom alſo; and, therefore, he cauſed a deep ditch to be formed, with a wall of conſiderable height before it, extending from the mountains near Antipatris to the boundaries of Joppa. But Antiochus burnt the wooden towers with which the wall was fortified, filled up the ditch, and led his army againſt the Arabians, determining to ſeize ſome future opportunity of avenging himſelf upon Alexander for having oppoſed his deſigns.

Upon the approach of Antiochus, Aretas, king of the Arabians, ſtationed his troops in ſeveral places of ſtrength, and attacked the enemy by ſurprize, with an army of ten thouſand cavalry, when he deemed his ſituation to be perfectly ſecure. The engagement was maintained with great obſtinacy on both ſides; but upon Antiochus being ſlain, his ſoldiers fled, and vaſt numbers of them were deſtroyed in the battle and the purſuit. Many of the ſurvivors retreated to Cana, where the greateſt part of them periſhed through a deficiency of the neceſſaries of life.

tiochus
n, and his
y totally
ted.

The averſion of the people of Damaſcus towards Ptolemy, the ſon of Menneus, induced them to form an alliance with Aretas, whom they declared king of Cœle-Syria. Aretas invaded Judea, and gained a victory over Alexander; but a treaty being concluded between them, he drew off his forces.

Having ſubdued Pella, Alexander proceeded to the ſiege of Geraſa, which place he conquered, notwithſtanding it was fortified by a tripple circumvallation. By this exploit he gained poſſeſſion of the great treaſure which Theodore had depoſited in the town. He then demoliſhed Gaulon, Seleucia, and a city called Antiochus's Pharanx, beſides the ſtrong caſtle of Gamara, where he made priſoner of Demetrius, the govenor, who was a man of depraved and abandoned principles. After employing three years in divers achievements, Alexander returned to Jeruſalem, where he was received with every poſſible demonſtration of joy. Being attacked with a quartan ague, and conceiving that buſineſs and activity might conduce to a reſtoration of health, he engaged in another war; but his ſtrength and ſpirits being exhauſted by exceſſive fatigue, he died in the twenty-ſeventh year of his reign, bequeathing the government to his wife Alexandra.

Alexander dies.

Alexandra was particularly converſant in the rites and cuſtoms of the Jews. Their qualities, and her pious diſpoſition, ſecured her from the diſadvantages ſhe would otherwiſe have laboured under on account of her ſex. She had by Alexander two ſons, named Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus. On account of his ſeniority, ſhe appointed the former to the pontifical dignity; and as he was of an inactive and tractable temper, ſhe imagined that, without danger to herſelf, ſhe might advance him to the throne: but the younger brother being of an enterprizing turn of mind, ſhe deemed it prudent to keep him in a private ſtation.

The Phariſees highly valued themſelves on the reputation of being more pious than other people. The queen was ſo rigid in her religious principles as almoſt to incur the ſuſpicion of bigotry and ſuperſtition; and ſhe entertained an high veneration to the Phariſees, on account of the reputed ſanctity of their lives. By a plauſibility of conduct they ſo far inſinuated themſelves into the favour of the queen, as to engroſs all the powers of government: they promoted and perſecuted, impriſoned and reſtored to freedom, ſuch of the people as they thought proper; they ſecured to

Alexandra governed by the Phariſees.

---

* In the Antiq. Bethoma. l. XIII. c. 22.

themſelves all lucrative commiſſions, and diſtinguiſhed employments, leaving the queen to provide for the expences, and encounter the cares and difficulties of government. Alexandra was deeply ſkilled in the arts of government, and ſhe had abilities equal to the greateſt undertakings: ſhe augmented the militia to the full compliment; kept two armies of regular troops, and had a conſiderable body of foreign auxiliaries in conſtant pay: by theſe means ſhe was powerful at home, and formidable to the the neighbouring ſtates. But ſtill Alexandra yielded an implicit obedience to the will of the Phariſees.

A man of diſtinction, named Diogenes, who had been the particular friend of the deceaſed king, the Phariſees cauſed to be put to death, on an accuſation of having been concerned in procuring the death of the eight hundred Jews, who were crucified, as we have before mentioned; and they urged the queen to pardon no man who had adviſed or countenanced that abominable cruel act. Their influence was ſo great that ſhe complied with their requeſt: and under the pretext of juſtice, they wrought the deſtruction of every perſon who was ſo unfortunate as to incur their diſpleaſure. They carried their tyranny to ſuch exceſs, that many perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank, judging their ſituation to be extremely dangerous, applied to Ariſtobulus for protection: he expoſtulated with his mother, and prevailed in behalf of theſe perſons, and likewiſe obtained a grant that baniſhment only ſhould in future be the puniſhment of thoſe ſuſpected of guilt. About this period, Alexandra, upon the pretext that Ptolemy was continually annoying the city of Damaſcus, ſent an army thither, which aſſaulted and conquered the place. Tigranes, king of Armenia, having beſieged Cleopatra in Ptolemais, Alexandra made him frequent and conſiderable preſents, and urged him to comply with terms of accommodation: but upon receiving intelligence that Lucullus had entered Armenia with an army of Romans, he abandoned the ſiege, and led his forces to protect his own dominions.

Ariſtobulus aſſumes the government.

Alexandra being ſoon afterwards attacked by a dangerous illneſs, Ariſtobulus, the younger ſon, attended by a numerous company of his domeſtics, who were in the vigour of youth, and firmly attached to their leader, and other perſons, who eſpouſed his cauſe, gained poſſeſſion of the caſtles, whence he ſeized the money therein depoſited, which enabled him to engage the aſſiſtance of a body of mercenary troops; and he then arrogated to himſelf the regal dignity. Hereupon, Hyrcanus complained to his mother, who, to puniſh the uſurper, cauſed his wife and ſons to be impriſoned in the caſtle ſituated on the north ſide of the temple, and formerly called Baris, but during the government of Antony, named Antonia, as Sebaſte and Agrippias derived their names from Auguſtus and Agrippa. The illneſs with which the queen was afflicted, put a period to her life, after ſhe had reigned nine years, and deprived her of the opportunity of protecting Hyrcanus againſt the ambitious views of Ariſtobulus.

Hyrcanu ſucceeds Alexandr

The queen bequeathed all her wealth and poſſeſſions to Hyrcanus, and confirmed his right to the ſovereignty. The conteſt was ſtill continued between the brothers; but Ariſtobulus had greatly the advantage, both in point of intereſt and power. They came to an engagement near Jericho, when the greateſt part of the army of Hyrcanus deſerted to Ariſtobulus. With great difficulty Hyrcanus and the remainder of his people eſcaped to Antonia, where they had good hoſtages for their ſecurity in the perſons of the wife and ſons of Ariſtobulus, who were confined in that place. At length, the brothers came to an accommodation, the terms of which were, that Hyrcanus ſhould reſign the regency to Ariſtobulus, who was to allow him the privileges, honours and dignity to which he had a right in virtue of his relationſhip to the king. This agreement was ratified in the temple, in preſence of the people. Ariſtobulus repaired to the palace, and Hyrcanus to the habitation where his brother had reſided.

CHAP. V.

Aretas compels Ariſtobulus to retreat to Jeruſalem. Scaurus bribed to raiſe the ſiege. Pompey makes a priſoner of Ariſtobulus. Jeruſalem taken, and ten thouſand Jews ſlain. Hyrcanus declared high prieſt.

See Ant. b 14. c. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8.

THE enemies of Ariſtobulus were equally ſurprized and afflicted by his unexpected advancement of the regal dignity; but this event proved the ſource of particular mortification to Antipater, who had long entertained an enmity againſt him. Antipater was a native of Idumea, and in point of family and wealth one of the moſt conſiderable men of the country. He urged Hyrcanus to ſolicit Aretas, to ſupport him in his endeavours to regain his crown; and for obtaining this point, he repreſented Ariſtobulus to the Arabians as a moſt abominable character, and recommended Hyrcanus as a man of extraordinary merit; he exhorted him not to deny ſuccour to a prince moſt cruelly oppreſſed, obſerving that he would derive great honour from generouſly affording Hyrcanus relief, and that kings were reciprocally bound to ſupport each other in their legal claims and privileges. Having prepared Hyrcanus to petition, and Aretas to comply with his requeſt, Antipater conducted the former out of the city by night, and accompanied him to Petra, where the royal palace of Arabia was ſituated: he introduced him to the king, and recommended him to his protection: and A retaspromiſed his utmoſt endeavours towards reſtoring him to the regal dignity.

etas enters dea with ty thouſand n. ſtobulus ten, and ſieged in uſalem.

In a ſhort time the Arabian king entered Judea with an army of fifty thouſand men, including horſe and foot, and completely routed the troops of Ariſtobulus, who retreated into Jeruſalem. Aretas beſieged the city, which he would inevitably have ſubdued, but for the following circumſtance: a war ſubſiſting between Pompey the Great, and Tygranes, the former ordered Scaurus to lead the army under his command from Armenia into Syria. Upon the arrival of the Roman general at Damaſcus, he found that Metellus and Lellius had conquered the place, and drawn off their forces; and upon gaining intelligence of the ſituation of affairs in Judea, he judged that the moſt advantageous meaſure he could adopt would be to lead his army into that country; and having reached the borders, he was met by two ambaſſadors, who were commiſſioned to ſupplicate the Romans to eſpouſe the cauſe of their reſpective employers. The ambaſſador from Ariſtobulus preſented Scaurus with three hundred talents, which ſum prevailed beyond the juſt pretentions of Hyrcanus, and induced him to diſpatch ambaſſadors to Hyrcanus and Aretas, commanding them, in the name of Pompey the Great and the Roman ſenate, inſtantly to raiſe the ſiege and draw off their troops, and threatening them with war in caſe of refuſal. Aretas, dreading to provoke the indignation of ſo powerful an enemy as the Romans might prove, retired from Judea to Philadelphia; and Scaurus returned to Damaſcus. Ariſtobulus was of two enterpriſing a diſpoſition to repreſs the deſire of conqueſt, becauſe the departure of the enemy had left him in a ſtate of ſecurity: he collected his troops, and purſued Hyrcanus and Aretas to Papyron, where he encountered them, and put near ſeven thouſand of their men to death, and in the number of the ſlain was Cephalon, the brother of Antipater.

Deſpairing of ſuccour from the Arabian, Hyrcanus and Antipater reſolved to ſubmit themſelves to the generoſity of Pompey, and to ſue to him for protection and relief. Upon the arrival of Pompey at Damaſcus they preſented to him valuable preſents, and farther to attach him to their intereſt, they repeated the arguments and ſupplications that had been enforced to prevail upon Aretas. The influence he had obtained over Scaurus, by the means of bribes, inſpired Ariſtobulus with the idea that he could not poſſibly fail of ſucceſs. In this diſpoſition, being attired in a ſuperb habit, and attended by an equipage of royalty, he went to pay his compliments to Pompey. When he had waited till his pride ſuggeſted to him that a longer attendance would derogate from the dignity of the royal character, he retired, and directed his courſe towards Scyopolis.

The abrupt and diſreſpectful departure of Ariſtobulus proved ſo highly offenſive to Pompey, that he was the more readily induced to comply with the requeſt of Hyrcanus and Antipater. He immediately marched in purſuit of him with the Roman troops, and a conſiderable body of Syrian auxiliaries; and having paſſed Pella and Scyopolis, he arrived at Corede, where he learnt that Ariſtobulus had taken refuge in Alexandrion, a caſtle of great ſtrength, ſituated on a high mountain, and diſpatched a meſſenger to require him to come down to him. Conſidering this meſſage as an inſult, he determined not to comply; whereupon his people expreſſed great diſſatisfaction, and his friends repreſenting the impoſſibility of withſtanding ſo formidable an enemy as the Romans, he was, at length, prevailed upon to deſcend. Having urged to Pompey his right to continue in poſſeſſion of the throne, he returned. At the inſtance of Hyrcanus he deſcended a ſecond time: and when the brothers had pleaded before Pompey in ſupport of their reſpective pretentions, Ariſtobulus again repaired to the caſtle. He was now in a ſtate of irreſolution, being agitated between the extremes of hope and fear: he frequently conceived an intention of entirely ſubmitting himſelf to the pleaſure of Pompey, and in this diſpoſition proceeded half way from the caſtle, but as often returned, leſt he ſhould be guilty of a conduct unworthy the regal character. Pompey having learnt, that Ariſtobulus had commanded his governors to obſerve ſuch orders only as were given under his own hand, inſiſted upon his writing to his officers, authoriſing them to ſurrender the caſtles and other places. Ariſtobulus judged it neceſſary to comply with this injunction: but the imperious conduct of Pompey ſo exaſperated him, that he immediately departed for Jeruſalem, in the full reſolution of commencing hoſtilities.

The brothers plead their cauſe before Pompey.

In order to deprive Ariſtobulus of all opportunity of making preparations for war, Pompey marched after him; and when he was near Jericho, he was animated to greater expedition, upon receiving information of the deceaſe of Mithridates. Jericho is the moſt fruitful province in Judea: it abounds with palm-trees, and is celebrated for producing the excellent balſam, which iſſues by drops from the plant, when inciſions have been made in the bark by means of ſharp ſtones. The morning after his arrival, Pompey left this province, and haſtened to Jeruſalem. Ariſtobulus was aſtoniſhed at the expedition, and alarmed at the appearance of Pompey, to whom he offered great ſums of money, and the ſurrender of his perſon and the city. This ſubmiſſion appeaſed in ſome degree the indignation of Pompey; but the other was not able to make good the conditions he had propoſed; for Gabinius being appointed to receive the money, the perſons who commanded in the town, in the name of Ariſtobulus, refuſed him admittance. This ſo greatly offended Pompey, that he detained Ariſtobulus a priſoner, and proceed to reconnoitre the fortifications, in order to determine where he could make an aſſault with the greateſt proſpect of ſucceſs. He found the walls of ſurpriſing ſtrength, and defended by a terrifying precipice; he judged it ſcarcely poſſible to ſubdue the city, and that, if the exploit ſhould be effected, the people might take refuge in the temple, which appeared to be abſolutely impregnable.

Ariſtobulus made a priſoner by Pompey.

At this time an inſurrection happened in the city between the two parties reſpectively attached to Ariſtobulus and Hyrcanus. The adherents of the former were for reſcuing their king by force of arms: the other party was equally ſtrenuous for admitting Pompey into the city, and a majority of the people, conſcious of the ſuperiority of the Romans, were friends to the latter meaſure. The partizans of Ariſtobulus took poſſeſſion of the temple, and cut away the bridge of communication with the city, reſolving to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. The other party admitted ſeveral Romans into the town, and gave them poſſeſſion of the royal palace. Hereupon, Pompey diſpatched a general officer, named Piſo, with a ſtrong detachment to take poſſeſſion of the palace. Finding that the Jews who had retired into the temple were abſolutely determined in their purpoſe, he entertained no further thoughts of a compromiſe, but made the neceſſary preparations for an aſſault; and he received every poſſible aſſiſtance from Hyrcanus and his adherents.

Pompey reſolved to attack the wall on the north ſide; and preparatory to this he ordered the ditch to be filled: the place was of ſuch ſurpriſing depth, and the Jews had ſo great an advantage of annoying the enemy from above, that the undertaking could ſcarcely have been accompliſhed, had not Pompey ordered his ſoldiers to employ themſelves in filling up the ditch only on the ſabbath-day, when the ſuperſtitious veneration of the Jews would not permit them to offer the leaſt interruption, or even to perform any kind of work, except what was indiſpenſably neceſſary for the immediate ſupport or defence of their lives. The ground being levelled, Pompey cauſed ſtrong towers to be erected thereon: and every neceſſary preparation being made, the aſſault was commenced with engines of war that had been brought from Tyre; the ſoldiers ſtationed in the towers continuing to annoy the Jews who defended the walls.

During the utmoſt extremity of danger, the Jews continued to offer up daily prayers and ſacrifices, and to perform every other religious ceremony with the regularity uſual in times of profound peace; and this inſtance of fortitude and reſolution proved a matter of great admiration to Pompey. The temple was taken by aſſault, after a ſiege of three months, during which time only one of the towers belonging to the Jews was loſt. The breach was firſt entered by Fauſtus Cornelius, the ſon of Sylla, who was followed by Furius and Fabius, two centurions, with the troops under their command. Such of the people as attempted to eſcape, or offered reſiſtance, were inſtantly put to death.

Several prieſts, who where occupied in the holy function, paid no regard to their perſonal ſafety, even when the ſwords of the enemy were pointed to their breaſts, but, yielded up their lives while exerciſing the duties of their profeſſion. The Jews attached to Pompey felt no compaſſion for thoſe who eſpouſed the cauſe of Ariſtobulus; and the latter, being driven to the utmoſt deſpair, threw themſelves down precipices, or ſet fire to ſuch materials as they could collect, and caſt themſelves into the flames. On this occaſion twelve thouſand Jews periſhed. No conſiderable number of Romans fell in the action; but many were wounded.

Twelve thouſand Jews periſh.

Amidſt the general calamities of the Jews, nothing ſo afflicted them as the unprecedented event of the holy of holies being expoſed to prophane eyes. To this place only the high-prieſt was to be admitted; but it was entered by Pompey and his attendants, who ſaw the candleſticks, lamps, tables for incenſe, and divers other veſſels of gold and ſilver, beſides a great quantity of curious perfumes, and other ſacred treaſure, to the value of two thouſand talents. Pompey would not permit any one of the articles dedicated to the Almighty to be touched; and on the day after the taking of the temple, he ordered that it ſhould be purified, and that the oblations and other ceremonies of religion ſhould be performed as uſual. In conſideration of the aſſiſtance he had received from Hyrcanus during the ſiege, Pompey appointed him high-prieſt. The humanity, juſtice, and moderation of the conqueror, obtained

The moderation of Pompey, who appoints Hyrcanus high-prieſt.

obtained him an high place in the eſteem of the people. A perſon who was both father-in-law and uncle to Ariſtobulus was among the number of priſoners. The promoters of the inſurrection, Pompey condemned to the loſs of their heads: but he conferred liberal rewards upon Cornelius Fauſtus, and others who had ſignalized themſelves in proſecuting the ſiege. He ſubjected Judea to a tribute; deprived the Jews of the cities they had gained poſſeſſion of in Cœle-Syria, and by annexing them to the juriſdiction of the Roman government, reduced the poſſeſſions of the Jews to their former limits. In favour to one of his freedmen, named Demetrius, a native of Gadara, he rebuilt that city which had been laid in ruins by the Jews. Hippion, Scythopolis, Pella, Samaria, Mariſſa, Azotus Jamnia, and Arethuſa, which were inland cities; and the coaſt towns of Gaza, Joppa, Dora, and that formerly called Straton's Tower, but afterwards rebuilt, and named Cæſarea, by Herod, he took from the Jews, and reſtored to their ancient inhabitants, at the ſame time annexing them to the province of Syria. He appointed Scaurus to the government of Judea, Cœle-Syria, and all the country of Egypt to the borders of the Euphrates, giving him likewiſe the command of two legions. Pompey now haſtened towards Rome by the way of Cilicia, taking with him Ariſtobulus, his two ſons, Alexander and Antigonus, and his two daughters, priſoners: but on the way Alexander effected an eſcape.

e modera- of Pom- , who ap- ts Hyr- s hg h- .

iſtobulus his fami- ſent priſon- to Rome.

CHAP. VI.

Aretas and Scaurus reconciled. After being defeated by Antipater, Alexander retreats to Alexandrion, and is purſued by Gabinius, who divides Judea into five juriſdictions. Ariſtobulus defeated by the Romans, and ſent to Rome in chains. Gabinius conquers Alexander, and plunders the temple.

See Ant. 1. 14 c. 9, 10, 11, 12. Scau- makes war upon the king of Ara- .

SCAURUS led an army into Arabia, and proceeded towards Petra; but his march was greatly impeded by a paſſage through a craggy and moſt difficult tract of country. Notwithſtanding his being greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, and having other diſadvantages to encounter, he laid the neighbourhood of Pella in a ſtate of devaſtation. Through the agency of Antipater he was, however, occaſionally ſupplied with the neceſſaries of life by Hyrcanus. Conſcious that a friendſhip ſubſiſted between Antipater and Aretas, the Arabian king, Scaurus applied to the former, urging him to propoſe terms of accommodation to Aretas. Antipater engaged in the commiſſion, and managed it with ſo much addreſs that Aretas paid three hundred talents to Scaurus, who in conſequence thereof declined a farther proſecution of the war.

Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, who had eſcaped from Pompey, having aſſembled a conſiderable number of men, was now committing devaſtations in Judea, and harraſſing Hyrcanus; he even entertained the hope of being able to ſubdue Jeruſalem, as the walls which Pompey had deſtroyed were not yet rebuilt. Gabinius, an experienced and brave commander, ſucceeded Scaurus, and marched againſt Alexander, who judging it neceſſary to take every precaution to oppoſe ſo formidable an adverſary, encreaſed his troops to ten thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe, and fortified Alexandrion, Hyrcanion, Macherus, and other places near the Arabian mountains. In the interim Gabinius diſpatched Mark Anthony with a body of Antipater's choſen troops; and he was to be joined by a conſiderable number of Jews under the command of Malichus and Pitholaus. Theſe detachments were followed by Gabinius, leading the main body of the army. Alexander finding the enemy was proceeding towards him with a force which he was by no means in condition to withſtand, judged it prudent to retreat. He was followed by Gabinius into the neighbourhood of Jeruſalem, where a battle took place, in which three thouſand of Alexander's followers were put to death, and a like number made priſoners. When Gabinus had arrived at the caſtle, he propoſed an indemnity to ſuch deſerters as would return to his army previous to the engagement: but upon their refuſal, he attacked and put many of them to death, and the remainder took refuge in the fort. On every former occaſion Mark Anthony had greatly ſignalized himſelf: but his conduct in this action exceeded every preceding inſtance of his valour. Leaving a ſufficient force to proſecute the ſiege, Gabinius proceeded to take a view of the ſeveral cities and towns of the province: he applied himſelf to the re-eſtabliſhment of good order in thoſe places which had eſcaped deſolation, and to rebuild thoſe that had been deſtroyed. Hence the people of Scythopolis, Samaria, Anthedon, Apollonia, Jamnia, Raphia, Mariſſa, Dora, Gadara, Azotus, and ſeveral other towns, joyfully returned to their former places of reſidence.

Alexander encounters Antipater, and loſes ſix thouſand men. He withdraws to Alexandrion, and Gabinius purſues him. An indemnity offered and rejected. The bravery of Mark Anthony.

Gabinus now returned, and continued the ſiege with additional vigour. Alexander deſpairing of ſucceſs in oppoſing ſo powerful an enemy, diſpatched ambaſſadors to ſupplicate pardon from Gabinius, and offer him poſſeſſion of Macherus, Hyrcanion, and Alexandrion. The propoſals being accepted, Gabinius reduced the latter place entirely to ruins, in compliance with the

Macherus, Hyrcanion and Alexandrion delivered up; and the laſt levelled with the ground.

the requeſt of Alexander's mother, who urged the deſtruction of the place, leſt it ſhould prove the cauſe of future hoſtilities. From a motive of tenderneſs and affection to her huſband and children, who were priſoners at Rome, ſhe availed herſelf of every opportunity to ingratiate the eſteem of Gabinius.

Gabinius gives Hyrcanus the charge of the temple.

Gabinius now conducted Hyrcanus to Jeruſalem, committing the holy temple to his care; and after appointing ſome of the moſt conſiderable Jews to offices in the civil adminiſtration, he divided Judea into the five following juriſdictions: Jeruſalem, Gadara, * Amathus, Jericho, and Sepphoris. The people deemed themſelves extremely happy in living under an ariſtocratical, inſtead of a monarchical government.

Ariſtobulous having eſcaped from Rome, and being joined by a great number of Jews, he made an attempt to repair Alexandrion: but upon learning that Gabinius had diſpatched an army in purſuit of him, under the command of Siſenna, Antony and Servilius, he retired to Macherus, and there diſmiſſed the uſeleſs part of his followers, retaining only eight thouſand men, among whom were a thouſand fugitive Jews that Pitholaus had brought from Jeruſalem.

Ariſtobulus defeated by the Romans.

Soon afterwards, the Roman army arrived, and an engagement taking place, Ariſtobulus and his adherents fought with aſtoniſhing bravery, but were at length compelled to yield to the ſuperiority of the enemy, with the loſs of five thouſand men. Two thouſand gained a hill, and made ſome further reſiſtance, though without any effect: and Ariſtobulus, with the other thouſand, cut a paſſage through the Roman army, and withdrew towards Macherus, which place he found in ruins. The Romans aſſaulted the caſtle, which was defended for two days with great bravery, but they at length gained a compleat victory, and ſent Ariſtobulus and his ſon Antigonus in bonds to Gabinius, who ordered them to be conducted to Rome. The Senate directed the father to be impriſoned, but permitted the ſon to return to Judea, in conſequence of Gabinius having informed them by letter, that when the caſtle was ſurrendered to him, he pledged himſelf to the wife of Ariſtobulus, that he would intercede in behalf of the young man.

Gabinius was ſupplied with corn, arms, money, and other neceſſaries for war, by Hyrcanus and Antipater; and they prevailed upon the Jews of Peluſium, who in a manner guarded the paſſage into Egypt, not to intercept his progreſs into that country.

At this time an inſurrection happened among the Jews. Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, having collected a conſiderable body of followers, made a reſolution to put every Roman who ſhould fall into his power to immediate death. Being ſenſible of his danger, and that the ſedition encreaſed, Gabinius employed his intereſt with Antipater to effect an accommodation. But Alexander, being naturally diſpoſed to martial exploits, and having an army of thirty thouſand men, rejected the propoſals. The armies joined battle in the neighbourhood of the mountain of Itabyr. The Romans obtained a compleat victory, and left ten thouſand of the enemy ſlain in the field. Alexander and his remaining troops eſcaped. After this victory, Gabinius, in compliance with the advice of Antipater, marched to Jeruſalem, in order to introduce a republican government. He afterwards led his forces againſt the Nabatheans, whom he ſubdued: and he diſmiſſed two Parthian deſerters, named Mithridates and Orſanes, circulating a report that they had effected an eſcape.

A victory the Roman and ten tho ſand of the enemy ſlain.

Craſſus ſucceeds Gabin us, and rifle the temple.

Craſſus ſucceeded Gabinius in the government of Syria; and to diſcharge the expence of the Parthian war, he deſpoiled the temple of the two thouſand talents which Pompey had generouſly declined to ſeize, and of all the gold contained in the building: and he then paſſed the Euphrates. The particulars of his defeat and death will come with more propriety hereafter.

Caſſius, governor of Syria.

Caſſius ſucceeded Craſſus in the government of Syria, and intercepted the Parthians, who were preparing to make an incurſion into that country. He led an army into Judea; ſubdued Tarichea, and took with him from the conquered town near three thouſand Jewiſh captives; and among them was Pitholaus, whom Antipater prevailed upon him to put to death, for having eſpouſed the cauſe of Ariſtobulus. Cypris†, the wife of Antipater, was an illuſtrious Arabian; ſhe bore to him the four following ſons: Phaſael, king Herod, Joſeph, and Pheroras; and a daughter called Salome. The liberal ſentiments and wiſe conduct of Antipater, obtained him an high reputation among the moſt eminent characters of his age, and the particular friendſhip of the Arabian king, to whom he committed the care of his children, when he engaged in the war againſt Ariſtobulus. Having concluded a truce with Alexander, Caſſius marched in order to occupy his former ſtation near the Euphrates, and repulſe the Parthians, in caſe of their attempting to make an incurſion.

CHAP. VII.

Ariſtobulous reſtored to freedom, and poiſoned by the friends of Pompey. Alexander dies. Alexandra

---

* Doris, Rufinus.

† In the Antiq. Cypron.

Alexandra married to Philippion. Peluſium beſieged. The Egyptians routed.

Ant. 9. 1. c. 13, 14,

POMPEY and the ſenate having quitted Rome in conſternation and terror, and croſſed the Ionian ſea, Cæſar was left to the abſolute government of the place; and he immediately reſtored Ariſtobulus to freedom, ſending him into Syria, attended by two companies of ſoldiers, firmly believing that the people would readily ſurrender him. But in a ſhort time after, Ariſtobulus was poiſoned by the friends of Pompey. His body was embalmed: but it remained ſome time unburied. However, Anthony cauſed it to be conveyed to Judea, and depoſited in the royal ſepulchre. The fate of Alexander was not more fortunate than that of his father. Pompey ſentenced him to death for his ſeditious practices, and in compliance with orders diſpatched to Scipio, the youth was beheaded at Antioch.

Ariſtobulus poiſoned.

Alexander beheaded.

Ptolemy, the ſon of Menneus, and prince of Chalcis upon Mount Libanus, diſpatched his ſon Philippion to Aſhalon, commiſſioning him to requeſt the widow of Ariſtobulus to ſend by him her ſon Antigonus and his ſiſters. Philippion eſpouſed Alexandra, the younger ſiſter; which conduct was ſo diſpleaſing to Menneus, that he cauſed the youth to be put to death; and ſoon after, he married his widow.

Upon the deceaſe of Pompey, Antipater endeavoured to ingratiate the eſteem of Cæſar. Mithridates, a Pergamenian, having meditated an irruption into Egypt, found his progreſs interrupted by a paſſage being denied his ſhips at Peluſium; and therefore he remained with his army at Aſkalon; and though a ſtranger, he had the addreſs to attach the Arabians to his intereſt, and to prevail upon about three thouſand Jews to take arms in his cauſe. He alſo gained the friendſhip of * Ptolemy of Libanus, and another perſon named Ptolemy, and Jamblicus, who being men of great conſideration, their example was adopted by great numbers of other Syrians. The power of Mithridates being greatly increaſed by the aſſiſtance he had received from Antipater, he led his army to Peluſium, and being oppoſed by the inhabitants, laid ſiege to the city. In this action Antipater acquired additional reputation; for a breach being made by the troops under his command, he firſt entered the town, being followed by his ſoldiers.

Mithridates takes Peluſium.

After the reduction of Peluſium, the Jews inhabiting the province of Egypt, called Onias, reſolved to oppoſe Mithridates: but Antipater prevailed upon them to decline the intention, and even to furniſh proviſions for the army. The example of the people of Onias was followed by thoſe of Memphis, who voluntarily ſurrendered to Mithridates. Having marched without interruption to Delta, Mithridates and Antipater encountered a body of Egyptians at a place called the Camp of the Jews. Mithridates commanded the right wing of the army, and Antipater the left. The former being in moſt imminent danger of a defeat, Antipater, having routed part of the enemy's army, haſtened along the bank of the river to the reſcue of his friend, many of whoſe purſuers he put to death, and chaced the reſt to their camp, which he rifled of a conſiderable booty. In this exploit Antipater loſt only eighty men: but eight hundred of Mithridates's party were ſlain; and it was beyond all expectation that he himſelf eſcaped. Mithridates diſpatched an expreſs to the emperor, acknowledging the important ſervices rendered him by Antipater.

He puts the Egyptians to the rout.

The war in Egypt being concluded, Cæſar returned into Syria; and he made Antipater a free citizen of Rome, allowing him all the privileges annexed to that character, and conferring upon him other ſignal honours; and as a farther inſtance of the ſincerity of his eſteem, he confirmed Hyrcanus, the friend of Antipater, in the pontifical dignity.

CHAP. VIII.

The friends of Pompey accuſed as the authors of the death of Ariſtobulus. Antipater appointed governor of Judea. Ezekias made a priſoner. The command of the troops in Syria and Samaria given to Herod. Sextus Cæſar murdered, and ſucceeded by Marcus.

ANTIGONUS appealed to Cæſar, repreſenting, that Ariſtobulus, his father, had been poiſoned through the contrivance of the friends of Pompey, accuſing Hyrcanus and Antipater of cauſing himſelf and his brethren to be driven from their native country. He aſſerted, that the ſervices they had rendered Pompey proceeded from fear, rather than a ſenſe of their duty, and was only meant to make ſome compenſation for their former attachment to Pompey. To obviate any effect from theſe reproaches, Antipater expoſed his wounds, as a teſtimony of his loyalty to Cæſar, declaring that Antigonus was deſerving death for inheriting the rebellious principles of his deceaſed father.

Having heard them both, Cæſar conferred the pontificate upon Hyrcanus, at the ſame time informing Antipater, that if he was deſirous of any particular commiſſion, it ſhould be granted him. Antipater ſubmitted himſelf wholly to the pleaſure

Cæſar appoints Hyrcanus high-prieſt, and Antipater governor of Judea.

---

* Or rather Tholomeus, of Libanus, Jamblichus, and Ptolemeus.

ſure of the emperor, who thereupon appointed him governor of Judea, at the ſame time granting him permiſſion to repair the walls of the city, which had been deſtroyed by Pompey. In teſtimony of the great ſervices performed by Antipater, Cæſar cauſed the decrees in his favour to be engraven on braſs, and placed in the capitol.

Having accompanied Cæſar to the frontiers of Syria, Antipater returned to Judea, and immediately undertook a general reparation of the walls. He viſited different parts of the province, informing the people that if they maintained a due obedience to Hyrcanus, they ſhould enjoy plenty and happineſs, but if they acted in any manner contrary to the public welfare, they ſhould find in him a rigid governor, and in Hyrcanus a cruel and unrelenting tyrant.

Antipater promotes Phaſael and Herod.

Antipater appointed Phaſael, his eldeſt ſon, who was captain of the guards, governor of Jeruſalem, and inveſted Herod, his ſecond ſon, with like authority over Galilee. Though very young, Herod afforded many proofs that he was equal to great undertakings. He made priſoner of Ezekias, the leader of a formidable band of robbers, and cauſed him and many of his followers to be put to death. This action gained him great reputation, and the Syrians in general celebrated him as the man to whom they were indebted for the ſecure enjoyment of their lives, liberties and poſſeſſions. The fame of the above exploit made him known to Sextus Cæſar, couſin to Cæſar the great, and ſerved to inſpire Phaſael with the generous idea of emulating the heroic conduct of his brother. In the exerciſe of his authority over the people of Jeruſalem, Phaſael was ſo moderate, and ſo ſtrick an obſerver of juſtice, that he gained univerſal approbation.

Hyrcanus bears an enmity to the brothers.

That exalted characters are never ſecure from the malignant ſhafts of envy, will be found exemplified in the following inſtance. Hyrcanus had long entertained a ſecret enmity againſt the ſons of Antipater, on account of their great and well-deſerved reputation; and his prejudice was encreaſed by the court-paraſites, to whom ſuperior virtue is ever an object of deteſtation. They inſinuated to him, that the brothers acted as ſovereigns rather than as ſubjects; declaring that Herod had committed a daring violation againſt the Jewiſh law, by putting ſeveral perſons to death, without the authority of Hyrcanus; and urging, that he ought to be rendered amenable to juſtice for the iniquities he had committed. Theſe ſuggeſtions ſo powerfully operated upon Hyrcanus, that he ordered Herod to be ſummoned to appear before the council. By the advice of his father, Herod ſecured his garriſons in Galilee, and proceeded to obey the mandate; and unwilling to give offence to Hyrcanus, he was attended only by ſuch a company of ſoldiers as he deemed neceſſary for his perſonal ſafety.

Sextus Cæſar having conceived a great eſteem for Herod, was much concerned, leſt, when in the power of his enemies, ſome fatal event might happen to him; and he therefore applied to Hyrcanus, requeſting that he would diſmiſs the complaint exhibited againſt the youth; and this deſire was readily granted. Herod did not conſider himſelf to be in a ſtate of perfect ſecurity, conceiving that Hyrcanus had done a violence to his inclination in acquitting him: he therefore determined not to appear, if he ſhould be a ſecond time ſummoned, and in this diſpoſition repaired to Sextus, who then reſided at Damaſcus. The enemies of Herod endeavoured to revive the enmity of Hyrcanus, by repreſenting that the youth had departed in anger, and had reſolved upon ſome deſperate means of revenge. Hyrcanus was greatly embarraſſed at the idea of having ſo formidable an enemy; but upon receiving information that Sextus had appointed Herod to the command of his troops in Syria and Samaria, his terror increaſed to ſo high a degree that he was continually tortured by the imagination that his adverſary was leading an army to depoſe him. In this conjecture he was not deceived; for, violently enraged at having been treated as a criminal, Herod collected an army, and proceeded towards Jeruſalem in a reſolution to deprive Hyrcanus of the government; and this enterprize he would indiſputably have effected, had he not yielded to the diſſuaſions of his father and brother.

Herod appointed general in Syria and Samaria.

At this time a civil war broke out among the Romans, in the neighbourhood of Apamia, during which, Cecilius Baſſus, with a view to gratify Pompey, treacherouſly cauſed Sextus Cæſar to be murdered, and then aſſumed the command of his troops. In revenge for the murder of Sextus, the officers of Julius Cæſar oppoſed Baſſus with their utmoſt power; and Antipater diſpatched conſiderable ſuccours to them under the command of his ſons. Marcus* was commanded to depart from Italy, in order to ſucceed to the government of the deceaſed Sextus.

Sextus Cæſar murdered.

CHAP IX.

The murder of Julius Cæſar. Cæſar and Antony in hoſtility with Bruтus and Caſſius. Herod promoted to the government of Syria. Antipater poiſoned. Herod revenges the death of his father.

See Ant. l. 14. c. 17, 18, 19, 20.

A More dreadful civil war than the former, at this time took place among the Romans.

---

* Caſaubon reads Murcus, Exercit. 1 An. DCCVI.

Romans.

lius Cæſar
urdered.

Romans. After reigning three years and ſeven months, Julius Cæſar was murdered in the capitol, by Brutus and Caſſius, and his death was followed by terrible diſſentions. The Romans were divided into three factions, and wholly regardleſs of the public welfare, they acted according to their reſpective paſſions and intereſts. Caſſius went into Syria, and took the command of the troops employed in beſieging Apamia. Having attached Marcus and Baſſus, and ſome diſaffected cohorts to his intereſt, he raiſed the ſiege, and laid the city under exceſſive contributions; and he levied a tax of ſeven hundred talents upon the Jews. Antipater nominated his ſons and his particular friends to provide for the tax upon the Jews, and on account of the preſſing exigencies of public affairs, he included Malichus, his declared enemy, in the commiſſion. The firſt ſum, amounting to a hundred talents, was collected by Herod in Galilee; and his expedition in the buſineſs obtained him great favour with Caſſius: but the delay of the other agents ſo exaſperated Caſſius, that he entirely demoliſhed Gophna, Ammaus, and two other cities of inferior conſideration. He then formed the deſign of puniſhing the neglect of Malichus with death; but his rage was appeaſed by Antipater, who preſented to him a hundred talents.

The ingrati-
ude of Ma-
chus.

Notwithſtanding Malichus had repeatedly acknowledged himſelf indebted to Antipater for the preſervation of his life, no ſooner had Caſſius departed, than he concerted means for the deſtruction of his generous benefactor, whom he conſidered as the only obſtacle to his ambitious views. Antipater knowing him to be a man of an artful and diſingenuous temper, entertained a ſuſpicion of his deſigns, and therefore paſſed the Jordan, and aſſembled a body of troops, that he might oppoſe his meaſures. Perceiving that Antipater ſuſpected his deſigns, Malichus employed every plauſible means for ingratiating himſelf into the eſteem of Phaſael and Herod, the former of whom was governor of Jeruſalem, and the latter captain of the guards. He had the addreſs to perſuade them that he had never entertained the thought of injuring their father, who they prevailed upon to conſent to a reconciliation; they alſo negotiated a compromiſe with Marcus, governor of Syria, who had reſolved to put Malichus to death on account of his factious diſpoſition.

Cæſar and Antony being now at war with Brutus and Caſſius, and the latter, as well as Marcus, being ſenſible of the great qualities of Herod, they nominated him to the government of Syria, and appointed him a ſtrong body guard of horſe and foot; promiſing that upon the concluſion of the war, they would promote him to the ſovereignty of the Jews. The merit of Herod, however, proved the cauſe of his father's death: for Malichus, in order to free himſelf from the dangers by which he ſuppoſed himſelf to be ſurrounded, bribed the butler of Hyrcanus to mix a poiſon with Antipater's drink. Hyrcanus was advanced to the throne through the means of Antipater, who was a man of conſummate wiſdom, and undaunted reſolution. The multitude were exaſperated to the higheſt degree againſt Malichus, ſuſpecting him to have procured the death of the man to whom he was under innumerable obligations: but they were ſomewhat appeaſed upon his making the moſt ſolemn declaration of his innocence. Malichus aſſembled a body of troops, and put himſelf into a condition of making defence, apprehending that Phaſael and Herod would ſeek revenge for the death of their father. Herod was deſirous of wreaking inſtant vengeance upon the abominable traitor: but his brother diſſuading him from that meaſure from an unwillingneſs to diſturb the public peace, they permitted him to make a defence, and aſſumed the appearance of being perfectly ſatisfied of his innocence. After this, they proceeded to the interment of their father, whoſe funeral ſolemnities were conducted with great magnificence.

Antipater poiſoned.

Herod now went to Samaria, in order to quell the diſturbances in that country: but on all ſolemn days he continued to repair to Jeruſalem, being attended by his guards. Malichus being under great apprehenſion from Herod, prevailed upon Hyrcanus to expoſtulate with him on the impropriety of being attended by ſtrangers, by whom the holy religion was prophaned, and the people interrupted in their devotional exerciſes. Herod treated the matter complained of by Hyrcanus with contempt, and by night gained admiſſion to the city. Malichus went to him, pretending to be exceſſively afflicted at the fate of Antipater; and Herod, diſſembling his rage, appeared to believe him ſincere. Herod wrote to Caſſius, demanding juſtice upon the murderer of his father; and as Caſſius already entertained an enmity againſt Malichus, he readily conſented that Herod ſhould ſeek revenge, beſides which, he diſpatched private orders to the commanders of his troops to grant him ſuch aſſiſtance as he ſhould require.

Herod demands juſtice upon Malichus.

Loadicea being ſubdued, great numbers of the principal people of the country came to compliment and make preſents to Herod, who conſidered this as a favourable opportunity for gratifying his revenge. Suſpecting his deſign, Malichus formed a plan for getting his ſon from Tyre, where he then was in quality of an hoſtage, and retiring with him into Judea: but reflecting on the deſperate ſituation of his affairs, and the little probability he had of ſucceeding in the attempt,

tempt, he ſuggeſted a more daring enterprize. He determined to take advantage of Caſſius being engaged in a war againſt Antony, and to ſpirit up the whole Jewiſh nation to an inſurrection againſt the Romans; imagining, that if he could accompliſh that project, to depoſe Hyrcanus, and gain poſſeſſion of his government, would be attended with little difficulty. Suſpecting ſome plan was meditating againſt him, Herod invited Hyrcanus and Malichus to ſupper, and upon their arrival, ſent away a domeſtic, under pretence of making preparations for the entertainment, having previouſly inſtructed him to deſire the tribunes to act according to the inſtructions they had received from Caſſius. Hereupon, the Roman commanders marched towards the ſea-ſide of the city, where they ſurrounded Malichus, and put him to death. The ſurprize of this event occaſioned Hyrcanus to faint, and it was not without much difficulty that he recovered. Hyrcanus having enquired by whom Malichus had been put to death, and being informed by one of the tribunes, that he had ſuffered by the order of Caſſius, he ſaid that he acknowledged Caſſius to be the preſerver of his life and kingdom, the deceaſed traitor having long aimed at the deſtruction of them both. Whether he ſpoke his real ſentiments, or made this declaration from fear, is a matter of uncertainty.

Malichus ſlain.

CHAP. X.

Felix declares war againſt the brothers. Marion, king of the Tyrians, and Antigonus march to oppoſe Herod. Phaſael and Herod appointed tetrarchs of Judea.

AFTER the departure of Caſſius from Syria, freſh troubles aroſe in Judea. In revenge for the death of Malichus, Felix commenced hoſtilities againſt Phaſael and Herod. The latter was at Damaſcus, with Fabius, the governor thereof, and rendered incapable by indiſpoſition to lead his troops to join his brother. However, Phaſael ſubdued the enemy with his own troops. He ſeverely reproached Hyrcanus for his ingratitude in eſpouſing the cauſe of Felix, and giving the brother of Malichus poſſeſſion of Maſſada, the ſtrongeſt fort in the country, beſides ſeveral other caſtles. Upon the recovery of Herod, he marched againſt the enemy, retook the places that had been conquered, and humbled Hyrcanus upon his knees: but ſought no further revenge for his treacherous behaviour. He recovered three caſtles that had been taken by Marion, king of the Tyrians, and drove that monarch out of Galilee. He ſhewed great lenity to the Tyrians whom he made priſoners, by ſparing their lives, and many of them he gratified with preſents; and by theſe means he made them friends to his cauſe. Marion, like the other perſons promoted by Caſſius, exerted an unbounded oppreſſion in Syria. Marion marched againſt Herod, taking with him, on account of their being enemies to his adverſary, Antigonus, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, and Fabius, whom Antigonus had bribed to engage in his ſervice: they were ſupplied with proviſions and other neceſſaries by Ptolemy, father-in-law to Antigonus.

Herod gai a victory.

The armies engaged upon the borders of Judea; and, having defeated the enemy, Herod returned in triumph to Jeruſalem, where he was received with the greateſt acclamations of joy; and thoſe perſons who had been enemies to him, on account of his relationſhip to Hyrcanus, now ſought to cultivate his friendſhip with the greateſt aſſiduity. Herod had been married to a woman of noble birth of his own country, named Doris, who bore to him Antipater; he afterwards eſpouſed Mariamne, daughter of Alexander, who was ſon of Ariſtobulus and Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus; and hence the relation of Herod to the king.

After the deceaſe of Caſſius at the battle of Philippi, Cæſar repaired into Italy, and Antony into Aſia; and ambaſſadors from divers places, and ſeveral of the principal people among the Jews, came to the latter at Bithynia, and exhibited violent complaints againſt the brothers, whom they accuſed of having uſurped, and arbitrarily exerciſed, the ſovereign authority, leaving Hyrcanus only the name of king. To obviate the effect of theſe accuſations, Herod preſented Antony with a very conſiderable ſum of money, which had ſo powerful an effect, that no regard was paid to the complainants. About the time when his amour commenced with Cleopatra, an hundred Jews, diſtinguiſhed by their rank and abilities, repaired in a body to Antony, who was then at Daphnis, in the ſuburbs of Antioch, in order to repeat the charges againſt the brothers; and the moſt eloquent ſpeakers among them were appointed to urge the complaints. The defence was undertaken by Meſſala and Hyrcanus, the latter being induced to plead on account of his relationſhip to the parties accuſed. Having heard the cauſe, Antony demanded of Hyrcanus, whom he conſidered as the moſt perfectly qualified for public adminiſtration: and he replied, that he knew no perſons ſo capable of government as Phaſael and Herod. This declaration proved highly ſatisfactory to Antony, who ſtill held in grateful recollection the friendly reception and liberal entertainment he had experienced from Antipater, whoſe ſons he now conſtituted tetrarchs of Judea, inveſting them with the full powers of adminiſtration.

The brothers appointed tetrarchs of Judea.

The deciſion in favour of the brothers occaſioned the deputies to expreſs great diſſatisfaction,

ſatisfaction, which proving highly offenſive to Antony, he ordered fifteen of them to priſon. He treated their companions with greater ſeverity, and then diſmiſſed them. This greatly exaſperated the diſaffected people of Jeruſalem, who now diſpatched a thouſand deputies to Antony, he being then at Tyre, making preparations for marching againſt Jeruſalem. Theſe deputies were ſo clamourous, that the magiſtrates of Tyre commanded them to depart, denouncing death againſt thoſe who ſhould refuſe to comply. While the deputies were walking before the port, Herod and Hyrcanus accoſted them in a friendly manner, expoſtulating with them on the dangerous tendency of their conduct, and exhorting them to moderation, leſt the ruin of themſelves and their whole nation ſhould enſue. Their inſolence encreaſing in proportion to the lenity ſhewn them, Antony was under the neceſſity of reducing them to obedience by the force of arms, and many of them were ſlain. Hyrcanus ordered the dead to be buried, and the wounded to be properly attended; but this humanity had no effect upon thoſe who eſcaped; for they continued their outrageous proceedings, till Antony was provoked to put the whole number of priſoners to death.

The priſoners
t to death.

CHAP. XI.

Lyſanias and Barzaphanes combine to depoſe Hyrcanus. Phaſael and Hyrcanus ſeized by the Parthians. Herod gains a victory. The Parthians commit great devaſtation in Jeruſalem and the adjacent country. Antigonus tears off the ears of Hyrcanus. Phaſael deſtroys himſelf. Herod declared king of the Jews.

See Ant. l.
14. c. 23,
24, 25, 26.
Lyſanias, the
ucceſſor of
Ptolemy, con-
racts with
Barzaphanes
o depoſe
Hyrcanus.

ABOUT two years after the above occurrences, when Syria was under the joint government of one of the principal of the Parthian nobility, named Barzaphanes, and Pacorus, the king's ſon, Lyſanias, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Ptolemy, engaged to deliver to them five hundred women, and a thouſand talents, in conſideration of their depoſing Hyrcanus, and advancing Antigonus to the throne. This propoſal being accepted, Pacorus marched by the ſea coaſt, while Barzaphanes proceeded through the inland part of the country. The people of Ptolemais and Sidon admitted Pacorus into their cities, but the Tyrians reſolutely oppoſed his entrance. He ſent forward a troop of cavalry, under the command of the king's butler, who, as well as the prince, was named Pacorus, with orders to reconnoitre the country, and, if occaſion ſhould require it, to reinforce Antigonus.

The Jews of Mount Carmel declared themſelves diſpoſed to aſſiſt Antigonus; and he commanded them to gain poſſeſſion of that part of the country called Dryma. They proceeded to an engagement, and put the enemy to flight; after which, upon their forces being conſiderably encreaſed, they marched to Jeruſalem, where they were courageouſly oppoſed by Hyrcanus and Phaſael, who, after an obſtinate battle in the market-place, obliged them to retreat into the temple. Hereupon, Herod ſtationed a guard of ſixty men in the adjacent buildings: but the populace, from their implacable enmity to the brothers, ſet fire to the houſes. This ſo greatly exaſperated Herod, that he made a ſudden and furious attack upon the enemy, great numbers of whom he put to the ſword; and not a day elapſed without a ſkirmiſh and ſlaughter. The time for celebrating the feſtival of the pentecoſt now approaching, ſuch multitudes aſſembled from all parts of the country, that the city, and even the avenues of the temple, were crouded with people, moſt of whom were provided with arms. Phaſael undertook to defend the walls, while Herod, with but a ſmall number of troops, guarded the palace. Herod attacked the people in the ſuburbs by ſurprize, and purſued the aſſault with ſo much vigour that many were ſlain, and the reſt put to flight, ſome taking refuge in the city, ſome in the temple, and others behind an adjacent rampart.

The Carmelite Jews join Antigonus; rout the enemy, and purſue them to Jeruſalem.

Hyrcanus and Phaſael force the enemy into the temple.

Matters being thus circumſtanced, Antigonus offered terms for a reconciliation, propoſing that Pacorus, the king's officer, already mentioned, ſhould be umpire. Phaſael accepted this propoſition, and admitted Pacorus with five hundred cavalry into the city. Concealing his deſign of favouring the cauſe of Antigonus, the treacherous Parthian, under pretext of ſuppreſſing the inſurrection, prevailed upon Phaſael to diſpatch an embaſſy to Barzaphanes with reſpect to the reſtoration of public tranquility.

Herod was averſe to this meaſure; and he repeatedly exhorted his brother againſt negociating with, or repoſing confidence in, the Barbarians, whoſe diſpoſition were treacherous by nature; and he urged his brother to put Pacorus to death, inſtead of ſuffering himſelf to be made the dupe to the ſcheme of deſtruction which the inſinuating traitor was preparing. To avoid the ſuſpicion of Phaſael, and give an appearance of plauſibility to his deſign, Pacorus with Hyrcanus followed Phaſael out of the city, leaving Herod with ſome of the people called freemen by the Barbarians.

Upon their arrival in Galilee, they found a diviſion prevailing among the people, who had taken up arms: but the governors, however, gave them the meeting. By flattery and preſents, Barzaphanes diſguiſed his treachery: but he had ſtationed a party of troops to ſurprize them on the road they were to purſue after parting with him. They were conducted to a place called Ecdipon, ſituated near the ſea, where they were informed that the Parthians had engaged to betray them, in conſequence of Antigonus having promiſed a gratuity of a thouſand talents, ſeveral women belonging to theſe unfortunate people, and others, amounting in the whole to five hundred; and that the treacherous deſign would not have been ſo long deferred, but for the apprehenſion, that it would be fruſtrated, if attempted to be carried into effect previous to Herod's arrival at Jeruſalem.

The particulars of the treachery explained.

A Syrian, named Saramalla, the moſt wealthy man of his country, having related the whole ſcheme of treachery to Ophelius, the latter communicated the particulars to Phaſael, urging him to purſue meaſures for his own ſafety: but, determined on no conſideration whatever, to abandon Hyrcanus, he ſought Barzaphanes, whom he upbraided with treachery, ſaying he was able to give a greater ſum for his life than Antigonus had offered for the kingdom. Upon this, with horrid imprecations, Barzaphanes denied the guilt imputed to him. Upon the departure of Barzaphanes, Phaſael and Hyrcanus were taken into cuſtody by the Parthian guards.

Phaſael and Hyrcanus ſeized by the Parthians.

According to the directions of Barzaphanes, Pacorus endeavoured to intice Herod out of the town, with a deſign of making him a priſoner, but this ſtratagem did not ſucceed. Mariamne, the daughter of Hyrcanus, one of the wiſeſt women of her time, diſſuaded him from expoſing himſelf to the treacherous deſigns of the Barbarians. Pacorus adviſed him to go forth, ſaying that on his way he would meet his letters, whereby he would be convinced, that his brother was not deprived of his liberty. The ſtratagems that Pacorus had put in practice having failed, he diviſed other means for getting Herod into his power: but in the interim, Herod and ſome of his relations eſcaped by night, and directed their courſe towards Idumea. Being purſued by the Parthians, Herod ſent forward his mother, brother, and Mariamne, to whom he was betrothed, and her younger brother, and made preparations for oppoſing the enemy. Having conquered the Parthians in ſeveral engagements, Herod retired to the caſtle of Maſſada. He was now more harraſſed by the Jews than he had lately been by the Parthians. They attacked him about ſixty furlongs from Jeruſalem, but he defeated them with great ſlaughter. In commemoration of this exploit, he conſtructed upon the ſpot where the battle was fought, a magnificient palace and a caſtle of great ſtrength; and after his own name, he called the place Herodion.

While Herod was at Threſſa* in Idumea, his brother Joſeph adviſed him to diſmiſs a part of his followers, whom he judged to be too numerous to be entertained in the caſtle of Maſſada, computing them to have increaſed to upwards of three thouſand.

Herod diſpoſed of his relations and the moſt valuable of his followers in the caſtle, which he furniſhed with ſuch proviſions as he deemed would be neceſſary in caſe of a ſiege; he appointed eight hundred men as a guard to the women; and leſſened the number of his followers, by diſmiſſing to Idumea ſuch as appeared likely to prove of the leaſt ſervice. He now proceeded towards a city in Arabia called Petra.

The Parthians at Jeruſalem forcibly entered the habitations of thoſe who were abſent, and made booty of all the property they could find; they even ſeized the treaſure of the royal palace: but they ſpared that of Hyrcanus, which did not amount to three hundred talents. The ſpoil obtained by the Barbarians was not ſo conſiderable as they expected; for Herod, being ſenſible of their rapacious diſpoſition, had the precaution to remove his moſt valuable treaſure to Idumea; and this example was followed by his companions. After the plunder of the town, the Parthians proceeded to an outrageous and bloody war in the adjacent countries. They laid the city of Mariſſa in ruins; declared Antigonus king and ſurrendered Phaſael and Hyrcanus to him in bonds. Antigonus tore off the ears of Hyrcanus with his teeth, in order to diſqualify him from aſſuming the high-prieſthood; no blemiſhed or maimed perſon being deemed eligible to the pontifical dignity.

The Part ans ravag Jeruſalem

Phaſael eſcaped the vengeance of Antigonus; for though his hands were confined, he found means to deprive himſelf of life, which he effected by daſhing his head againſt a ſtone: and by this reſolute act he proved that he was not of the degenerate ſpirit that Hyrcanus poſſeſſed, but worthy to be called the brother of Herod. A report is circulated of Phaſael, that he repented having offered violence to himſelf, and that Antigonus ſent to him a phyſician, who adminiſtered poiſon to his wounds. It is alſo related, that previous to his deceaſe, he was informed by a woman that his brother had eſcaped, whereupon he declared that he ſhould die happy, ſince he ſhould leave a friend who would revenge his injuries.

The Parthians were highly incenſed againſt Antigonus, on account of his incapacity to deliver the five hundred women, agreeable to the ſtipulation: the matter, however, was ſettled at Jeruſalem, and

---

* Al. Reſſa. *Vide* Antiq. l. 14. c. 25.

Hyrcanus was ſent in bonds to Parthia. Herod being ignorant of the death of his brother, judged that a ſum of money was the only means by which he could redeem him from the power of the avaricious Barbarians: and therefore he determined upon a journey in order to ſolicit pecuniary aſſiſtance from Malichus, the king of Arabia, reſting his expectations of ſucceſs on the ancient friendſhip between the Arabian and Antipater, his father, and propoſing to reſign the ſon of Phaſael, aged only ſeven years, as a ſecurity; and the Tyrians joined in the requeſt of Herod. But the unhappy fate of Phaſael diſappointed the laudable and generous intention of his brother; who conſidered his ſituation among the Parthians to be very precarious, ſince Malichus had commanded him to leave his dominions, on the pretext that the Parthians, by the agency of their ambaſſadors, had inſiſted on his being expelled the country: but the real cauſe of his ingratitude was a naturally illiberal and contracted mind, which would not permit him to acknowledge and acquit to the ſon the obligations he had incurred to the father.

Finding that the circumſtances which he expected would have procured him the friendſhip of the Parthians had made them his enemies, he delivered to the meſſengers an anſwer dictated by a troubled mind, and then marched towards Egypt. In the evening he joined a number of his people whom he had left in a caſtle on his way, and on the following day he arrived at Rinoculora, where he received the afflicting intelligence of his brother's death. After paying a tribute of grief to the memory of the deceaſed, he continued his march. Repenting of his unjuſtifiable conduct, Malichus diſpatched meſſengers to invite Herod to return: but this meaſure was taken too late to be attended with ſucceſs. Arriving at Peluſium, the officers made a difficulty of granting Herod a paſs: but upon his making application to the magiſtrates, they permitted him to purſue what courſe he approved; and he then embarked for Alexandria, where he was honourably and magnificently received by Cleopatra, who being on the point of engaging in an important enterprize, was deſirous of inveſting him with a military command. But Herod being determined to proceed to Rome, neither the queen's entreaties, the rigourous ſeaſon of the year, nor the danger of the ſeas, were ſufficient to change his purpoſe. Embarking for Pamphylia, the weather was ſo tempeſtuous, that it was deemed neceſſary to throw part of the cargo overboard: but after many dangers and difficulties, Herod landed at Rhodes, where he found public affairs in an embaraſſed ſituation, in conſequence of the war with Caſſius. He was generouſly received by his friends Saphinas and Ptolemy; and though he was diſtreſſed for money, he procured a ſtrong veſſel to convey him to Brunduſium, from whence he proceeded to Rome. On his arrival, he waited upon Antony, and informed him of his friends and relations being beſieged in the caſtle of Maſſada, ſaying he had undertaken a dangerous voyage, for the purpoſe of paying his reſpects to, and ſupplicating the countenance and aſſiſtance of the friend of his deceaſed father. From a regard to the memory of Antipater, and a conſciouſneſs of his own merits, Antony reſolved to promote Herod to the ſovereignty of the Jews, being in ſome degree influenced by his antipathy to Antigonus, whom he conſidered as a man of a ſeditious temper, and diſaffected to the Roman empire.

Herod nobly received by Cleopatra at Alexandria.

A ſenate being aſſembled, which Herod attended, Meſſala and Atratinus expatiated on the great merits of Antipater, and repreſented Antigonus as an enemy to the ſtate of Rome, in contempt of whoſe authority he had accepted the crown from the Parthians. Their diſcourſes greatly irritated the ſenate againſt Antigonus; and Antony declared that, on account of the war with the Parthians, it would be highly advantageous to appoint Herod king of the Jews. He was by an unanimous voice, promoted to the ſovereignty. Upon the riſing of the ſenate, the conſuls and other magiſtrates firſt departed, to give orders reſpecting ſacrifices, and depoſit the decrees of the ſenate in the capitol. Herod went forth, being attended by Cæſar on one ſide of him, and by Antony on the other. Herod concluded the firſt day of his reign at a ſuperb entertainment provided by Antony.

Herod declared king of the Jews by the ſenate.

CHAP. XII.

Antigonus beſieges Maſſada. Joppa ſubdued, and Maſſada beſieged by Herod, who takes poſſeſſion of Sepphoris, and plunders Jericho. A maſſacre upon the Jews by Macherus, Samoſata ſurrendered to Antony.

DURING the above occurrences at Rome, Antigonus beſieged the caſtle of Maſſada, where the people had ſufficient ſupplies of all neceſſaries except water, a deficiency of which article reduced them to ſuch extremity, that Joſeph, the brother of Herod, conceived a deſign of privately retreating from the caſtle by night, in company with two hundred of his moſt particular friends, in order to requeſt the aſſiſtance of Malichus, who he had learnt repented his injurious treatment to Herod. When on the point of deſerting to the caſtle, abundance of rain repleniſhed the reſervoirs, and veſſels, and rendered his removal no longer neceſſary. Being thus ſeaſonably relieved, the troops made frequent

Maſſada beſieged by Antigonus, and in extreme want of water.

frequent ſallies upon the beſiegers, whom they ſometimes openly oppoſed by day, and at other times ſurprized under favour of the night. In theſe actions they put a great number of the enemy to death; but they did not always eſcape without conſiderable injury to themſelves.

Ventidius ſeizes Antigonus's treaſure.

In the interim, a Roman general, named Ventidius, being diſpatched to chace the Parthians out of Syria, entered Judea, under the pretence of affording relief to Maſſada, but his real motive was to make booty of the treaſure of Antigonus. After having conſiderably enriched himſelf, he departed, leaving Silo with a ſmall party of troops, for the purpoſe of concealing his deception; for he was apprehenſive, that by withdrawing the whole army, he ſhould incur the charge of having acted from motives of avarice. Upon the departure of Ventidius, Antigonus expected to receive aſſiſtance from the Parthians, and he bribed Silo not to oppoſe his proceedings. Having repaired from Rome to Ptolemais, Herod collected a formidable army of his countrymen and ſtrangers. At the inſtance of Antony, Dellius prevailed upon Ventidius and Silo to join Herod; and being thus reinforced, he marched into Galilee to oppoſe Antigonus. While on his march, the number of his followers greatly increaſed. Having reſolved to attempt relieving his friends who were beſieged in Maſſada, he deemed it prudent firſt to reduce Joppa, ſince he could not ſafely proceed to Jeruſalem, while the force of that city remained behind him. Silo availed himſelf of an opportunity of deſerting the cauſe he had eſpouſed, and being purſued by the Jews in the intereſt of Antigonus, Herod engaged and defeated them, and brought Silo away.

Herod takes Joppa, and relieves Maſſada.

Having reduced Joppa, Herod marched to the relief of Maſſada, his army being ſtrengthened by the people of the country. The ſiege being raiſed, Herod, taking with him the moſt valuable effects he had left in the caſtle, proceeded to Jeruſalem, where many of Silo's followers, and the inhabitants of the city ſubmitted to his authority. He encamped on the weſt ſide of the town, where his troops were greatly annoyed by the darts and arrows of the enemy. By a herald he made proclamation round the walls, that he had no view in the preſent expedition, but the ſecurity of the city and the general welfare of the people, offering an amneſty to his enemies of every denomination. By continual noiſe and clamour, Antigonus endeavoured to prevent the declaration of the herald from being heard by the populace; and having given orders for battle, ſuch immenſe numbers of lances and arrows were diſcharged from the towers, that the aſſailants were compelled to retreat.

The corruption of Silo now became indiſputably evident from the complaints of the ſoldiers, who urged, that they had neither proviſions nor money; that the country had been ravaged by Antigonus; and that no winter quarters were provided for them. So threatening was the aſpect of affairs, that Herod deemed it prudent to apply to the people under the command of Silo, in order to prevent a revolt. He therefore reminded them, that he acted under the authority of a commiſſion from Cæſar, Antony and the ſenate, and promiſed, that if they would preſerve their patience only for one day, all their demands ſhould be ſatisfied. He ordered them abundant ſupplies of proviſions; ſo that Silo had no further cauſe of complaint.

To guard againſt a ſcarcity in future, Herod wrote for cattle, corn, oil, wine, and other neceſſaries to be conveyed from Samaria, which was then under his protection. Antigonus diſperſed troops in ambuſhes among the paſſes of the mountains, in order to intercept the conveyance of proviſions to Herod's army.

Herod take poſſeſſion of Sepphoris.

In the interim, Herod, with five companies of Romans, five of Jews, and a ſmall party of horſe, proceeded towards Jericho. He found the city entirely abandoned, and that five hundred of the inhabitants, with their wives and families, had ſought refuge among the mountains; and theſe people he took, but afterwards ſet them free. In this place the Roman army gained immenſe booty. After ſtationing a garriſon in the town, and appointing the Roman troops to winter-quarters in Idumea, Galilee, and Samaria, Herod returned. Antigonus, by means of preſents, prevailed upon Silo to permit a part of his army to be quartered in Lydda, imagining that he ſhould thereby obtain the favour of Antony. The Romans were now happy in the enjoyment of perfect tranquillity, and an abundance of all the neceſſaries of life. But Herod, naturally averſe to a ſtate of inactivity, diſpatched four hundred cavalry, and two thouſand infantry, under the command of his brother Joſeph, for the purpoſe of fortifying Idumea againſt any future attempt of Antigonus; and, after accompanying his mother and other relations, whom he had reſcued from the caſtle of Maſſada, to Samaria, he left them there in a ſtate of ſecurity, and proceeded to aſſault the garriſons that Antigonus poſſeſſed in the province of Galilee. He arrived at Sepphoris during a great fall of ſnow, and the place being immediately abandoned by the garriſon, he took poſſeſſion of it, and finding proviſions exceedingly plentiful, he remained there three months, to refreſh his troops after the fatigues of the winter. He now determined to exterminate the numerous banditti who took refuge in the caverns, and by frequent incurſions committed greater devaſtation than the country would have ſuſtained from an open war. He diſpatched a body of horſe and three companies of foot to Arbela, to which place, at the end of forty days, Herod went in perſon at the head of the remaining part of his army. The robbers collected themſelves into a body, and repoſing great confidence in the military qualifications of their chief, prepared for an engagement. The right wing of the banditti put the left wing of Herod's army to the rout: but at a ſeaſonable moment, he wheeled to the relief of the troops who were in danger, and the enemy were not able to withſtand his ſuperior power: he purſued them to the Jordan, and in their flight put great numbers to death; the reſt eſcaped by croſſing the river. Thus was Galilee delivered from the robbers, but as ſome few of the fraternity ſtill remained concealed in the caves, Herod did not quit the country immediately.

lilee de-
ered from
e free
ers.

That his ſoldiers might enjoy the firſt fruits of their ſervices, he ordered one hundred and fifty drachms to be given to each private man, and proportionate rewards to the officers: and he then ordered his troops into winter quarters. He commiſſioned Pheroras, his youngeſt brother, to furniſh proviſions, and ſurround Alexandrion with a wall; and his commands were punctually obeyed.

Ventidius ſent advices to Herod and Silo, purporting, that when the affairs of Judea ſhould no longer demand their attention, they ſhould aſſiſt Antony, who was then at Athens, in purſuing the war againſt the Parthians. Hereupon, Silo departed: but Herod reſolved not to quit the country till he had cleared it of the robbers who had taken refuge in the caverns of rocks, amidſt dangerous and terrifying precipices. The hiding places being only acceſſible by intricate windings, it was not without great difficulty that the king determined upon the means of executing his deſign. At length, he adopted the following expedient: he cauſed a number of ſtrong caſes of wood to be formed, and ſoldiers to be lowered in them from the top of the mountain to the entrances of the caves, where the robbers were concealed, and by means of their weapons and fire they put the thieves to death. Being deſirous that ſome of them ſhould be ſaved, Herod cauſed proclamation to be made, that mercy ſhould be extended to ſuch as would ſurrender: but they all rejected this offer, and even thoſe who were made priſoners, preferring death to the loſs of liberty, deſtroyed themſelves. The wife and ſeven ſons of an aged man implored his permiſſion to ſurrender themſelves; when ordering them to quit the cave, as they appeared he ſlew them. Herod, who beheld this ſhocking ſcene from an eminence, endeavoured by ſigns to divert the old man from his purpoſe, but without effect. After deſtroying his family, and exclaiming againſt the king, as being a man of an abject ſpirit, he threw himſelf down the precipice.

The robbers deſtroyed.

The deſperate act of an old man.

Leaving a body of troops under the command of Ptolemy for preventing a revolt, Herod returned to Samaria. With a force of three thouſand foot, armed with bucklers, and ſix hundred horſe, Herod marched againſt Antigonus. Taking advantage of Herod's abſence, the inſurgents of Galilee attacked Ptolemy by ſurpriſe, and put him to death. After committing great devaſtation in the country, they fled to the marſhy lands, and ſuch other places as they thought might afford them ſhelter. Herod led an army againſt theſe diſturbers of the public peace, and put great numbers of them to the ſword. Having relieved the caſtles they had blocked up, he impoſed a fine of a hundred talents upon the cities where the tumults had happened.

The death of Ptolemy.

The Parthians being defeated in a battle wherein Pacorus was ſlain, Antony commanded Ventidius to ſend a reinforcement to Herod of a thouſand horſe and two legions, under the command of Macherus. Antigonus wrote to Macherus an account of the indignities he had received from Herod, offering a large ſum of money, on condition of receiving his ſupport in the war: but being recommended to the oppoſite party, who he expected would prove the more liberal benefactor, the propoſal was declined. Contrary to the advice of Herod, Macherus determined to aſſume an appearance of friendſhip, and, under pretence of negociating the propoſed treaty, to reconnoitre the ſtate and diſpoſition of Antigonus's army. But Antigonus ſuſpecting his deſign, refuſed him admittance to the city, and annoyed him with darts and arrows. Macherus was ſo diſconcerted by this repulſe, that he retreated to Ammaus*, and in the violence of his rage put to death all the Jews he met with, regardleſs of their being either friends or enemies.

The cruelty of Macherus.

Theſe barbarous outrages ſo exaſperated Herod, that he determined to execute vengeance upon Macherus, and treat him as a profeſſed enemy: but upon reflection, he deemed it moſt expedient to ſubmit his complaint to Antony. Upon the departure of Herod, being conſcious of the enormity of his offence, Macherus haſtened after him, and by means of ſubmiſſions and the moſt earneſt entreaties effected a reconciliation. Herod, however, ſtill held his reſolution of going to Antony; and learning that he was then with a powerful army engaged in the ſiege of Samoſata, a city of conſiderable ſtrength, ſituated upon the Euphrates, he was induced to proceed with the greater expedition; for he conſidered this as a favourable opportunity of acquiring the friendſhip of Antony, by a ſeaſonable diſplay of his fidelity and reſolution. The reduction of the place was accelerated by the arrival of Herod, who committed a great ſlaughter upon the Barbarians; and a conſiderable portion of the ſpoil became his property. This inſtance of Herod's attachment and intrepidity ſerved greatly to increaſe the eſteem that Antony entertained towards him; and it acquired him great honour, and inſpired the hope that he ſhould be able firmly to eſtabliſh himſelf in his government.

---

* Al. Emmaus.

Samoſata taken by Antony and Herod.

CHAP. XIII.

Joſeph killed. Antigonus ſucceſsful. Soſius appointed governor of Syria. Herod miraculouſly delivered. Pappus beheaded. Jeruſalem ſubdued. Antigonus condemned to die.

DURING the above occurrences, an unhappy change took place in the affairs of Judea, which country Herod had left under the government of his brother Joſeph, with a ſtrict injunction againſt attempting any enterprize againſt Antigonus; for on account of the former conduct of Macherus, he entertained doubts of his fidelity, and was unwilling to afford him an opportunity of betraying Joſeph. When his brother had departed, however, Joſeph, regardleſs of the orders he had received, marched his own troops, and five companies of horſe, provided by Macherus, towards Jericho, in order to carry away the corn, which had then arrived to maturity. He encamped on the mountains, where he was attacked by the enemy, who having greatly the advantage in point of ſituation, cut off the five companies of Roman cavalry, lately raiſed in Syria, there being among them no veteran troops to make amends for their deficiency in point of diſcipline, ſkill and experience. In this action Joſeph was ſlain by Pappus. He was a man of undaunted bravery, and eminent for his military qualifications.

Joſeph, the brother of Herod killed.

Not ſatisfied with victory, the brutality of Antigonus's temper urged him to inſult the body with blows, and to ſever the head of the deceaſed Joſeph, notwithſtanding Pheroras offered fifty talents in conſideration of the corps of the deceaſed being ſuffered to remain entire. The ſucceſs of Antigonus produced a great change in the affairs of Galilee. The adherents to Antigonus drowned the moſt conſiderable of the Herodians in the lake. There was alſo a great revolution in Idumea, where Macherus rebuilt the walls, and fortified the caſtle of Gath.

Upon the reduction of Samoſata, Antony nominated Soſius to the government of Syria, commanding him to ſupport Herod in the war againſt Antigonus. Soſius diſpatched forward two companies to join Herod in Judea, and followed with the reſt of his troops.

Soſias appointed governor of Syria.

While at Daphne, in the ſuburbs of Antioch, Herod had a dream, which he underſtood as foreboding the death of his brother. Being ſtrongly affected by the viſion, he leaped from his bed, at which inſtant meſſengers arrived with an account of the death of Joſeph. The violence of his grief having abated, the king loſt not an inſtant in ſeeking revenge upon the enemy. Attended by one Roman cohort, he arrived at Mount Libanus, and thence taking eight hundred of the inhabitants, departed by night, directing his march towards Galilee. Furiouſly aſſaulting the enemy, he put them to flight, and obliged them to retire into a caſtle which they had quitted the preceding day. This place he aſſaulted: but on the approach of winter was under the neceſſity of drawing off his forces, and ſheltering them in an adjacent village. In a few days Herod was reinforced by a company ſent by Antony; and the arrival of this ſuccour threw the garriſon into ſuch conſternation that, under favour of the night, they eſcaped from the caſtle.

Burning with impatience to revenge the death of Joſeph, Herod haſtened to Jericho, where he was preſerved in ſo miraculous a manner, that he muſt appear to have been under the peculiar care of providence. Having given a ſplendid ſupper to a number of perſons of diſtinction, the company had no ſooner retired than the king quitted the apartment where the entertainment had been held, at which inſtant the roof fell in. Deeming this circumſtance a cautionary preſage, he marched away early the next morning. About ſix thouſand of the enemy having deſcended from the mountains, they engaged in a ſkirmiſh with Herod's van-guard: but dreading a cloſe encounter with the Romans, they ventured only to aſſail them at a diſtance with ſtones and arrows; and by one of the latter, which was diſcharged at random, Herod received a wound in his ſide.

Herod's wonderful eſcape.

Antigonus diſpatched a body of troops under the command of Pappus, his intimate friend, in order to ſubdue Macherus.

In the interim, Herod conquered five towns, committed great devaſtation in the enemy's country, and put two thouſand of the inhabitants to death; after which he returned to his army, which was encamped adjacent to the village of Cana. He was daily joined by great numbers of Jews from Jericho and other parts; many being influenced by a reſpect to Herod, others by an averſion to Antigonus, and ſome merely by the love of change. Herod was exceedingly anxious to proceed to battle; and the adverſe army marched againſt him with great reſolution; and ſuch as were not oppoſed to the troops under the conduct of Herod, made a bold reſiſtance; but wherever he engaged, the enemy were made fatally ſenſible of his great ſuperiority, to ſuch extraordinary activity and courage was he animated by the thirſt of vengeance for the death of his brother. Where Herod obſerved the enemy in a body, he broke in upon them with ſurprizing fury, threw them into diſorder, and conſtantly put them to the rout. Pappus's army was thrown into the moſt extreme confuſion; great numbers ſought refuge in the town they had before quitted, where being purſued by Herod, the buildings were inſtantly filled, and the roofs of them covered by the fugitives: the houſes were deſtroyed, and thoſe who eſcaped meeting their fate under the ruins were put to death by the ſword. The ſlaughter was ſo great, that it was with much difficulty the victors were able to march over the heaps of dead bodies that covered all the ſtreets and avenues of the place. On this occaſion the people of the country experienced feelings terrible beyond all deſcription. Elated by this ſucceſs, Herod would have led his victorious troops immediately to Jeruſalem, had not that expedition been rendered impracticable by the rigour of the winter ſeaſon; which was the only obſtacle to his obtaining a compleat conqueſt, and effectually ruining Antigonus, who was at that time actually making preparations for abandoning the capital of the kingdom.

In the evening, Herod diſmiſſed his people in order to recruit their ſtrength and ſpirits after the fatigue of the battle; and the king retired to refreſh himſelf by bathing, attended only by one domeſtic. In his way to the bath, he was met by three ſoldiers following each other, with drawn ſwords in their hands, who, upon perceiving the king, fled in the utmoſt conſternation from the houſe where they had taken ſhelter. Happily the king was not moleſted by theſe people, whoſe whole attention was engroſſed upon preſerving their own lives, which they effected, there being no perſons near to prevent their eſcape. On the following day Herod cauſed the head of Pappus, Antigonus's general, by whom Joſeph had been ſlain, to be ſtruck off; and he ſent the head to Pheroras, with a view to afford him ſome degree of conſolation for the common loſs they had ſuſtained in the death of their brother.

The head of Pappus ſtruck off.

Upon the return of ſpring, Herod marched to Jeruſalem, and deemed it expedient to aſſault the place in that quarter where Ptolemy had formerly made a ſucceſsful attempt. This ſiege was commenced in the third year after he had been proclaimed king at Rome. He aſſigned the officers their reſpective ſtations and duties; nominated each man to a poſt in the ſuburbs; ordered three ramparts to be raiſed, and towers to be erected thereon. Having given the neceſſary commiſſions to perſons in whoſe integrity and diligence he could ſafely confide, Herod repaired to Samaria, in order to eſpouſe Mariamne, daughter of Ariſtobulus, the ſon of Alexander, to whom he had been ſome time contracted; and on this occaſion he evinced his contempt of his enemies, by proſecuting the ſiege of the city and a matrimonial negotiation at the ſame time.

Jeruſalem beſieged by Herod.

After his marriage with Mariamne, Herod returned to Jeruſalem with conſiderable reinforcements. Upon a general muſter the army was found to conſiſt of eleven regiments, and ſix hundred horſe, excluſive of a conſiderable body of Syrian auxiliaries. The aſſault was made upon the northern quarter of the town. Herod founded his right upon the decree of the Roman ſenate, conſtituting him king: and Soſius urged that he was authoriſed by the commiſſion of Antony to ſupport Herod in the war.

Herod married to Mariamne.

The Jews in the city were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation; and in the mean time the military were employed in counteracting the operation of the aſſailants. Herod ſtationed ambuſhes to ſurpriſe the people who were ravaging the country, and cauſed proviſions to be brought from diſtant parts for the ſervice of his army. With unabating fortitude the Jews maintained their defence; but it muſt be acknowledged, that the Romans ſurpaſſed them in military ſkill. By mining, an art in which they excelled, and by ſurpriſes, they frequently put the aſſailants to diſadvantage, when it was little expected.

After Herod had proſecuted the ſiege for the ſpace of nine months, a breach was made; and a ſelect party of Herod's army, ſeconded by ſome of the Centurions under the command of Soſius, mounted the wall, and effected an entrance into the city. They ſurrounded the temple; and in the mean time the reſt of the army arriving, a terrible maſſacre enſued: no reſpect was paid either to ſex or age, nor were even the lives ſpared of thoſe who ſought refuge in the holy temple. So great was the ſlaughter, that all the ſtreets and buildings were encumbered with the mangled carcaſſes of the ſlain. On the penalty of forfeiting their claim to allegiance, Herod enjoined his people to repreſs their rage; but they were ſo irritated

A great ſlaughter.

by the hardſhips they had endured in the courſe of the ſiege, that they continued the ſlaughter, and death triumphed in all his horrors.

The conduct of Antigonus was unworthy his exalted ſtation: he deſcended from the tower of Baris, and meanly caſt himſelf at the feet of Soſius, who, while he remained in that diſgraceful poſture, upbraided him by ſaying that, inſtead of Antigonus, he ſhould in future be called Antigona; notwithſtanding the effeminacy of his behaviour, however, he was not treated as a woman, but put in chains and retained a priſoner.

Though Herod had gained a compleat victory, he had ſtill great difficulties to encounter; for from a curioſity to ſee the things dedicated to God, the foreign auxiliaries violently crouded into the temple; and as entreaties and menaces proved ineffectual, he was under the neceſſity of uſing force to repreſs their inſolence; for he deemed it neceſſary to diſappoint their deſigns, ſince if conqueſt was to prove the cauſe of the ſacred privacies being expoſed to common view, it would be a more unhappy event than a defeat.

Herod being reſolved that the city ſhould not be plundered, informed Soſius that, if the treaſure was ſeized and the town depopulated, he ſhould be the ſovereign of a deſart; and that he would not purchaſe the government of the univerſe at the expence of ſacrificing the lives of his ſubjects. Soſius replied, that after what the troops had undergone, they would naturally expect ſome part of the pillage. Herod admitted the force of Soſius's plea, and declared that every man ſhould be duly recompenſed out of his own private fortune. According to his promiſe, the king rewarded the private ſoldiers, and the officers, in proportion to their reſpective ſtations and deſerts; and he preſented Soſius with gifts worthy the regal character: in ſhort, the liberality and munificence which he diſplayed on this occaſion afforded univerſal ſatisfaction. Having dedicated a crown of gold to the Almighty, the Roman general departed from Jeruſalem, taking with him Antigonus in bonds, in order to deliver him up to Antony. Even to his laſt moments, Antigonus flattered himſelf with the hopes of preſerving his life: but his expectations were diſappointed; for he was ſentenced to the loſs of his head.

Antigonus ſentenced to loſe his head.

The conqueſt of Jeruſalem having eſtabliſhed Herod in the ſovereignty of Judea, he diſtinguiſhed thoſe who had eſpouſed his intereſts from the friends of Antigonus; he treated the former with great honour and reſpect, and cauſed great numbers of the others to be put to death. Being deficient of ready money, he ſent articles of value to Antony and other particular friends: but he was not able by theſe means to eſtabliſh himſelf in a ſtate of ſecurity; for Antony had conceived ſo violent a paſſion for Cleopatra, that he had not power to deny her moſt unreaſonable requeſts. This ambitious princeſs had exerciſed her cruelty ſo extenſively among her kindred, that not one now remained: and her unbounded avarice prompted her to direct her vengeance againſt ſtrangers. As the means of poſſeſſing herſelf of their wealth, ſhe calumniated the moſt reſpectable people, and prevailed upon Antony to put them to death: to gratify her extravagant views, ſhe meditated the deſtruction of the Jews and Arabians, and proceeded ſo far as to ſolicit Antony to deſtroy Herod and Malichus, the king of thoſe people. Antony pretended that he would comply: but to take away the lives of two virtuous princes, of whoſe conduct he had not the leaſt cauſe of complaint, appeared to be an act of ſo heinous a nature, that he could not reflect upon it without horror. However, he ſo far yielded to her interceſſions as to diſcontinue his friendſhip towards them, and to deprive them of a conſiderable part of their territories, particularly the lands of Jerricho, and, excepting Tyre and Sidon, all the cities upon the river Eleutherus, which he preſented to Cleopatra. When he was engaged in an expedition againſt the Parthians, ſhe accompanied him as far as the Euphrates, whence, by the way of Apamia and Damaſcus, ſhe proceeded into Judea.

Cleopatr meditates ruin of th Jews and Arabians.

Notwithſtanding ſhe had already received very conſiderable ſums from Herod, the avarice of Cleopatra was ſtill unſatisfied; and ſhe exacted from him the annual ſum of two hundred talents iſſuing out of the revenues of Judea; and, behaving to her with the utmoſt deference and reſpect, he conducted her to Peluſium. In a ſhort time, Anthony returned from the Parthian war, bringing with him Artabazes *, the ſon of Tigranes, his priſoner, whom, together with the great booty he had acquired in the expedition, he preſented to Cleopatra.

CHAP. XIV.

Cleopatra diverts Herod from aſſiſting Antony. After defeating the Syrians, Herod is routed by the Arabians. A dreadful earthquake. Several Jewiſh ambaſſadors put to death. Herod defeats the Arabians, who elect him their protector.

Ant. l. 15. 6, 7, 8.

HAVING recovered Hyrcania † from the ſiſter of Antigonus, and his kingdom being in perfect tranquility, Herod reſolved to join Antony in proſecuting the

---

* Al. Artabaſdes. † Al. Hyrcanion.

war

raft and chery of patra.

d defeats Syrians, is routed elf after- by the bians.

war with Auguſtus. But Cleopatra prevailed upon Antony to engage Herod in the Parthian war, flattering herſelf that if he proved victorious, ſhe ſhould gain the ſovereignty of Arabia, and that of Judea, if he was defeated. Having collected a numerous body of horſe, Herod encountered and defeated the Syrians in the neighbourhood of Dioſpolis. Soon after this defeat, the Arabians encamped an immenſe army at Canatha*, in Cœle-Syria, in order to wait the arrival of Herod; who, upon obſerving their great ſtrength, deemed a more than uſual precaution to be neceſſary; and therefore he commanded his camp to be encloſed with a wall. Their late victory had animated Herod's troops to ſuch impatience for battle that they could not be perſuaded to reſtrain their impetuoſity during the time that would have been occupied in erecting the wall. The armies joined battle, and on the firſt aſſault the Arabians were put to flight: but an officer in Cleopatra's ſervice, named Athenion, who had been long an inveterate enemy to Herod, leading a body of Canathenes to the relief of the fugitives, they reſumed their courage, and returned to the charge, routed the Herodians, purſued them through woods and other places of difficult paſſage, and put great numbers of them to death. Some of Herod's people eſcaped to a neighbouring village called Ormiza, where they were ſurrounded by the enemy, who alſo took poſſeſſion of the camp, and made priſoners of the men therein. In a ſhort time Herod arrived with reinforcements, but the injury being already ſuſtained, his preſence was of no avail.

The diſobedience of Herod's troops was the only cauſe of their defeat: for had not they precipitately urged to an engagement, Athenion would have had no opportunity of relieving the Arabians. Herod made repeated incurſions and ſurpriſes upon the Arabians, and by many ſmall victories gained ample compenſation for the capital defeat his army had ſuſtained.

A prodigious rthquake in Judea.

everal Jew- h ambaſſa- ors put to death.

At the beginning of ſpring, in the ſeventh year of Herod's reign, during the height of the war at Actium, his ſucceſſes were interrupted by a moſt dreadful earthquake, which ſwallowed up thirty thouſand people, and cattle innumerable; the army, that was then encamped in the field, eſcaped this judical calamity, which, though ſufficiently terrible in itſelf, was magnified by report; and the Arabians, imagining Judea to be utterly ruined, cheriſhed the flattering idea that they ſhould without difficulty, be able to gain poſſeſſion of the country, whither they marched, after having put to death the ambaſſadors ſent to them by the Jews.

Obſerving the ſpirits of his people to be greatly oppreſſed, Herod addreſſed to them a diſcourſe calculated to revive their courage and fortitude, and finding it attended with the deſired ſucceſs, he croſſed the Jordan, and encamped his army at Philadelphia, at no great diſtance from the ſtation of the enemy. Between the armies was a caſtle, of which the contending parties were equally deſirous of gaining poſſeſſion. A party of the Arabians having attempted to gain this poſt, they were repulſed by the Herodians, who afterwards gained poſſeſſion of the hill. Herod daily arranged his men in order of battle, and purſued every means he could ſuggeſt to provoke the enemy to an engagement. The Arabians were moſt numerous, but the Jews were greatly ſuperior in point of bravery. A general conſternation prevailed in the Arabian army, and Altemus, their general was particularly alarmed. All his endeavours to draw the enemy out to battle proving ineffectual, Herod attacked them in their intrenchments, and threw them into the utmoſt confuſion. During the battle the ſlaughter was not great; but Herod proving victorious, great numbers of the enemy were ſlain in the purſuit, and others being trampled to death by their own people, the loſs of men amounted to five thouſand, and the reſt were driven into the camp, where they were ſoon ſurrounded and beſieged by Herod. Being in great diſtreſs from a want of water, they ſent ambaſſadors to offer Herod fifty talents, on condition of his putting a period to the war: but he treated the ambaſſadors with the utmoſt contempt, not condeſcending to hear the terms they were commiſſioned to propoſe. Their thirſt, at length, became ſo intolerable, that in the ſpace of five days, four thouſand of them ſurrendered to the Jews, and they were put into bonds: and on the ſixth day, in the extremity of deſpair, the reſt urged the Jews to an encounter, in which ſeven thouſand of the Arabians were ſlain. Thus was Herod's revenge gratified: and his adverſaries were ſo effectually humbled, that they ſupplicated him to become their protector.

Herod gains a victory over the Arabians, who petition for his protection.

CHAP. XV.

Cæſar's generoſity to Herod, who is confirmed in his government. He is appointed governor of Syria. Character of Herod.

Antony defeated at Actium.

THE joy conſequent on Herod's ſucceſs was greatly abated by his receiving intelligence of the defeat of Antony at Actium: but the cauſe of his apprehenſion was not ſo deſperate as he imagined; for Cæſar could not entertain the idea that Antony would be entirely ruined while Herod remained attached to his intereſt. While affairs were in this ſituation, Herod went to Rhodes, and, being in the habit of a private man, addreſſed himſelf to Cæſar, ſaying he was indebted to Antony for his advancement to the regal dignity, and would have manifeſted his gratitude to that generous benefactor, by joining him at Actium, but that he was engaged in war with the Arabians; that though unable to attend him in perſon, and ſo effectually to ſupply him with men and arms as he wiſhed, he had given him advice which, had it been purſued, would have more eſſentially operated to his advantage; for he had ſtrongly urged him to abandon Cleopatra, adding, that while his connection with that queen continued, he would be in conſtant danger. He ſaid he entertained a ſincere and ardent friendſhip for Antony, whoſe recent misfortune had induced him to relinquiſh the dignities and ſplendors of royalty; further ſaying, that only as an honeſt man, and one faithfully attacked to the intereſt of Cæſar, he then formed pretentions to his favour and friendſhip. Hereupon, Cæſar deſired him to continue in the enjoyment of the ſovereignty, the powers of which he had heretofore adminiſtered with ſo much honour to himſelf, and advantage to his ſubjects; adding, that his friendſhip would compenſate him for his unhappineſs on account of the diſcomfiture of Antony. Cæſar enjoined Herod to rely on the ſincerity of his profeſſions of friendſhip, and, having placed the crown on his head, confirmed him in the ſovereign authority.

---

* Cana, Antiq. l. 15. c. 6.

Herod confirmed in his government.

Having made valuable preſents to the emperor, Herod ſolicited pardon for one of his friends, named Alexander: but being highly exaſperated againſt the man, Cæſar ſaid that his offences were of too atrocious a nature to be excuſed.

While Cæſar was paſſing through Syria towards Egypt, Herod entertained him and his whole army at Ptolemais with the greateſt magnificience that can be conceived. While the emperor was reviewing his troops, he cauſed Herod to ride in company with him. At Peluſium and other places where water was ſcarce, Herod provided ample ſupplies of that element; and his unbounded generoſity was highly extolled by Cæſar.

Upon his arrival in Egypt, after the deceaſe of Antony and Cleopatra, the emperor preſented to Herod four hundred Gauls, who had ſerved in the capacity of guards to the late queen, and annexed to his kingdom, that part of Judea which Antony had aſſigned to her, compriſing Gadara, Hippon, Samaria, and the maritime cities of Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and the tower of Straton. He alſo extended his juriſdiction to the provinces of Trachon, Batanea, and Auranitis, and appointed him governor of Syria. A man named Zenodorus, who inhabited a houſe hired of Liſanias, was accuſtomed to ſend people from Trachon to commit depredations in Damaſcus. The people of that country repreſented to Varus, then governor of Syria, the oppreſſions they endured, ſupplicating redreſs, and urging that he would report their caſe to Cæſar. Varus complied, and being commiſſioned by the emperor to ſuppreſs the robbers, he extirminated them the land, and confiſcated part of the eſtate of Zenodorus, which Cæſar beſtowed upon Herod.

Herod appointed governor of Syria.

Ten years afterwards, Auguſtus came again into Syria, when he enjoined the governors to conſult Herod in all affairs of importance: and Zenodorus being now deceaſed, he gave to Herod all the land between Trachon and Gallilee. Herod valued himſelf, above all other circumſtances, on that of poſſeſſing the next place to Agrippa in the eſteem of Cæſar, and being reſpected by Agrippa above all men, excepting Cæſar. Herod was bleſſed with the enjoyment of every advantage that could contribute to the happineſs of life; and his mind became exalted in proportion to the advancement of his fortune.

CHAP. XVI.

Herod repairs the temple, and conſtructs ſeveral ſuperb edifices. Straton's tower repaired, and a magnificent palace conſtructed. Deſcription of a port between Joppa and Dora. Herod's bountiful diſpoſition.

IN the fifteenth year of his ſovereignty over the Jews, Herod, at an immenſe expence, rebuilt the temple in a ſtyle of the utmoſt magnificence that can be conceived. The building was ſurrounded with ſuperb galleries, raiſed from the foundation, and adjoining to the northern ſide a caſtle was conſtructed, which in point of grandeur and elegance was not inferior even to the royal palace; and, in honour of Anthony, Herod named this place Antonia. He enlarged the incloſure about the temple to double its former extent. Upon an eminence that commanded a view of the city, he erected too ſpacious buildings, and they were executed in ſo rich and ſplendid a manner, that there was no temple deſerving to be put in competition with them. In honour to his illuſtrious friends, Cæſar and Agrippa, he called theſe ſtructures Cæſarion and Agrippion.

The Templ rebuilt by Herod.

It was not to particular buildings that Herod confined himſelf; for, to immortalize the memory of his two noble friends, he dedicated whole cities to them: for inſtance, in Samaria he built the beautiful city called Sebaſte, the circumference of which was twenty furlongs; and it was incloſed with a wall. This city was peopled by ſix thouſand inhabitants, who enjoyed peculiar privileges, and had granted to them exceeding fine tracts of lands. Beſides other fine buildings, Herod erected a ſuberb temple, and formed an area about it of three furlongs and an half: this temple he dedicated to Cæſar.

ſar's
nty to
rod.

After theſe great works, Cæſar made conſiderable additions to the territories of Herod, who in gratitude to his patron, conſtructed a temple of white marble at Panium, near the head of the Jordan, and dedicated it to the emperor. In the neighbourhood of Panium is a mountain of prodigious height, encompaſſed with crags and rocks, and a valley of vaſt depth; at the bottom is a vaſt cavern, worn by the continual fall of waters, and it is ſo deep, that its bottom cannot be found; at the foot of this cavern iſſue a number of bubbling ſprings, and tradition report them to be the ſource of the Jordan. Between the caſtle of Cypros and the old palaces in Jericho he conſtructed ſeveral ſpacious buildings, and named them in honour of Aguſtus and Agrippa. In ſhort, Herod erected ſome memorial of the fame of the emperor in every part of his dominions.

raton's
wer re-
ired.

Upon viſiting his maritime cities, Herod obſerved that time had made great ravages in the place called Straton's tower, and judging that city, from its ſituation and other advantages, to be worthy of particular notice, he cauſed the neceſſary reparations to be made with a beautiful kind of white ſtone; and in this place he conſtructed a magnificient palace.

The city called Straton's tower is ſituated between Dora and Joppa, on the coaſt of the ſea, which is extremely dangerous to navigators, and particularly ſo when a ſouth-weſt wind prevails even in a ſmall degree; for it then points directly towards the rocks, and the water breaking back in eddies, a great agitation is occaſioned. This enterpriſing ſovereign ſurmounted very great natural diſadvantages, and formed a port where the largeſt veſſels could ride in perfect ſecurity during the moſt tempeſtuous weather. This port was more extenſive than the Pyreneum. Preparatory to forming the port, Herod ordered a great number of ſtones to be caſt into the ſea at twenty fathom of water, moſt of them being fifty feet in length, nine in depth, and ten over, and many of them were ſtill larger. The ſtones being piled to the ſurface of the water, to the extent of two hundred feet, they formed a wall which ſerved the purpoſe of a mole, and on that account it received the name of Procymea. One half of the wall was intended to break the force of the ſea, and on the other were erected ſpacious and beautiful towers, the moſt conſiderable of which was called Druſion, in compliment to Druſus, a kinſman to Cæſar. Within the port were a number of magazines for ſtores, and before thoſe buildings was a ſpace paved with large ſtones, which was convenient for landing, and alſo an agreeable walking place. On each ſide the entrance were three Coloſſes, raiſed on columns. A ſtrong tower formed out of one immenſe ſtone ſupported thoſe on the left of the entrance, and thoſe on the oppoſite ſide were mounted conſiderably higher upon two large ſtone pillars joined together. The buildings adjacant to the port were of white ſtone; and the ſtreets leading from the city to the key were regular and uniform. Cæſar's temple was ſituated upon a hill oppoſite the port gate; and no idea of ſplendor and elegance can ſurpaſs what was diſplayed in this ſtructure, wherein was placed a ſtatue of the illuſtrious Auguſtus, formed on the model of the Olympian Jupiter, to which it was equal both in ſize and the ingenuity of workmanſhip; and there was another Roman figure not inferior to that of Juno and Argos. The motive that induced Herod to build this city and port, was a deſire to promote the convenience and advantage of the inhabitants of the country, and to provide for the ſecurity of travellers: and in honour of Cæſar the place received the name of Cæſarea. A moſt commodious market-place, a theatre and amphitheatre were built, and the Ludi Quinquennales were inſtituted, which were to be celebrated every fifth year in honour of the emperor. Herod alſo firſt conferred honourable rewards upon the man who excelled in the excerciſes, and aſſigned inferior gratuities to the ſecond and third candidates for the prize: this eſtabliſhment took place in the hundred and ſecond olympiad. He compleatly repaired Anthedon, which was nearly deſtroyed during the war, and changed the name of the city to Agrippion, in compliment to his friend Agrippa, whoſe name he inſcribed upon the gate of the temple which he erected there.

eſcription
a famous
rt.

A theatre and an amphitheatre built.

Herod erect Agrippion and other places.

Herod's filial gratitude was not leſs remarkable than his generoſity and patriotiſm. In a delightfully pleaſant and exceedingly fertile part of his kingdom, finely diverſified with wood and water, he erected the city in honour of his father Antipater, giving the place the name of Antipatris.

He built a ſtrong caſtle in a fine part of the country beyond Jericho, which, from Cypris, his mother, he called Cypros. He gave many proofs of his regard for his brother Phaſael, by whoſe name he diſtinguiſhed a magnificent tower which he built at Jeruſalem; and, the ſame name he gave to a city which he conſtructed in the northern part of Jericho.

When Herod had compleated the magnificent works by which he meant to immortalize the names of his friends and relations, he built a caſtle upon a mountain in Arabia, and in alluſion to his own name, he called it Herodian; and the ſame appellation he gave to a hill of ſurpriſing height, about ſixty furlongs from Jeruſalem, which he cauſed to be raiſed in the ſhape of a woman's breaſt. The top of the mount was environed with round turrets; and in the circuit were a number of royal palaces, executed in the moſt ingenious and ſplendid taſte that can be conceived; the ſtairs were formed of the fineſt white marble, and conſiſted of two hundred ſteps; at an immenſe charge water was conveyed from a diſtant part for the ſupply of the place. At the foot of the eminence the king erected a magnificent palace, and provided ſpacious buildings for the reception of his friends. Though meant only as a reſidence for the king, by the great number of ſtructures, variety of conveniencies, ſplendor, and extent of the whole, the place had the appearance of a city rather than a caſtle.

Herod provides for the common good of mankind.

Having compleated the above works, Herod reſolved to extend his generoſity to ſtrangers. In purſuance of this deſign, he formed colleges and public baths at Tripolis, Damaſcus, and Ptolemais; he erected ſtrong walls at Byblis, temples, public magazines, council chambers, galleries, and market places at Berytus and Tyre, and theatres at Sidon and Damaſcus; at the ſea-coaſt town of Loadicia, he formed a ſpacious aqueduct and water-works, baths, and large and beautiful piazzas and cloiſters at Aſkalon. To ſome cities he aſſigned woods and harbours, and lands to others; and he ſeemed to derive uncommon ſatisfaction in dividing his kingdom for the common benefit of mankind. At Coos he eſtabliſhed a revenue for the perpetual preſervation of the baths, and conferred ſeveral benefits upon other places. He ſupplied thoſe with grain who were in want of that article; and when the people of Rhodes wanted money for the purpoſe of equipping their navy, he repeatedly furniſhed the ſums they had occaſion for. He rebuilt the temple of Apollo, called Pythium, which had been conſumed by fire. He generouſly extended his munificence to the Lycians, the Samaritans, the Athenians, the Lacedemonians, the Nicopolitans, and the people of Purgamus. Antioch the capital of Syria, was rendered ſo incommodious by the water conſtantly laying upon the ground that for the ſpace of twenty furlongs it was impaſſable; but this inconvenience Herod removed, by cauſing the place to be paved with white marble, and porticos to be erected for ſhelter in wet ſeaſons.

Herod conferred great bounties upon the Elians, the Grecians, and upon mankind in general, or at leaſt, upon all thoſe who had any knowledge of the Olympic games. On his arrival at Rome, he found thoſe games to be the only veſtiges remaining of ancient Greece, and that the want of money had occaſioned them to be almoſt entirely neglected. He therefore aſſumed for the ſubſequent year the office of Agonotheta*, and eſtabliſhed a revenue for defraying the expences of annually celebrating the games. It would be an arduous taſk to enumerate the debts he remitted to the Phaſaelites, the Balameotes, the inhabitants of ſeveral towns in Cilicia, and many other people. His generoſity would have been ſtill further extended to ſtrangers, but for the apprehenſion of exciting jealouſy, by conferring upon them benefits which their own princes were not willing to beſtow.

Herod's excellent endowments.

Herod's ſtrength of body was proportionate to the greatneſs of his mind. He was perfectly ſkilled in the art of horſemanſhip; he took great delight in the chace, an exerciſe in which he greatly excelled. His country abounded with wild boars, wild aſſes, and deer. In one day he killed forty beaſts. He was a man of undaunted bravery, and ſo expert a ſwordſman, that it was ſcarcely poſſible to reſiſt him; and as a markſman, either with dart or arrow, he was unrivalled. Excluſive of his perſonal advantages, and the ſtrong powers of his mind, he was remarkably fortunate in his undertakings; and he vever failed of ſucceſs in war, but through treachery, or the raſhneſs of his ſoldiers.

CHAP XVII.

Herod repudiates his wife Doris, and eſpouſes Mariamne. Hyrcanus put to death, as are Mariamne and Joſeph. Alexander accuſed of a deſign to poiſon his father. Herod reconciled to his ſons. The cruelty and injuſtice of Herod. Several perſons put to the torture. Herod orders his ſons to be ſtrangled.

Herod eſpouſes Ma amne.

THE troubles which aroſe in the family of Herod, were a great deduction from the happineſs of his reign; and theſe misfortunes were principally occaſioned by the perſon he loved beyond all others: for ſoon after he was in poſſeſſion of the kingdom, he diſcharged his firſt wife Doris, who was a Jew, and married Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, the ſon of Ariſtobulus. The unhappy diſputes in his family, particularly after his return from Rome, aroſe chiefly from this ſource.

---

* An officer who preſided at the exerciſes, and adjudged rewards to the ſucceſsful candidates.

Herod baniſhed from the city Antipater, the ſon of Doris, on account of the children he had by Mariamne; but on feſtival days he was allowed to remain within the town. He then cauſed Hyrcanus, his wife's grandfather, who was now returned from Parthia, to be be put to death, on a pretence that he had projected a plot againſt his life. After the conqueſt of Syria, Barzapharnes had carried Hyrcanus priſoner to the king of Parthia; but the Jews on that ſide the Euphrates pitying his caſe, paid his ranſom, and obtained him his liberty: and in this ſituation he might have lived in peace and happineſs, if he had taken their advice, and not returned to Herod; but he was induced to meet his ruin by an irreſiſtable deſire to reviſit his native country. Herod had by Mariamne three ſons and two daughters. The younger of the former died while at Rome for education, and the others were brought up in a manner correſponding with the dignity of their birth. So exceſſive was Herod's fondneſs of Mariamne, that he ſeemed wholly inſenſible of the affronts and indignities ſhe daily offered him. She did not ſcruple to charge him with the murder of Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus, and to reproach him in the moſt aggravating language She diſcharged the moſt bitter invectives againſt the mother and ſiſter of Herod, who heard her reproaches without making any reply. Her conduct was ſo mortifying to Herod's female relations, that they concerted means for inflaming the paſſions of the king againſt her; and in purſuance of this deſign, they circulated a report that ſhe was enamoured of Antony, and, to ingratiate his favour, had ſent her picture to him; inſinuating that as Antony was one of the moſt licentious men of his age, he would not ſcruple to ſacrifice the king's life for the ſake of obtaining poſſeſſion of Mariamne. Theſe rumours were greatly alarming to the king, whoſe apprehenſions were much increaſed when he reflected on the avarice and naturally cruel diſpoſition, and the influence ſhe had exerted over Antony in the caſes of Lyſanias and Malichus, who were deprived of life through her inſinuations.

canus put death.

Herod now formed a reſolution of viſiting Antony; and previous to his departure, he recommended the care of his wife to Joſeph, the huſband of his ſiſter Salome, ſecretly enjoining him, that if he ſhould himſelf be deſtroyed by Antony, to put his wife to death.

Herod jealous of Mariamne and Joſeph,

Joſeph thinking to impreſs the queen with an idea of the extreme fondneſs the king had for her, which would not allow him to indulge the thought of parting from her even in death, innocently communicated this circumſtance to her. When Herod returned, he, in the exceſs of his fondneſs, was telling the queen that he never had a paſſion for any other woman. "I am convinced of that, ſaid ſhe, by the commiſſion you left with Joſeph to deſtroy me." Herod was almoſt diſtracted at this unexpected reply; for it immediately ſtruck him; that unleſs Joſeph had been too intimate with the queen, he never would have imparted ſo important a ſecret. Shocked with this idea, he leaped from his bed, and walked into the court-yard, where he met Salome, who immediately ſeized this opportunity of traducing Mariamne; and this ſhe did in ſuch a manner as to confirm the ſuſpicions of Herod, who, during the phrenzy of his rage, gave orders that Joſeph and Mariamne ſhould be put to death. He had not long iſſued theſe orders before he repented of them; but it was too late; the execution was already paſt.

who are put to death.

Driven to the verge of diſtraction by ſorrow and remorſe, Herod could not be prevailed with to believe that his wife was dead, though a moment's reflection muſt have convinced him of that circumſtance.

The two ſons of Mariamne conceived a moſt inveterate hatred towards the king, on account of his cruelty to their mother. One of theſe princes married the daughter of his aunt Salome, and the other eſpouſed the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. After forming theſe alliances, their converſation was leſs guarded than before, which ſubjected them to the malicious contrivances of their enemies, who reported to the king, that his ſons had joined in a conſpiracy againſt him; and that the ſon-in-law of Archelaus had formed an intention of retiring to the court of that prince, from whence he would go to Rome, and exhibit a complaint to Cæſar againſt Herod. The mind of Herod was ſo impreſſed by theſe inſinuations, that he took Antipater, his ſon by Doris, to reſide with him in his own palace, propoſing that he ſhould act ſo as to countermine the plots of his brothers; and in conſequence of this idea, he treated Antipater with diſtinguiſhed marks of his regard.

This alteration was highly diſagreeable to the brothers, who thought it a great derogation from the dignity of men of their illuſtrious deſcent, to be ſubjected to the ſon of a private and obſcure woman; but their freedom of ſpeech was diſadvantageous to their intereſt, and greatly in favour of Antipater, who partly by flattery, and partly by traduction, at length brought affairs to ſuch an iſſue, that all hope of the ſucceſſion of his brothers to the government was deſtroyed, ſince the will of his father made a public and formal ſettlement of it upon himſelf.

The king nominates Antipater, ſucceſſor,

Soon afterwards, Herod ſent Antipater to Cæſar, habited in royal robes, and attended

tended as a ſovereign prince in every reſpect; he being provided with all the paraphernalia of royalty, the crown alone excepted. Antipater's inſinuations, at length, urged the king to form a deſign of taking away their lives. Herod took Alexander with him to Rome, and accuſed him before Cæſar with having engaged in a conſpiracy for poiſoning his father. Being permitted to reply to the accuſation, Alexander juſtified both himſelf and his brother Ariſtobulus, who had been accuſed as equally guilty, and expoſed the various artful and malicious contrivances of Antipater; and this he did with ſuch peculiar grace and dignity, that the integrity of his mind was greatly illuſtrated by the powers of his eloquence. Alexander's ſpeech ſo affected the auditors, that they burſt into tears; and it had ſuch influence on Cæſar, that he exerted his authority to reconcile Herod to the princes, on the condition that they were to conduct themſelves in perfect obedience and reſpect to their father, with whom they were not to interfere in the government of his kingdom.

Alexander accuſed by Herod before Cæſar.

Upon Herod's return from Rome, he exculpated his ſons from the charge alledged againſt them. But ſtill they were objects of his ſuſpicion; for Antipater was continually inſtilling prejudices into his mind. Paſſing through Eleuſa, he was there received by Archelaus with great magnificence, and he congratulated him on the favourable change of affairs in his family. By means of letters and the interpoſition of his friends at Rome, Archelaus ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to promote the intereſt of Alexander; and having conducted Herod as far as Zephyrium, he preſented to him thirty talents, and then took leave of him.

Herod ſignifies his deſign of dividing the ſovereignty among his ſons, with whom he is reconciled.

On his arrival at Jeruſalem, Herod convened an aſſembly, and, in the preſence of his three ſons, related the particulars of his late journey, concluding with offering thanks to the Almighty, and expreſſing his gratitude to the emperor, on account of the commotions in his family being happily appeaſed. The king then expreſſed that his deſign was to divide the ſucceſſion of the ſovereignty among his three ſons, who were to enjoy the honorary parts thereof from that time forward, though the executive powers were to remain with himſelf during the reſidue of his life; and he ſeriouſly exhorted the princes to live upon terms of cordial friendſhip. He then embraced his children, and diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

A diſagreement ſoon prevailing among the brothers, they judged it prudent to ſeparate, leſt ill conſequences ſhould enſue. Alexander and Ariſtobulus were highly offended at the preference given to Antipater, whom the king had ſpoken of as intitled to a priority of claim on account of his ſeniority of birth; and on the other hand, Antipater was exaſperated upon reflecting that any ſhare in the government ſhould be aſſigned to his brothers. Antipater was of a deceitful and malicious temper; he kept his ſecrets cloſely within his own breaſt, carefully concealing his mortal enmity towards his brothers. They, on the contrary, were wholly unreſerved, making it a point of honour not to diſguiſe their ſentiments. Some of their enemies ſeized every occaſion of provoking them to a dangerous liberty of ſpeech, while others miſrepreſented their converſations ſo as to make the moſt innocent language bear the moſt inſidious interpretation.

Antipater conducted his affairs in ſuch a manner, that either by the force of flattery or rewards, all the friends, acquaintance, and ſervants of Alexander, were prevailed upon to diſcover his ſecrets. The contrivance of Antipater was ſuch, that he never declared himſelf an open enemy; but when any of his agents accuſed Alexander, he appeared at firſt to take his part, and then artfully turned the whole argument againſt him; till, at length, Herod was driven almoſt diſtracted from a conviction of the truth of Alexander's plot againſt his life; for the artful management of Antipater in the buſineſs, fully confirmed him in his ſuſpicions.

This conduct of Antipater highly incenſed Herod againſt the brothers, and he obtained the king's good opinion, in proportion as they loſt it. The friends of the government acceded to Herod's ſentiments, ſome from conviction, and others through faſhion, among whom were Ptolemy, the king's particular friend, then his brothers, and at length the whole family; for Antipater was now the particular favourite.

Antipater e alted, and brothers degraded.

Alexander was ſhocked to think that this wicked plot aroſe from the advice of Antipater's mother, who bore a mortal enmity to the queen's children. Great reſpect was now paid to Antipater, on account of the favour in which he was held by the king, who had iſſued an order that no application ſhould be made to, or intercourſe held with, the other brothers. This order alarmed thoſe of the royal houſhold, as well as their diſtant friends; for Cæſar had conferred privileges on Herod, never granted to any other perſon; particularly that of fetching deſerters from the territories of other princes, where he had no command. In the mean time, the brothers were ignorant of all offence, as no public charge had been exhibited againſt them by Herod; and their ſituation was therefore dangerous, as they knew not how to prepare a defence.

In the interim, Antipater ſpoke with

the utmoſt freedom to Pheroras, and his aunt Salome, againſt his brothers. The family uneaſineſs was by this time riſen to a great height; but it was conſiderably aggravated by Glaphyra, the wife of Alexander, who was conſtantly boaſting of the dignity of her extraction, as giving her a right to precede all others. She ſaid ſhe was deſcended on the father's ſide from Themenus, and on that of the mother, from Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes. She treated the wife and ſiſter of Herod with contempt, as perſons of low birth. She ſaid Herod, in marriage, had conſulted beauty, not quality. It has been already obſerved that Herod had ſeveral wives, for he was a friend to polygamy, which is permitted by the laws of the Jews. Glaphyra's pride exaſperated all theſe women againſt Alexander.

Salome, though mother-in-law to Ariſtobulus, now became his enemy. She thought herſelf inſulted by the unreaſonable pride of Glaphyra, who frequently reflected on her, on account of the meanneſs of her birth. Glaphyra told Ariſtobulus that his wife was only a private woman, whereas his brother Alexander had wedded a queen. Salome's daughter, affected by this remark, went weeping to her mother with the news; to which ſhe added, that if ever they came to the throne, all the wives and daughters of Herod ſhould be compelled to earn a ſubſiſtance by ſpinning, and that the princes ſhould act as pariſh clerks, thereby intending to ridicule the youths on account of their attachment to literature. Enraged at this information, Salome immediately communicated it to the king, with whom it had the greater weight, as being the evidence of a mother-in-law againſt her ſon. Another ſtory was fabricated which gave Herod more concern than the reſt. It was, that Alexander and Ariſtobulus often lamented the unhappy fate of their mother, and diſcharged the moſt bitter execrations againſt their father. It was added, that when the king divided Mariamne's wearing apparel among his other wives, the princes inſinuated that mourning ſhould ſoon take place of thoſe gaudy ornaments.

erods's ad- ice to his ns.

Being reſolved upon a journey to Rome, Herod directed his ſons to attend him, and joining the authority of a ſovereign with the tenderneſs of a parent, he gave them advice for the proper regulation of their conduct, particularly recommending them to live in unanimity and mutual friendſhip, and promiſing to pardon all paſt offences, on condition of their repentance and reformation. The youths declared the charges againſt them to be falſe, and pledged themſelves to prove, if they might be permitted a hearing, that it was even impoſſible the invidious aſſertions to their prejudice could have any foundation in truth.

The king reconciled to his ſons.

Having appeaſed the diſpleaſure of Herod, the brothers deemed themſelves no longer in danger; but freſh cauſe of anxiety ſoon aroſe. They were ſenſible that Pheroras and Salome, whoſe influence was extenſive, were their determined enemies; and they particularly dreaded Pheroras, who in ſome meaſure participated with Herod in the powers of the government. He had an annual income of a hundred talents, excluſive of the emoluments ariſing from all the lands beyond the Jordan, of which Cæſar had made him tetrarch upon Herod's recommendation. He was allied to the royal family, the king having given him his wife's ſiſter in marriage, and after her deceaſe, he propoſed that he ſhould eſpouſe his eldeſt daughter, offering with her, as a marriage portion, three hundred talents: but Pheroras declined this alliance, on account of his attachment to a woman of very inferior rank. This refuſal was ſo provoking to Herod, that he cauſed the princeſs to be married to the ſon of his brother, who was ſome time after ſlain in the Parthian war. Though the rejection of his offer at firſt highly exaſperated Herod, he upon calmer deliberation, imputed it to the impulſe of violent paſſion, and pardoned Pheroras.

A report that Pheroras had a deſign to poiſon his brother. Herod ſtartled at it.

It had, for a conſiderable time paſt, been whiſpered that Pheroras, even during the life of Mariamne, had formed a deſign of poiſoning his brother. The ſpies and informers were ſo buſy in propagating this tale, that Herod, though entertaining the ſincereſt fraternal affection, could not avoid being alarmed, and giving ſome credit to the report. Many perſons were apprehended, of whom ſeveral were put to the torture; and when others had been thus examined, it came to the turn of the friends of Pheroras. Theſe declared their ignorance of any intention to poiſon, but ſaid that Pheroras had formed a deſign of retiring into Parthia with the woman that he loved; and that Coſtobarus, the ſecond huſband of Salome, was well acquainted with his intention. This was the ſame Coſtobarus to whom Herod had given Salome, after her former huſband had been ſacrificed on account of her adultery. Salome herſelf did not eſcape without accuſation; for ſhe was charged by her brother Pheroras, with having treated of a match with Sylleus, the governor of Arabia, under king Obodas, and the moſt inveterate of all the enemies of Herod. There was not a ſingle article that Pheroras exhibited againſt his ſiſter Salome, of which ſhe was not found guilty; but they both received a free pardon from Herod.

Divers ſeized and put to the queſtion.

Pheroros and Salome found guilty, but Herod pardons them.

Thoſe who wiſhed to create a diſturbance, now levelled their charges againſt Alexander. Herod had in his ſervice three eunuchs, who had a conſiderable ſhare in his favour, and were well known in the family by the offices they bore: theſe were a cup-bearer, a a ſteward, and a valet de chambre. One of them was to fill the king's wine, the ſecond to provide his ſupper, and the third to put him to bed, and to ſleep with him. Now theſe men, by the influence of gratuities and promiſes, were the friends and agents of Alexander. Herod having become ſuſpicious of them, cauſed them to be put to the torture, when the whole ſecret was diſcovered; the method in which Alexander had impoſed on them, and the promiſes by which he had prevailed.

Three court officers put to the torture.

They declared, that Alexander had told them they could not reaſonably entertain expectations of benefit from Herod, who was a wicked old man, and ſo vain as to have his hair coloured, and otherwiſe to affect the appearance of youth; that the king could not prevent his ſucceſſion to the throne, and that when he ſhould attain that dignity, he would ſeverely puniſh his enemies, and generouſly reward his friends, of whom they would be conſidered in the firſt rank.

The informers farther declared, that the principal miniſters and officers were all attached to the intereſt of Alexander, and meeting together in a private manner, conſulted how they might moſt effectually ſerve him.

Herod was ſo aſtoniſhed at this intelligence, that he was for ſome time afraid of publiſhing the diſcovery he had made; but no time was loſt by his agents, who where conſtantly employed, by night and day, to diſcover what paſſed in all families, and in every place; and immediate death was the conſequence even of being ſuſpected. In this part of Herod's hiſtory there appears an uniform ſeries of oppreſſion and injuſtice. Calumnies aroſe from the ſlighteſt diſguſt; and however infamous the evidence, however groſs and abſurd the tale, it was certain to be credited; and the puniſhment immediately followed the charge, even without conviction; for Herod ſeemed to conceive that, in a caſe where the life of a prince was in danger, all the formalities of the law were ſuperfluous.

Herod's outrageous cruelty and injuſtice.

At length, the diſpoſition of Herod became ſo ferocious, that innocence itſelf was no ſecurity againſt the ſeverity of his nature. Even his friends were treated in the moſt cruel manner; ſome of them he baniſhed from the kingdom, and in inſtances where he could not exerciſe his power he indulged his malice by inſulting them in the moſt approbious terms. Almoſt all this miſchief is chargeable on Antipater, and his friends and adherents, who omitted nothing in their power to promote the growing evils. The king was at length ſo terrified by Antipater's ridiculous ſtories, that he imagined Alexander ſtanding before him, with a ſword ready to deſtroy him. Agitated by theſe ideas, he cauſed Alexander to be apprehended, and put his friends to the torture. Many of theſe, from conſcientious motives, remained abſolutely ſilent; while others, whoſe courage could not afford them reſolution to abide the torment, made a charge againſt the two brothers, as having concerted a plot againſt the life of the king; which plot, they ſaid, was to be executed during the time of hunting, and the agents in it were immediate to make their eſcape to Rome. However improbable this ſtory, the fears of Herod made him credulous enough to believe it; and thereupon, his ſon was committed to priſon.

Alexander impriſoned and his friends tortured.

The jealouſy which at this time tormented the mind of Herod, appeared to be at once ſo inveterate and incurable, that Alexander gave himſelf no farther concern to make his defence by argument or excuſe; but reſolved that, for the future, he would acknowledge all the charges which his enemies brought againſt him, and by ſuch acknowledgement, condemn them equally with himſelf. Thus determined, he drew up four papers, in which he owned himſelf a confederate againſt the life of his father. In theſe papers he gave the names of the confederates, among whom were Pheroras and Salome, the latter of whom he charged with the inſolent audaciouſneſs of forcing herſelf into his bed one night, againſt his conſent. When Herod was in poſſeſſion of theſe papers, in which were capital charges againſt a number of the nobility, it providentially happened that Archelaus, uneaſy reſpecting the fate of his daughter and ſon-in-law, arrived in Judea, with a view to ſerve them to the utmoſt of his power: and his interference had great ſucceſs, for by his addreſs and management, the paſſions of Herod were, in a great degree, allayed.

Archelaus rives in Ju

Meeting Herod, Archelaus expatiated on the nature of the accuſations levelled againſt Alexander, and remarked on the four papers written by the prince, which ſerved to impreſs Herod with more unfavourable ſentiments of Pheroras. "I am of opinion, ſaid Archelaus, that you are in leſs danger of receiving injury from your ſon, than he is of being deſtroyed through the contrivances of a faction. He, in a great meaſure, ſhared the government with his father, and had good reaſon to ſuſpect he ſhould ſucceed to the throne. While in poſſeſſion of his ſenſes, it can ſcarcely be imagined that he could be guilty of the crimes alledged againſt him. Young men are inconſiderate, and liable to be ſeduced by bad advice. I requeſt that you will leave to me the taſk of doing juſtice upon your ſon, and in return, I will recommend my daughter, who I gave to the youth in marriage, to your generoſity."

helaus ad-
s Pheroras
onfeſs
elf guil-

Archelaus told Pheroras it was impoſſible he could clear himſelf of a charge which was as ſtrongly proved as the nature of the caſe would admit; for his conſpiracy againſt his brother's life was inconteſtibly evident, as were likewiſe his various contrivances for effecting the ruin of Alexander. He then adviſed him frankly to avow his crimes, promiſing his utmoſt intereſt to procure a pardon from his brother, who, he ſaid he had no doubt would be fully reconciled to him, upon a proper conceſſion being made.

roras
bles him-
before
king, and
plicates
don.

In conſequence of the diſcourſe of Archelaus, Pheroras clothed himſelf in deep mourning, and having proſtrated himſelf before Herod, acknowledged his crimes, and humbly implored his forgiveneſs: at the ſame time attributing all his miſconduct to an ungovernable paſſion for a woman, which had rendered him regardleſs of his duty, and ſo affected his mind, as to incapacitate him for preſerving a propriety of behaviour. After Pheroras had made a confeſſion of his guilt, Archelaus uſed his utmoſt endeavours to moderate the violent paſſions of the king, and reconcile him to the ſupplicant. He ſaid he had ſuſtained greater injuries and inſults from a brother, than thoſe offered to Herod, but yet he had conſidered it prudent that his reſentment ſhould yield to natural affection, and the duty of a ſovereign. He obſerved, that there was a ſimilarity between kingdoms and the human frame: for when a limb was afflicted, it was a greater proof of wiſdom to endeavour to affect a cure, than raſhly to cauſe the affected part to be amputated.

rod be-
es an ad-
ate for
xander.

Herod's diſpleaſure againſt Pheroras being ſomewhat abated, Archelaus affected to treat Alexander with threats and reproaches, ſaying he was reſolved his daughter ſhould not cohabit with him. This ſeeming reſentment had ſuch an effect upon Herod, that he became an advocate in favour of his ſon, earneſtly entreating Archelaus not to take meaſures for diſſolving the marriage. Archelaus ſaid in reply, that from his regard to the honour of the alliance, he would be content to leave his daughter wholly to the diſpoſal of Herod, on condition that he ſhould not permit her to live with Alexander. He was urgent for the young couple to remain together, ſaying they had children, and had ſo ſtrong an affection for each other, that they would prefer immediate death to a ſeparation. The king farther ſaid, "If ſhe remain, an act of oblivion ſhall paſs: but if ſhe depart the conſequence may be fatal; for nothing endears relations to each other like a friendly correſpondence between their reſpective families. These words were no ſooner delivered than Archelaus went out, and returning in a few minutes, introduced Alexander, and perfectly reconciled him to his father. Archelaus now adviſed Herod to repair to Rome, and give Cæſar an account of the late tranſactions, ſaying he had himſelf already written many of the particulars.

Herod reconciled to his ſon.

When Archelaus was preparing for his departure, Herod preſented to him ſeventy talents, a throne ornamented with precious ſtones, ſeveral eunuchs, and a concubine named Pannychis. He alſo ordered magnificent preſents for the miniſters, relations, and friends of Archelaus, and attended by his nobility, accompanied that ſovereign as far as Antioch.

Eurycles effects the ruin of Alexander.

Soon afterwards, a Lacedemonian named Eurycles, arrived in Judea; and in point of political management, he proved himſelf more than equal to Archelaus, whoſe plan of reconciliation betwen Herod and Alexander, he entirely defeated, and in the end, accompliſhed the deſtruction of the latter.

His love of money induced him to aſſume the affectation of power: yet he was ſo profuſe in his expences, that even a princely revenue was unequal to them. He ſent Herod ſeveral valuable preſents, with a view to obtain greater, which Herod actually ſent him; but he thought not much of any bounty that was not the price of royal blood; wherefore he inſinuated himſelf into Herod's favour, partly by artful tales, and partly by the groſſeſt flatteries; till at length he made himſelf ſuch a perfect maſter of the king's foibles, that he approved of all he ſaid or did. This inſinuating behaviour procured him great intereſt at court; and being a native of Sparta, he was highly honoured on account of his country.

Obſerving the diſſentions in the royal family, and the manner in which they were regarded by Herod, Eurycles took up his lodging with Antipater, and at the ſame time pretended a great friendſhip for Alexander, to whom he related ſtories of his intimacy with Archelaus, ſaying a ſtrict friendſhip had long ſubſiſted between them. This was highly agreeable to the prince, who communicated the grateful intelligence to his brother Ariſtobulus. Eurycles having diſcovered the diſpoſitions of the ſeveral people with whom he had to deal, accommodated himſelf to their various humours; his principal view being to betray Alexander, and poſſeſs himſelf of Antipater's money. Addreſſing himſelf to the latter, he ſaid, "I am aſtoniſhed that you, who are the eldeſt ſon, and heir-apparent to the crown, can be impoſed on by thoſe who only pretend to your right." To Alexander he addreſſed himſelf as follows: "It is ſtrange that you, who are the ſon of one great princeſs, and the huſband of another, can bear the ſon of a private woman to ſtand between you and the crown, eſpecially when ſupported by ſuch a friend as Archelaus." Alexander was impoſed on by this addreſs, which he ſuppoſed aroſe from the friendſhip of Eurycles to Archelaus, and having no ſuſpicions, made Eurycles his boſom friend, and ſpoke freely to him reſpecting Antipater: "It is no wonder, ſaid he, that Herod can think of depriving the ſon of the kingdom, when he robbed the mother of life." On hearing this, Eurycles affected aſtoniſhment at the barbarity of the proceeding, and engaging Ariſtobulus to diſcourſe on the ſame ſubject, involved him alſo in the treachery. When Eurycles had poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſecrets of both the brothers, he went to Antipater, and told him what he had heard, with many circumſtances of his own invention, inſinuating that the king's life was in danger, and the plot on the point of being executed. For this ſervice Antipater gratified Eurycles with a preſent of a large ſum of money, and likewiſe ſpoke of him to Herod, in the warmeſt terms of friendſhip: and from this time Eurycles conſtantly offered himſelf as an evidence againſt the brothers, till the death of Alexander and Ariſtobulus.

Eurycles inſinuates himſelf into the favour of Alexander.

His falſe repreſentations to the king.

Eurycles now went to Herod, and informed him that Alexander had concerted means for his deſtruction, and being armed with a ſword, would have executed his barbarous deſign, had not he interfered and prevented it, by pretending to approve the plot. He ſaid the prince had vehemently exclaimed againſt him for having uſurped the throne, murdered his wife Mariamne, and nominated ſo contemptible a wretch as Antipater for his ſucceſſor; that he had declared a reſolution to avenge the deaths of Hyrcanus and Mariamne, in which purpoſe he was confirmed by daily injuries and provocations; that if his plot ſhould fail, death would be more acceptable than life under his preſent circumſtances: but if he ſhould ſucceed, his intention was to repair to his father-in-law, and from him to Cæſar, to whom he would explain the injuries he had received, the oppreſſions exerciſed upon the people, the manner in which the public money was diſſipated in luxury, relate the particulars of the death of his grand-father Hyrcanus, and his mother Mariamne, and take ſuch other meaſures as could not fail to ſecure him from being charged as the murderer of his father.

Having pronounced this invective againſt Alexander, Eurycles ſpoke of Antipater in terms of high commendation, repreſenting him as a truly dutiful ſon, through whoſe zeal a plot againſt the king's life had been cruſhed in its infancy. Herod, whoſe former jealouſies were not ſubdued, was highly exaſperated againſt Alexander by his information, and his rage was increaſed by Antipater, who aſſerted to him, that Alexander and Ariſtobulus had maintained a private correſpondence with Jucundus and Tyrannus, two commanders of horſe, who had been degraded for miſbehaviour. Inflamed with the moſt extravagant rage by this intelligence, the king ordered Jucundus and Tyrannus, to be immediately put to the torture: but under their ſufferings they declared themſelves ignorant of the matter in queſtion, any otherwiſe than a letter had been written as from Alexander to the governor of Alexandrion, requeſting that himſelf and Ariſtobulus might be admitted into the caſtle, in caſe of their father's death, and furniſhed with arms and ſuch other neceſſaries as their occaſions might require. Alexander declared this letter to be forged by Diophantus, the king's ſecretary, a man particularly expert in counterfeiting writing. He was ſoon after executed for the commiſſion of forgery. The governor of the caſtle was put to torture, but as he made no confeſſion, his ſons were acquitted. The infamous Eurycles was greatly carreſſed by the king, as his friend and preſerver, and complimented with a preſent of fifty talents. Before Archelaus received intelligence of the impriſonment of the brothers, this execrable villain privately repaired to him, and had the audacity to aſſure him, that Herod and Alexander were upon terms of perfect friendſhip, and that he had himſelf been the happy means of effecting their reconciliation.

Jucundus and Tyran
nus put to
torture.

A forgery
Aiophantu

He then departed into Achaia with his riches, which he ſpent in as infamous a manner as he had acquired them. At length, he was accuſed before Cæſar, with having been guilty of ſeditious practices, and promoting oppreſſions and diſturbances; and in the end was baniſhed. Thus were his iniquitous tranſactions againſt Alexander and Ariſtobulus puniſhed.

In this place it may not be improper to contraſt the conduct of Evaratus, of Coos, with that of Eurycles, the Spartan. Evaratus was in Herod's court at the ſame period, and was much the friend of Alexander. The king earneſtly queſtioned Evaratus how far he credited the report of the conſpiracy, and the accuſations that were founded on it; when Evaratus declared on his oath, that he believed the young princes were perfectly innocent. Notwithſtanding this, the unfortunate priſoners met with no better fate; for Herod liſtened to calumnies only;

only: the more infamous the traduction, the more the traducer was in his favour; and the ready way to pleaſe him was to ſay as he did, and affect to believe what he credited.

At this time Salome, for her own ſecucurity, inflamed the quarrel between Herod and his ſons. Ariſtobulus had cautioned her to take care of herſelf, both as a mother-in-law and an aunt; hinting that her danger from Herod was as great as that of any other perſon, ſince ſhe had entered into a contract with Sylleus, the Arabian, with an intention to marry him, though ſhe knew he was a profeſſed enemy to the king; and that ſhe had repeatedly given him ſecret accounts of the tranſactions of the cabinet. The view of Ariſtobulus in giving her this warning, was to involve her in the ſame fate with himſelf and brother; but it happened otherwiſe, and this ſcheme proved the deſtruction of them both; for Salome immediately going to the king, informed him of what Ariſtobulus had ſaid, by which means he was ſo much enraged, that he cauſed the brothers to be put in chains, and kept ſeparate.

During the violence of Herod's paſſion, he ſent Volumnious, a commander of horſe, and Olympus, his friend, to Cæſar, with an account of what had paſſed. On arriving at Rome, they delivered their letters to Cæſar, the peruſal of which gave him great pain, on account of the young men; but he was diffident of exerting his authority to the prejudice of the natural power of a father over his children; wherefore he ſent an anſwer to Herod, that, "He was maſter of himſelf, and all thoſe who depended on him." Yet Cæſar thought it prudent to call a council of Herod's friends and relations, with the governors of the province, to examine into the plot; and then to execute thoſe who had been guilty of wilful malice: but he thought that a ſlighter puniſhment might ſuffice, if the brothers had only entertained an idea of abſconding.

Berytus was fixed on by the emperor as the place where the contending parties ſhould meet; and, agreeable to his inſtructions, Herod ſummoned a council to aſſemble there. Cæſar appointed the preſidents, who were Saturninus and Pedanius, ambaſſadors, with Volumnius, governor of the province, and Herod's friends and relations; Salome and Pheroras not excepted. Beſides theſe there were all the chief men of Syria, except king Archelaus, the father-in-law of Alexander, of whom Herod was ſuſpicious. The brothers were kept in cuſtody, at the village of Plantane, in Sidonia, the council being averſe to admitting them into court, for reaſons of prudence; as the very ſight of them would have excited compaſſion; and if they had been permitted to plead their own cauſe, it was in Alexander's power to have obviated every objection.

When Herod ſtood up to ſpeak, he expreſſed his diſpleaſure againſt his ſons in the moſt violent manner, as if they had been within hearing. On the ſubject of the conſpiracy, he ſpoke in a low and faint voice, as if unwilling that what he had to ſay on this topic ſhould be heard; for he could not poſſibly prove his aſſertions: but when he ſpoke of acts of diſobedience, injuries, rancourous expreſſions, and affronts to himſelf, he was diſtinctly heard by every one; and he inſinuated, that death itſelf was leſs painful in his idea, than theſe inſults. At length, when he found there was no oppoſition to his will, he directed the court to proceed to ſentence, after lamenting his unhappy fate, in being victorious in a conteſt that coſt him ſo dear.

The firſt opinion was given by Saturninus, who ſaid the ſons ought to be puniſhed, but not capitally; for it would look ill to paſs ſuch ſentence on the abſent, while Herod had three ſons in the council. The ambaſſadors, and ſeveral others were of the ſame opinion; but Volumnius adjudged them to ſuffer death, in which he was followed by ſuch others as the intereſt or paſſions of Herod had influenced: but none of them bore any malice to the unfortunate youths. The expected iſſue of this affair occaſioned an alarming ſuſpence in Judea and Syria; though no one thought that Herod would accede to the murder of his children. However, ſo little of humanity was there in his diſpoſition, that he ſent them in chains to Tyre, and thence to Cæſarea by ſea, till he determined in what manner they ſhould be put to death.

The brothers ſentenced to die.

The generous bravery of Tyro, a common ſoldier in favour of the brothers.

At this period advanced one Tyro, an ancient ſoldier, who was a great admirer of the young princes, and whoſe ſon was very much eſteemed by Alexander. Tyro, in a rage of reſentment at Herod's prepoſterous conduct, went about exclaiming like a madman, that, "Juſtice was inſulted, truth was vaniſhed; that iniquity triumphed at large in the world, while humanity and natural affection had fled from the face of the earth." At length he went to the king, whom he addreſſed in the following manner: "Thou, Herod, of all men exiſting, art certainly the moſt miſerable; ſince thou art puniſhed by giving credit to the baſeſt and vileſt of the people, to the injury of thy beſt and moſt approved friends. For inſtance, there are Salome and Pheroras, whom thou haſt declared deſerving of death; yet on the credit of theſe people, art thou raſhly proceeding to deprive thy ſons of their lives. Thou haſt not conſidered how much Antipater will be gratified by the deſtruction of the legal heirs, when only thyſelf and him remains: for the plan of thy enemies is to have a king who will govern according to their wiſhes. But, in this caſe, let them beware of the ſoldiers: for if they reſent the murder, no one knows where the deſtruction may end. Every man pities the brothers; and the men of rank publicly complain of the ill management of affairs." Several of the mal-contents were now mentioned by Tyro, on which Herod gave orders for their immediate apprehenſion, and that Tyro and his ſon ſhould likewiſe be taken into cuſtody.

One Tryphon, the king's barber, happening to be preſent at this time, advanced, and offered himſelf as an evidence againſt Tyro; declaring that he had, in the name of Alexander, offered him a conſiderable reward, if he would cut Herod's throat while he was ſhaving him. Hereupon, orders were given that the barber, with Tyro and his ſon, ſhould be put to the torture. The two latter denied every thing that was charged againſt them, and Tryphon remained perfectly ſilent. On this, Herod ordered an encreaſe of Tyro's torments; till his ſon, in mere compaſſion for the father, promiſed the king a full diſcovery, if he might be pardoned. In conſequence of this, he was taken from the torture, when he declared that Alexander had inſtigated his father to murder the king. Some perſons gave credit to this ſtory, while others ſuppoſed it was merely a contrivance of the youth, to procure a remiſſion of his father's ſufferings.

The ſons ſtrangled at Sebaſte.

Soon after this, Herod ſpoke reproachfully of ſome great officers of the army, and of Tyro; which ſo inflamed the populace, that they attacked thoſe officers, as well as Tyro and the barber, with ſtones and cudgels, and deſtroyed them all. Herod's unhappy ſons were now at Sebaſte, near Cæſarea, where he ordered them to be ſtrangled, and their bodies conveyed to Alexandrion, and depoſited by their mother's uncle, Alexander. Thus ended the lives of Ariſtobulus and Alexander.

CHAP. XVIII.

Antipater concerts the ruin of his father. Herod's tenderneſs for the orphans of his deceaſed ſons. A faction among the women of Herod's court. Antipater declared ſucceſſor to the throne in Herod's laſt will. The deſign of Sylleus againſt the life of Herod diſcovered.

Anti. l. 17. c. 1, 3, 4.
Antipater in a conſpiracy againſt the life of his father.

THE ſucceſſion to the kingdom was now looked on as certain by Antipater: but the people univerſally hated him; for they were ſenſible that he was the author of all the preceding miſchiefs: nor was he eaſy himſelf, when he reflected on the future vengeance of the children of the murdered brothers. By Glaphyra, Alexander had two ſons, named Tigranes and Alexander; and by Berenice, daughter of Salome, Ariſtobulus had Herod, Agrippa, and Ariſtobulus, and two daughters, named Herodias and Mariamne. After the death of Alexander, Glaphyra was ſent back to Cappadocia, and her fortune returned to her father: and Berenice, the widow of Ariſtobulus, was married to her uncle Antipater, who concerted the match in order to conciliate the friendſhip of Salome, and terminate the prevailing animoſities. Antipater complimented, and made preſents to Pheroras, and alſo ſent large ſums to Rome, for the purpoſe of ſecuring the intereſt of Cæſar's friends; nor was he leſs generous to Saturninus and his other friends in Syria. But his profuſe expences produced no good effect, they being deemed the reſult of fear; ſo that, in proportion to the ſums he exhauſted, the contempt of him encreaſed, while thoſe who did not participate in his bounty became his inveterate enemies.

Herod's te derneſs for the children of his dece ed ſons.

Having ſummoned a council, Herod ſent for the children of Alexander and Ariſtobulus, and when they appeared, thus addreſſed himſelf to the aſſembly: "You now behold the deſcendants of an unhappy family. Having been deprived of their fathers, it behoves me to act more kindly by them than I did by their parents. With this view, I ſhall provide, that, after my deceaſe, theſe children may be placed under the care of my moſt valued friends. With regard to you, Pheroras, it is my advice, that you eſpouſe your daughter to the eldeſt ſon of Pheroras, and become at once his father and guardian. And I recommend you, Antipater, to marry your ſon to one of the daughters of Ariſtobulus, and diſcharge the duty of a parent towards the orphan child: and my wiſh is, that the other daughter may be joined in wedlock to my ſon Herod*, the grandſon of Simon, the high-prieſt, by my mother's ſide. Theſe requeſts I truſt will not be diſapproved by thoſe who have a real friendſhip for me; and I moſt ſincerely implore Heaven to bleſs the alliances I have propoſed, ſo that the happineſs of my kingdom may be encreaſed, and that the children may experience greater comforts than were known to their parents." Having delivered the above addreſs, Herod joined the hands of the princes, and then diſmiſſed the aſſembly, taking leave of each member reſpectively.

Antipater was greatly affected by what had paſſed, conſidering that the favour ſhewn to the children, would prove injurious to him, in the ſame proportion as they were benefited; and he was particularly alarmed, leſt the tetrarch Pheroras ſhould unite his intereſt with Archelaus, in ſupport of the rights of the ſons of Alexander. Tormented with the ideas that he was held in deteſtation by the public, and that the children were univerſally compaſſionated, he determined to exert his endeavours for procuring the contracts to be diſſolved. With this view, he ſolicited Herod to alter the diſpoſition of the marriages, which, he ſaid, might be eaſily done, ſince the king had ſo numerous a family.

---

* Called Philip, by the Evangiliſts.

erod's fa-
ly.

Herod had nine wives, and children by ſeven of them; namely, Antipater by Doris; Herod by Mariamne; Antipas and Archelaus by Malthace; likewiſe a daughter, named Olympias, married to his brother Joſeph; Herod and Philip by Cleopatra of Jeruſalem; Roxane by Phædra, and Salome by Elpis. Of the two wives, by whom he had no children, one was his couſin, and the other the daughter of his brother. Excluſive of theſe, the two ſiſters of Alexander and Ariſtobulus were born of Mariamne.

Antipater's urgency induced Herod to ſuſpect that his intentions were to effect the ruin of the children; and, therefore, he ſeverely cenſured the freedom of his expoſtulation, and obliged him to leave the apartment: but afterwards, by means of flattery and artful management, altered his former plan, and gave the daughter of Ariſtobulus in marriage to Antipater, and wedded his ſon to the daughter of Pheroras. By this the influence of Antipater over Herod became evident.

But ſimilar arguments could not prevail in the caſe of Salome, though ſhe was ſupported by the empreſs Julia, and was alſo his own ſiſter. Salome wiſhed to be united in marriage with Sylleus, the Arabian, and engaged the empreſs in her favour: but Herod not only oppoſed the plan, but ſolemnly ſwore he would treat her as his worſt enemy if ſhe did not abandon all thoughts of this alliance. After this, he compelled her to marry a friend of his named Alexas, and then to cauſe one of her daughters to be eſpouſed to the ſon of Alexas, and the other to Antipater's uncle on the maternal ſide. One of the daughters of Mariamne was likewiſe given by Herod, to Antipater, the ſon of his ſiſter; and the other to Phaſael, his nephew on the brother's ſide.

Circumſtances being thus altered to the convenience of Antipater, and the excluſion of the orphans, his pride and malignity were increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he became perfectly inſupportable. He was ſenſible that as the people hated him, his ſafety could conſiſt only in their fear of him likewiſe: and Pheroras now treated him as a prince already poſſeſſed of ſovereign power.

The inſolence
f Antipater.

About this time, new diſturbances happened in the court of Herod, owing to a faction among the women: the wife, the mother and the ſiſter of Pheroras, and the mother of Antipater behaved in a moſt inſolent manner towards the king's daughters; a circumſtance that gratified the malice of Antipater, who entertained the utmoſt hatred for them: and with regard to the reſt of the women, they were all afraid of the faction, Salome alone excepted, who informed the king of every thing that paſſed in their private aſſemblies, hinting that his intereſt was endangered by their conſultations. When the women were informed that notice of their meetings had been communicated to the king, they diſcontinued their aſſemblies, and affected to behave as if they were in a ſtate of animoſity, rather than engaged in a confederacy againſt Herod: and under the ſame kind of diſguiſe, Antipater ridiculed Pheroras. The nightly meetings ſtill continued to be held, and nothing that paſſed there eſcaped the vigilance of Salome, who reported the particulars of the conſultations to the king. This intelligence enraged Herod, and particularly againſt the wife of Pheroras, ſhe being the moſt ſeverely accuſed by Salome. Having ſummoned a council of his friends and relations, Herod accuſed her of prejudicing the Phariſees againſt him, of inſulting his daughters, and of giving his brother a potion for making him hate him. Herod aſked Pheroras, if it were put to his option, which he would moſt readily part with, his brother or his wife. He replied, that he would prefer death to a ſeparation from his wife. This declaration ſomewhat confounded the king, who, after having deliberated, ſtrictly enjoined Antipater not to hold any converſation or intercourſe whatever either with Pheroras or his wife, or with any perſons with whom they were upon terms of intimacy.

A court cabal
among the
women.

Salome gives
the king no-
tice of the
faction.

Antipater affected an obedience to his command, but he ſtill continued to meet his confederates by night. Having many friends in Italy, Antipater ſo contrived matters with them, that letters were written to Herod, repreſenting the propriety of ſending Antipater to Rome, in order to pay his reſpects to Cæſar. In compliance herewith, Herod diſpatched him to the emperor's court, having provided him with a ſplendid retinue, money, and whatever elſe his occaſions could require, at the ſame time giving into his cuſtody his laſt will and teſtament, wherein Antipater was declared heir to the throne, which after his deceaſe was to devolve to Herod, the king's ſon by Mariamne.

Regardleſs of Cæſar's order, Sylleus, the Arabian, at this time undertook another journey to Rome, in order again to debate with Antipater the cauſe he had formerly defended againſt Nicolaus. This was a controverſy of great importance maintained againſt his ſovereign Aretas for having put ſeveral of his friends to death. Sohemus, the moſt diſtinguiſhed inhabitant of the city of Petra, being of the number. Sylleus bribed Tabatas, one of Cæſar's governors, to aſſiſt him againſt Herod: but by gifts of higher value the latter detached him from the intereſt of Sylleus, and appointed him receiver of his duties. Hereupon, Sylleus repreſented to the emperor, that Tabatus was not a governor under Auguſtus, but under Herod. Highly incenſed by this proceeding, Tabatus betrayed Sylleus to Herod, declaring, that by means of a large ſum of money he had prevailed on Corinthus, one of the guards, to join in the conſpiracy, and adviſing that the latter might be apprehended. Though educated at court, Corinthus was by birth an Arabian. By the king's order he and two of his countrymen, one the friend of Sylleus, and the other named Phylarchus, were taken into cuſtody. Being put to the torture, the aſſociates of Corinthus confeſſed that Sylleus had corrupted him by a preſent of a very conſiderable ſum of money to undertake the murder of the king. After being interrogated by Saturnius, governor of Syria, he ſent the witneſſes to Rome.

Sylleus's practices of ſubornation and corruption, laid open.

CHAP. XIX.

Pheroras baniſhed from court. His death. Antipater's abrupt treatment of his father. Herod's ſeverity. The teſtimony of the widow of Pheroras. Mariamne proved to have had a concern in the plot.

Ant. l. 17. b. 3, 5, 6, 7.

Pheroras and his wife baniſhed.

The king recovers, and viſits Pheroras in his ſickneſs. The latter dies.

HEROD having ample cauſe of diſpleaſure againſt the wife of Pheroras, he daily importuned him to diſmiſs her: but this he refuſed to do; whereupon the king baniſhed them both from court. Repairing to his tetrarchy, Pheroras ſolemnly ſwore that he would not return during the life of Herod. Being ſoon after afflicted with illneſs, the king diſpatched a meſſage to Pheroras, purporting, that as he apprehended his death to be approaching, he was deſirous of ſeeing him, in order to communicate to him ſome matters of a public and important nature. Pheroras refuſed to attend; but, contrary to all expectation, the king recovered. Soon afterwards, Pheroras being attacked with illneſs, he received a viſit from Herod, who behaved to him in a very affectionate manner but in a ſhort time the diſorder put an end to his life. Notwithſtanding it was generally ſuppoſed that Herod had a great eſteem for Pheroras, a rumour was circulated that he had cauſed him to be poiſoned. The body was conveyed to Jeruſalem, and buried in a magnificent manner, and a public mourning was obſerved for the deceaſed. Thus ended the life of one of the murderers of Alexander and Ariſtobulus: but Antipater, the author of it, afterwards experienced the puniſhment of his wickedneſs; and the death of Pheroras gave riſe to his ruin; for ſome of the freedmen of Pheroras, lamenting the loſs they had ſuſtained, went to the king, and informed him that his brother had been poiſoned; for that his wife had given him a kind of food not dreſſed in the cuſtomary way, and that he was immediately taken violently ill after ſwallowing it. Two days before this circumſtance, it had been remarked, that a cunning woman had, by the advice o the mother and ſiſter, been brought from Arabia, to prepare a medicine for Pheroras, which proved to be a moſt rancorous poiſon, adminiſtered by the advice of Sylleus, who was well acquainted with the woman.

Preſumptions were ſo ſtrong, and ſuſpicions ſo numerous, that Herod ordered ſeveral perſons, both bond and free, to be put to the torture. Among theſe was a woman, who in the extremity of her ſufferings exclaimed, "May that ſupreme power who rules Heaven and earth, avenge both thee and ourſelves upon the mother of Antipater for the miſeries we now endure through her contrivance." Herod made ſtrict enquiry into the meaning of the above exclamation, and was informed by one of the freed women of the clandeſtine meetings which Pheroras had been accuſtomed to hold with the mother of Antipater and other diſaffected women.

The women being ſeparately examined, Herod was convinced that the charge they had advanced was true; and he was of opinion, that Antipater's going to Rome, and Pheroras procuring himſelf to be baniſhed, were but contrivances for the ſucceſs of their plot; for they had been often heard to ſay it would be dangerous to remain within the power of the man who had cauſed his wife and children to be put to death.

Pheroras po ſoned. Antipater's irreverence to his fath

The women depoſed, that Antipater would frequently addreſs his mother, purporting, that while he was declining into age, his father ſeemed every day to become younger; that as the king appeared likely to live a conſiderable time, if he ſhould ſurvive him, he might not ſucceed to the throne till the infirmities of old age had rendered him incapable of enjoying the pleaſures of royalty; that the children of Alexander and Ariſtobulus were like ſo many hydra-heads ſhooting forth, while his own iſſue were debarred the ſucceſſion, which the king had conferred upon the ſon of Mariamne; that of all parents, Herod was the moſt unnatural and cruel; that he was a dotard, a tyrant and a ſavage, with whom it was dangerous to live in the profeſſion of friendſhip. The women declared that he had directed the moſt acrimonious reproaches againſt the king for having given him a hundred talents on condition of his holding no further intercourſe with Pheroras, repreſenting that act as a proof of his ſeverity to his brothers; and added, that he had ſignified his intention of retiring with the deponents to Petra.

Herod convinced of Antipater's treachery.

The confeſſion of the women convinced the king of Antipater's treachery; but the circumſtance that moſt particularly ſtruck his attention was that of the hundred talents; for till now he had ſuppoſed that affair to be only known to Antipater. Doris was the firſt object of the king's diſpleaſure. He took from her the valuable trinkets and other ornaments he had preſented to her, to the value of ſeveral talents, and then baniſhed her. When his rage was ſomewhat abated, he relieved the women belonging to Pheroras from the torture: but he was at the ſame time tormented with fear of the conſequence of this mercy; for ſo rigid was he in his cruelties, that, leſt any of the guilty ſhould eſcape, the innocent were frequently put to the torture.

Antipater, the Samaritan, the deputy of the other Antipater, now gave his evidence; by which it appeared that Antipater had diſpatched a friend of Antiphilus into Egypt, to procure poiſon for the king. This poiſon was received from Theudion, Antipater's uncle, and by his order, delivered to Pheroras, who had undertaken to perpetrate the horrid deed, while Antipater was at Rome, and conſequently beyond the reach of ſuſpicion: and Pheroras committed the care of the poiſon to his wife.

On receiving this intelligence, the king ſent immediately for the widow of Pheroras, whom he commanded to make an inſtant diſcovery of the ſecret. She had no ſooner received theſe orders, than ſhe retired under pretence of fetching the poiſon; but threw herſelf from the top of the houſe, at once to prevent the diſcovery, and avoid the torture. But Providence would not thus permit the eſcape of Antipater; for not being killed by the fall, ſhe was taken up, and conveyed to the king; and being ſomewhat recovered from the hurt ſhe had received, Herod urged her to inform him what could have tempted her to run ſuch a hazard; ſolemnly ſwearing that, if ſhe diſcovered the truth, ſhe ſhould be no further puniſhed; but that, if ſhe gave a falſe account, ſhe ſhould be tortured to death, and denied the honours of a funeral.

e evidence of the widow of Pheraras.

Having received this aſſurance, ſhe appealed to Heaven to witneſs the truth of the diſcovery ſhe was preparing to make; and then pronounced the following confeſſion: "When you viſited, and tenderly condoled with my ſick huſband in his illneſs, he called me to him, and declared that your generous concern on his account had convinced him that he had been deceived in his opinion of the light in which you conſidered him, and had therefore harboured an enmity againſt you, and meditated your deſtruction. He then charged me to fetch the remainder of the poiſon which Antipater had brought, and burn it in his preſence, or otherwiſe he ſhould die with an intolerable weight of guilt on his mind. According to his directions, I fetched the poiſon, and burnt the greater part of it in my huſband's preſence, but I reſerved a part for my own uſe, in caſe my misfortunes ſhould urge me to the deſperate reſolution of deſtroying myſelf." She then produced a box containing a ſmall quantity of poiſon. The mother and brother of Antiphilus being examined, from their evidence it appeared that Antiphilus had brought the box out of Egypt, and that he had received the poiſon from his brother, a phyſician of Alexandrion. From the teſtimony of her brothers, it was evident that Mariamne, the daughter of the high-prieſt, had been concerned in the plot. Herod puniſhed the iniquity of the mother in the ſon; for he cancelled that part of his will declaring Herod the ſucceſſor of Antipater.

Mariamne a party in the plot.

CHAP XX.

Antipater alarmed by the death of Pheroras. He is ordered to prepare for his trial. Proofs of his guilt adduced. The king expunges the name of Antipater from his will, and ſubſtitutes that of Antipas.

THE moſt material evidence againſt Antipater was one of his own freedmen, named Bathyllus, who at this juncture arrived from Rome with the poiſon of an aſp, and of other ſerpents, in order that if the poiſon before procured ſhould fail of effect, Phororas and his wife might ſtill be provided with means of depriving the king of life. Bathyllus alſo brought ſeveral counterfeit letters calculated to injure the brothers.

Bathyllus a witneſs againſt Pheroras.

At this time Archelaus and Philip were purſuing their ſtudies at Rome. Being young men of enterpriſing ſpirits, and other excellent qualities, and alſo the ſons of a king, Antipater conſidered them as powerful obſtacles to his ambitious projects, and therefore concerted means for their deſtruction. He forged divers letters under the ſignatures of his friends at Rome, in prejudice of the brothers, pretending that they were accuſtomed to ſpeak in the moſt irreverent terms of their father; to exclaim againſt him on account of the

Antipater concerts the ruin of Archelaus and Philip.

death of Ariſtobulus and Alexander, and for having ordered his return from Rome. Before Antipater quitted Judea, he had cauſed counterfeit letters of a like inſidious tendency to be delivered to Herod, to whom, with a view of avoiding ſuſpicion, he frequently applied in behalf of the princes, whoſe deſtruction he was conſtantly labouring to accompliſh.

Herod anxious for Antipater's return.

Antipater now wrote to Herod, that he had been honourably treated and diſmiſſed by the emperor, and was on the point of commencing his journey. Herod, ſtill anxious till he had him in his power, leſt any precaution ſhould prevent his coming, wrote him letters of great apparent kindneſs, deſiring him to expedite his return; and telling him that, if he made haſte, he might compound for the offence of his mother, whom Antipater knew to be already baniſhed. When he arrived at Tarentum, he received a letter adviſing him of the death of Pheroras, which exceedingly ſhocked him. Some imputed the extremity of his ſorrow to his concern for the death of ſo near a relation; while others attributed it, not to his regard to Pheroras, but to his concern for the loſs of an accomplice and agent in his deteſtable plot, and his fear that what had been already done ſhould be diſcovered, and the whole ſtory of the poiſon revealed.

When he reached Celendris, he began to have certain fore-boding ideas of what might happen, and could not avoid reflecting very ſeriouſly on the ſituation of his mother. Thoſe who were not prudent and cautious among his friends, adviſed him to go forward to his father, till he received certain information of the cauſe of his mother's baniſhment; leſt he himſelf ſhould be involved in the crime imputed to her: but thoſe of leſs judgment, who wiſhed to reviſit their native place without regard to the conſequence to Antipater, urged his proceeding with all poſſible expedition; ſaying, that his delay might cauſe ſuſpicion, and furniſh arguments for his adverſaries; that if any thing was done againſt him, it would be during his abſence; for that if he were on the ſpot, no man would preſume to oppoſe him. They ſaid farther, that it would be the height of folly to hazard a real advantage for an idle chimera; that his buſineſs was to make all expedition to his father, to be within reach of receiving a crown that could not deſcend to any other. Theſe arguments had their weight; and Antipater, as if impelled by a fatality, continued his voyage to the port of Sebaſte in Cæſarea.

He was aſtoniſhed, at his arrival there, to find himſelf avoided by the people, no one being willing to aſſociate with him. It is true that they hated him as much before, but did not ſhew it ſo openly. He went to Rome in great pomp; but his return was altogether as contemptibly mean. He was now acquainted in general with the diſturbances and contentions in the family; but he had the ſenſe to diſguiſe his fears, and conceal an aching heart by a ſmiling countenance. It was not now poſſible for him to make an eſcape, or relieve himſelf from his diſtreſſes by any other means. Still he was not abſolutely certain as to the particular ſtate of affairs at home, ſo that he had hopes either that his crimes were undiſcovered, or that by artifice and confidence he might acquit himſelf.

Antipater e ters the palace, and addreſſes himſelf to his fa ther.

Antipater and his friends having advanced towards the palace, his retinue was contemptuouſly denied admittance at the outer gate, whereupon he entered alone. He had the confidence to addreſs Herod with the appearance of duty and reſpect: but the king extended his hand to prevent his too near approach, ſaying, "Preſumptuous wretch! doſt thou imagine that I can ſubmit to the embrace of a paricide? Curſed be that impiety which prompts thee to approach me, till thou haſt diſproved the charges alledged againſt thee. For what purpoſe doſt thou ſuppoſe Varus, the governor of Syria, to be now here, but to ſentence thee to puniſhment proportioned to thy demerits? Leave my preſence, and be prepared for thy defence by to-morrow morning." Aſtoniſhed at theſe words, Antipater retired in gloomy ſilence. Being ſoon after informed by his mother and wife of the late occurrences, he recovered from his ſtupifaction, and employed himſelf in diviſing what he ſhould urge in his defence.

Antipater's trial.

On the following day, the king convened a council of his friends and relations, and likewſe the friends of Antipater, himſelf and Varus preſiding in the court. Among the witneſſes were ſeveral of the domeſtics of Doris, the mother of Antipater, who produced letters from the mother to the ſon, ſignifying that his father was appriſed of the particulars of his proceedings, and adviſing him to avoid the king, unleſs he was aſſured of receiving protection from Cæſar. The witneſſes having entered the court, Antipater followed, and caſting himſelf at his father's feet, ſaid, "I humbly intreat, Sir, that you will not prejudge my cauſe; hear me impartially, and I cannot fail to produce the moſt inconteſtible evidence of my innocence."

Herod now exhibited a variety of capital charges againſt Antipater, and mentioned many inſtances of his hypocricy, againſt which he admoniſhed Varus to be on his guard. He ſaid, that for his murderous intention, Antipater was deſerving death, and that, however, he might lament his cruel deſtiny, he was determined to inflict condign puniſhment upon all who ſought his deſtruction, though the event might be the utter extinction of his whole family. The king directed Nicolaus to produce the proofs againſt Antipater, who having remained till now proſtrate before his father, aroſe, and having acknowledged the king's unbounded generoſity and kindneſs to him, ſaid, that his unfortunate journey to Rome had afforded his enemies an opportunity of laying the foundation of his ruin. He ſaid, Cæſar was convinced of his loyalty, and had repeatedly commended his veneration towards his father. He then preſented letters to Herod, entreating him to receive them, and ſaying they would fully refute the malicious charges advanced by his accuſers. He requeſted that he might not be condemned upon evidence produced by torture, and concluded with ſaying, that if he was guilty of the horrid crimes imputed to him, the court would be juſtifiable in puniſhing him with the utmoſt ſeverity that could poſſibly be exerciſed. His defence was delivered in ſo pathetic a manner, that Varus and the other auditors appeared to compaſſionate the caſe of the accuſed party: but being aſſured of his guilt, Herod alone remained inflexible.

cuſations
hibited
inſt Anti-
ter.

Nicolaus next addreſſed the court, prefacing the evidence he had to adduce, with obſervations on the artful proceedings of Antipater, whom he accuſed of many capital offences. The unhappy ſituation of public affairs, was wholly imputed to Antipater; and the death of the brothers was repreſented as the conſequence of his calumnies. He was alſo accuſed of meditating the ruin of the ſurvivers, as being in the way of his advancement to the throne. Nicolaus produced the evidence reſpecting the intention of poiſoning the king, in a regular arrangement, and having expatiated on the wickedneſs of Pheroras, ſaying he had acted under the inſtigation of Antipater, alledged that the latter had corrupted the minds of many perſons attached to the king, and rendered the palace a ſcene of diſorder, lewdneſs and confuſion.

Being aſked by Varus what he had to ſay in his defence, Antipater mdae no other reply, than by ſolemnly appealing to Heaven that he was wholly innocent. Hereupon, Varus called for the poiſon, and giving part of it to a perſon under ſentence of death, he expired immediately. Varus now conferred with Herod in private, ſent the proceedings to Cæſar, and departed the following day. Herod likewiſe ſent an account of the proſecution to the emperor, and committed Antipater to cloſe cuſtody.

me an ac-
plice with
ipater.

After this, Antipater was charged with a treacherous deſign againſt Salome. A ſervant of Antiphilus, on his return from Rome, brought the king a letter from Acme, an attendant on the empreſs, in which ſhe informed him, that having found among the papers of her miſtreſs, a number of letters from Salome to Julia, ſhe thought the receipt of them would be deemed a favour by Herod. Theſe letters, which were the production of Antipater, were filled with the moſt ſcandalous invectives againſt, and reproaches of the king; and Acme was only employed to convey them to Herod, on the promiſe of an ample gratuity. What made the guilt of Antipater yet more evident, was a letter from this very Acme to him, conceived in the following terms: "Agreeable to your commands, I have written to your father, and have alſo ſent him other letters. You may be aſſured that, on the peruſal of them, the king will be ſufficiently enraged againſt his ſiſter. Now I have done my duty, let it be your care not to forget the promiſe you have made me."

When this forgery had been detected, and other practices againſt Salome diſcovered, Herod was alarmed and aſtoniſhed on the reflection, that ſhe had ſo narrowly eſcaped from the ſnare laid by Antipater: and an idea now ſtrongly poſſeſſed his imagination that Alexander himſelf had fallen a ſacrifice to ſome ſuch artifice: wherefore he was now reſolved, without loſs of time, to cauſe juſtice to be executed on Antipater, in the name of all the family: but, juſt at this juncture Herod was prevented from carrying his plan into execution, by a violent fit of ſickneſs: however, he tranſmitted to Cæſar an account of the treacherous practices againſt Salome, with information how far Acme was concerned in the plot. This being done, he altered his will, and ſtriking out the name of Antipater, inſerted that of Antipas in its place, but took no notice of Archelaus and Philip, though they were the elder brothers. To the emperor he bequeathed a thouſand talents, beſides other pecuniary gratifications. To the empreſs, her ſons, friends, and freedmen, he left about fifty talents; and to other perſons, lands, and other legacies. To his ſiſter Salome he likewiſe made a very conſiderable bequeſt.

Herod's ſickneſs prevents the execution of Antipater.

Antipas named the ſucceſſor of Herod.

CHAP. XXI.

Herod's unhappy ſituation. The golden eagle deſtroyed. Several people put to death. Herod appeaſes the diſcontents of the populace. He attempts to deſtroy himſelf. Antipater put to death, and ſucceeded by Archelaus. The death of Herod. The advancement of Archelaus celebrated.

OPPRESSED with age, ſickneſs, and vexation, Herod's weakneſs daily increaſed. He was now ſeventy years of age, and ſuch was his compunction for the death of his ſons, that when his bodily complaints were the leaſt troubleſome, his mind was in a continual ſtate of torment. His indiſpoſition having greatly increaſed, the king ſeverely regretted that Antipater was ſtill living; for he had determined not to neglect the firſt opportunity of giving orders for his execution.

A tumult among the populace.

Herod's golden eagle deſtroyed.

At this time, another popular tumult aroſe. The inſurgents were headed by Judas, the ſon of Sephoreas, and Matthias, the ſon of Margalus, two ſophiſts eminent for their knowledge of the laws, and in high reputation with the people. They daily gave lectures which were attended by great numbers of young men. Being informed of the declining ſtate of the king's health, they ſignified to their followers, that this was a favourable opportunity for vindicating the honour of God, by deſtroying ſuch works as had been formed in defiance of his holy laws, ſaying, that placing images, or the likeneſs of any living creatures in the temple was abſolutely prohibited. This was underſtood to allude to the golden eagle which Herod had cauſed to be placed over the great gate of the temple: and the very attempt to deſtroy this image they repreſented as an act that would ſecure eternal felicity. In the mean time, a rumour was propagated that the king was at the point of death; which ſo inflamed the minds of the populace, that ſome of them aſcended the temple in the middle of the day, and lowering themſelves by means of ropes, with axes and other inſtruments cut the golden eagle to pieces. The captain of the guard being informed of this tranſaction, he led a party of ſoldiers to the ſpot, and having taken about forty of the leaders of the tumult into cuſtody, he conducted them into the preſence of the king, to whom they avowed that they had deſtroyed the eagle, and had therein acted conformable with the laws of their country. The king aſked, how it could happen that they were ſo indifferent, when they were certain of being puniſhed with death. They replied, that they were aſſured of the bleſſings of a future life.

The rioters puniſhed.

Enraged at this apparent magnanimity, Herod ſeemed to forget his indiſpoſition through the force of his anger: he ſaid that they were ſeditious and abandoned wretches, who ſought to deſtroy the government under a pretence of law: "But, added he, you ſhall be puniſhed in a way proportioned to the enormity of your crimes." It was now thought that the king's anger might urge him to too great ſeverity: the people, therefore, requeſted that he would be ſatisfied with puniſhing the preſent priſoners, and the two principal agents, and extend his mercy to the others. This he at length complied with, ordering the two ring-leaders, and thoſe who deſcended by the ropes, to be burnt alive, and the others of the combination to be beheaded by the common executioner.

The illneſs of Herod now increaſed ſo that he was pained from head to foot; he had a burning fever, an itching all over his body, pain in his ſtomach and bowels, and the dropſy; his ſecret parts were putrified, and infected with worms; he breathed with difficulty; his nerves were contracted, and he was univerſally convulſed. The ſuperſtitious imputed this complication of diſorders to a judgment on him for the death of the two ſophiſts: yet notwithſtanding his extreme torments, he hoped to find a cure. He croſſed the river Jordan, and tried the warm baths of Callirrhœ, the waters of which are at once grateful to the taſte and medicinal. After this his phyſicians recommended a bath of warm oil; but on the firſt trial of it, he loſt his ſenſes, and his eyes were fixed. His ſituation now ſo alarmed his attendants, that they burſt into grief, and were ſo loud in their expreſſions of ſorrow, that the noiſe in ſome degree recovered the uſe of his faculties. At length, finding that his ſituation was altogether hopeleſs, he directed that each of his ſoldiers ſhould receive a gratuity of fifty drachmas, and that a large ſum of money ſhould be diſtributed to his friends and governors.

Herod's b
berous or
to Salome
and Alexa

On his return to Jericho, when there was no longer expectation of his life, he ſeemed to bid defiance to futurity by one of the moſt horrid reſolutions that can be conceived; for the violence of his diſorder ſeemed only to inflame his rage. He ſent an order through all the country of Judea, that all the nobility ſhould be ſeized, and confined in the circus, or hippodrome. This order being iſſued, he addreſſed Salome, and her huſband Alexas in the following manner: "I am ſenſible that the day of my death will be celebrated by the Jews as a holiday: but if you will pay a proper attention to my directions, I have made an ample proviſion of mourners, and my funeral ſolemnities ſhall be properly celebrated. I therefore charge you that, as ſoon as I am dead, you commiſſion the ſoldiers to enter the circus, and put to death all that are within it. By this mode of proceeding my death will be ſincerely lamented by the whole province of Judea, and every particular family therein."

Herod had no ſooner given theſe directions than his agents arrived from Rome, bringing him letters, which informed that Cæſar had ordered Acme, the ſervant of Julia, to be put to death; and that Antipater was condemned to a ſimilar fate; but that the emperor would have no objection to his being puniſhed with baniſhment only, provided this was agreeable to his father. Theſe letters afforded Herod ſome conſolation; but his violent pains ſoon returning, he was tempted to think of deſtroying himſelf. Being at this time afflicted with a violent cough, he took an apple, and aſked for a knife, as if he intended to pare or cut it. Thus provided, he looked around, to ſee if any one took notice of him, and then lifted his hand to ſtab himſelf. This being ſeen by his nephew Achiab, he ran to him, ſeized his arm, and prevented the intended ſuicide.

Herod attempts to deſtroy himſelf.

This circumſtance gave immediate occaſion to the circulation of a report that the king was dead. The news furniſhed great cauſe of joy to Antipater, who hereupon offered his keepers a conſiderable ſum of money to grant him his liberty: but this the principal officer not only refuſed to comply with, but inſtantly went to the king, with an account of the affair. Herod now exclaimed with more ſtrength than could have been expected from one in his ſituation; and gave orders that his guards ſhould go directly, and put Antipater to death; and depoſit his body in the caſtle of Hyrcanion. This being done, Herod again altered his will, leaving the ſucceſſion to the eldeſt brother Archelaus, in the ſtead of Antipas, on whom be beſtowed a tetrarchy.

He leaves the ſucceſſion to Archelaus.

The death of Herod.

Five days after the execution of Antipater, Herod died, thirty-ſeven years after being declared king of the Romans, and thirty-four after the deceaſe of Antigonus. He was one of the moſt fortunate of men, the troubles in his own family excepted. From a private ſtation he was raiſed to the rank of a king.

The military were as yet unacquainted with the death of the king: during which interval, Salome and her huſband went to the Hippodrome, and gave orders that all the priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty, under the pretence that Herod had altered his reſolution. The priſoners were no ſooner at liberty than the ſoldiers were informed that the king was dead, and being aſſembled together at the amphitheatre at Jericho, Ptolemy, the keeper of the royal ſeal, addreſſed them in a ſpeech in honour of the deceaſed, whom he mentioned as a prince of ſingular good fortune, and condoled with them on the loſs they had ſuſtained. He then read a letter addreſſed particularly to the military, in which he warmly recommended his ſucceſſor to the affectionate regard of the public. In the next place he read the will, whereby the kingdom was left to Archelaus, Philip was declared heir of Trachon, and its adjacencies; and Antipas, as before-mentioned, was appointed tetrarch. Herod alſo directed, by his will, that his ring ſhould be preſented to Cæſar, that he ſhould be acquainted with all that had paſſed, and nothing ſhould be ratified without his conſent. In other reſpects the former will was to deemed valid. Archelaus was congratulated on his advancement by a general acclamation.

The pomp of Herod's funeral.

Archelaus incurred a great expence in the funeral ſolemnities of Herod, which were obſerved with all the pomp and magnificence of royalty. The hearſe was covered with purple, embroidered with gold, and decorated with precious ſtones. The body was likewiſe covered with purple, a diadem was placed upon the head, and upon that was a crown of gold, and in the right hand a ſcepter. The children and relations of the deceaſed ſurrounded the corpſe. The body was preceded by the royal guards, the Thracian troops, Germans and Gauls, marching in military order. The other troops regularly followed their commanders; and the proceſſion was cloſed by five hundred officers, and a numerous company of domeſtics and freemen. Agreeable to the deſire of the deceaſed, the body was depoſited in the caſtle of Hyrcanion.

THE WARS OF THE JEWS.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

A violent tumult. The inſurgents routed by the ſoldiery. Sabinus repairs to Jeruſalem, and demands poſſeſſion of ſome caſtles and treaſure, but is refuſed. Antipas claims a right to the ſucceſſion. Sabinus and Salome accuſe Archelaus. The cauſe heard before Cæſar.

Antiq. l. 17. c. 10.

IN conſequence of Archelaus going to Rome, on account of the death of Herod, new troubles aroſe. After ſeven days mourning, Archelaus, being cloathed in white, advanced to the temple, and he was received by the people with great reſpect and reverence, in return for which, while ſeated upon a throne of gold, he expreſſed himſelf in the moſt gracious and condeſcending manner. Having thanked them for their attention to his father's funeral, and the honours rendered him as the ſucceſſor, he added, "But till Cæſar, our common ſovereign, has confirmed the ſucceſſion, I ſhall neither claim the authority, nor even the name of king, and for this reaſon I refuſed the crown, when the army would have beſtowed it on me at Jericho: though I ſhall ever remember with gratitude the good wiſhes both of ſoldiers and people, when I am poſſeſſed of ſovereign authority through the favour of the emperor; and my friends may rely on my promiſe to render them even more eſſential ſervices than they had received from the deceaſed king."

The gracious addreſs of Archelaus to the people.

This declaration proved highly ſatisfactory to the multiude, ſome of whom preſented petitions to him for the aboliſhment, ſome for the reduction of taxes, and others for the diſcharge of priſoners.

Archelaus complied with every requeſt, and then retired to ſacrifice and feaſt with his friends.

A clamou for juſtice upon Her ſoldiers.

A number of diſcontented people had now aſſembled, who complained much of the public grievances. They ſaid it was infamous in Herod to ſacrifice his people for cutting down the golden eagle from the gate of the temple. The clamour now grew general: ſome beat their breaſts; and others lamented with violent outcries, the loſs of ſuch a number of good men as had fallen ſacrifices for the religion and laws of their country. They demanded juſtice on the inſtruments Herod had made uſe of to execute his vengeance; and peremtorily inſiſted that the high-prieſt ſhould be deprived of his office, and a more upright man appointed in his ſtead.

This circumſtance tranſported Archelaus with rage: but being in haſte to proſecute his journey, he thought it adviſeable to treat them with mild language, and therefore ſent his maſter of the horſe, to requeſt that they would be at peace: but he no ſooner came to the temple, than the leaders of the faction began to aſſault him with ſtones. and would not permit him to ſpeak. Hereupon, Archelaus ſent ſeveral other meſſengers, all of whom were treated in the ſame manner.

On occaſion of the feaſt of the paſſover, great numbers of the Jews reſorted to Jeruſalem, and among them were many of the faction of the two Sophiſts, who came to lament the death of the pretended prieſts, and would not retire from the temple, where they waited in hope of inflaming the paſſion, of their party. Archelaus, apprehending a general tumult, had previouſly ſent a band of ſoldiers, and a tribune, with orders to ſeize the ring-leaders, if any irregularities ſhould be committed. Theſe were attacked, ſome of them killed with ſtones, and the tribune was dangerouſly wounded; when the inſurgents returned to their devotions, with as much unconcern as if nothing had happened. Archelaus being now convinced that force alone could quell them, ſtationed his infantry in the city, and the horſe before the walls. The infantry attacked them while ſacrificing, and killed three thouſand at the altar; on which the reſt fled to the mountains, and Archelaus ordering proclamation to be made that every man ſhould return home, the feſtival was at an end.

Three thou-
d rioters
in.

The tumult being thus appeaſed, Archelaus, with his mother, and his friends Poplas, Ptolemy and Nicolaus, embarked for Rome, leaving Philip to officiate in his abſence. Salome and her children, with the king's nephews and other of his relations, repaired to Archelaus, under pretence of yielding their aſſiſtance towards ſecuring him in the ſucceſſion; but their real motive was to procure him to be puniſhed for having violated the temple.

On their arrival at Cæſarea, they met Sabinus, governor of Syria, who was going to Judea, in order to take poſſeſſion of ſome treaſure left by Herod: but at the requeſt of Archelaus, Varus and Ptolemy prevailed upon him to decline purſuing his journey. He remained at Cæſarea ſome ſhort time, having promiſed not to attempt ſeizing either the caſtles or money, or to purſue any other meaſures in prejudice of Archelaus, without the authority of Cæſar. But no ſooner was Varus departed towards Antioch, and Archelaus on his progreſs to Rome, than Sabinus haſtened to Jeruſalem, where having taken up his reſidence in the palace, he ſent to the governors of the caſtles, demanding thoſe places to be delivered to him, and to the officers of the treaſury, for them to account with him for the money. The anſwer he received from the officers was, that they were in the ſervice of Cæſar, and not of Archelaus.

Antipas
claims the
ucceſſion.

At this time, Antipas claimed a right to the ſovereignty, inſiſting that the former will of Herod, wherein the ſucceſſion was limitted to him, ought to be deemed valid, in preference to that ſubſequently executed; adding that he was confident his pretentions would be ſupported by Salome and other relations. The chief dependance of Antipas was on Ireneus, a man of abilities, and a perſuaſive orator. So confident was he of ſucceſs, that he would not liſten to thoſe who adviſed him to pay reſpect to the ſeniority of Archelaus, and to the ſecond will of his deceaſed father. On his arrival at Rome, Antipas was joined by the enemies of Archelaus. He entertained great hopes from the aſſiſtance of Sabinus, who had written letters in his favour to Cæſar, and exhibited complaints againſt Archelaus. Salome and her adherents drew up a charge againſt Archelaus, and preſented it to Cæſar; and Archelaus having written a memorial in his own juſtification, it was delivered, together with his father's ſeal-ring, and an account of the treaſure left by him, to the emperor, by Ptolemy. Cæſar now aſſembled the Roman nobility in council, for the purpoſe of trying the merits of the caſe.

Archelaus
accuſed.

The cauſe
heard before
Cæſar.

Antipater, the ſon of Salome, opened the cauſe, inſiſting that Archelaus had long exerciſed ſovereign authority, and that it was now idle to diſpute about the name; that it was ſingular he ſhould appeal to Cæſar, whoſe judicial authority he had denied; that he had ſat in royal ſtate, on a throne of gold, and aſſerted ſovereign authority by altering the order of the militia, by diſpoſing of places, and by receiving and granting petitions; by giving liberty to priſoners; by pardoning ſome public offenders, and conſigning others to death; thereby making Cæſar a mere ſhadow of royalty. He ſaid, that notwithſtanding the affectation of being every day cloathed in mourning for his father, Archelaus conſtantly paſſed the night in feaſting and revelling; adding that the diſguſt conceived by the multitude, on account of his hypocricy, was the cauſe of the late ſedition: Antipater then mentioned the particulars of the ſlaughter in and near the temple, around which the dead bodies were more numerous than had been known in the moſt deſtructive foreign wars. He urged, that ſuch was the implacable cruelty of Archelaus, that it could not reaſonably be ſuppoſed Herod would, while in poſſeſſion of his ſenſes, have demiſed to him the crown; inſiſting that when he made the latter will, his mind was more diſordered than his body. He contended, that no defect could be charged upon Antipas, who was in every reſpect qualified for government, and that, admitting Herod to have been in poſſeſſion of his mental faculties at the time of making the laſt will, by ſubverting the laws of the conſtitution, Archelaus had merited to be removed from power. Antipater concluded with aſking, whether innumerable miſchiefs were not to be expected, if Cæſar's countenance were to be given to the raſh young man, who had hitherto acted in deſpite of the emperor's authority.

Several of the relations of Archelaus having given evidence againſt him, Nicolaus roſe to ſpeak in behalf of the defendant.

dant. He inſiſted that the ſlaughter in the temple was a matter of abſolute neceſſity, and that the perſons who were ſlain were the enemies of Cæſar. He aſſerted, that the other alledged crimes were adviſed by thoſe who now oppoſed Archelaus. With reſpect to the ſecond will, he obſerved, that it ought to be deemed valid, becauſe the teſtator, when he made it, referred the confirmation of it to Cæſar; a plain proof that the man muſt have had ſenſe enough to appoint the right heir, who had ſo properly recognized the undoubted ſovereign.

The court diſmiſſed, without any reſolution being formed.

Nicolaus having finiſhed his plea, Archelaus ſuddenly threw himſelf at the feet of Cæſar, who raiſed him ſo graciouſly, that it was thought he deemed him worthy to ſucceed his father; but for the preſent no reſolution was taken. Cæſar now diſmiſſed the council, and deliberated with his friends how he ſhould act. It was doubted if any of thoſe named in the will ſhould be choſen to the ſucceſſion; or whether the principality ſhould be divided among the family; for they were too numerous to be all properly ſupported at a moderate expence.

CHAP. II.

Malthace dies. The feaſt of the Pentecoſt. The temple aſſaulted, and the holy treaſure pillaged. Great troubles in Judea.

An inſurrection among the Jews.

BEFORE Cæſar had formed a determination with regard to the ſucſucceſſion, Malthace, the mother of Archelaus, died. In the mean time, Varus diſpatched letters from Syria, mentioning a revolt among the Jews. Having foreſeen that diſturbances would ariſe, when Archeleus departed to Rome, he repaired to Jeruſalem, with three legions, in order to reſtrain the incendiaries; but his efforts proving ineffectual, he ſtationed one legion in the city, and returned with the other two to Antioch.

Sabinus inflames the diſturbance.

Upon going afterwards to Jeruſalem, Sabinus more violently inflamed the diſturbances; for finding the troops left by Varus, and a number of his domeſtics armed, and ready to ſecond his violence, his intention was to take poſſeſſion of the caſtles, and the money left by Herod. This being the time of the feaſt of the Pentecoſt, prodigious numbers of people aſſembled from Idumea, Gallilee, Jericho, and the country beyond the Jordan, and joined thoſe of Judea, who excelled the others, both in numbers and courage. Having ſeparated into three bodies, they pitched their tents, one diviſion to the weſt of the palace, one to the north of the temple, and the third to the ſouth, towards the hyppodrome; ſo that the Romans were beſet on every ſide.

Sabinus take refuge in the tower of Phaſael;

A great ſlaughter

The holy treaſure ſeized.

Alarmed at the numbers and courage of the enemy, Sabinus ſent repeatedly to Varus for ſuccours; ſaying, that if he was not reinforced, the conſequence would be fatal. In the mean time, he retreated to the caſtle of Phaſael, which commanded all the reſt, and from thence made a ſignal for his troops to attack the enemy; but he had not courage to lead them to the aſſault. The Romans furiouſly aſſailed the temple, and a deſperate battle enſued. While the Jews received no aſſiſtance from above, the Romans, who were of ſuperior ſkill, had conſiderably the advantage: but when the former gained poſſeſſion of the galleries, they much galled the enemy from thence, putting great numbers to death, while their companions were at too great a diſtance to avenge their loſs. Thus diſtreſſed, the Romans ſet fire to the galleries, which were of incomparable workmanſhip. Great numbers of the Jews were burnt to death; many were ſlain by the enemy when the galleries fell; ſome precipitated themſelves from the battlements; and others put an end to their lives with their ſwords, prefering that mode of death to periſhing by fire. A compleat conqueſt being obtained, the ſoldiers ſeized the holy treaſure, to the amount of four hundred talents, leaving the reſt to Sabinus, except what was clandeſtinely carried away.

In conſequence of this loſs, a more numerous and valiant body of Jews aſſembled; and beſieging the palace, ſummoned it to ſurrender, threatening to give quarter on no other conditions; but offering Sabinus leave to depart with his troops, among whom were numbers of volunteers, and three thouſand courageous men of Sebaſte: of theſe Rufus commanded the horſe, and Gratus the foot: they were valiant officers, and the favourites of their partizans. The Jews, urging the ſiege, attempted the walls of the caſtle: ſtill adviſing Sabinus to retire, and not provoke his fate, by oppoſing their reſolution to recover their liberties. Sabinus would have retreated, but he was afraid to truſt them, ſuſpecting ſome treachery was intended; wherefore he maintained the ſiege in hopes that Varus would relieve him.

At this time, diſorders were univerſal in Judea, and many waited an opportunity of inſulting the government. Two thouſand veterans, who had formerly ſerved under Herod, were aſſembled in Idumea. They were well armed, ſkilfully commanded, and had frequently encountered the king's troops, under Achiah, kinſman to Herod, who was not able to cope with them in the open field, but had ſucceſsfully attacked them in ſallies from fortified towns.

Judas, the ſon of Hezekias, the celebrated captain of robbers, formerly made captive by Herod, was now in Sepphoris of Galilee, followed by a number of men, who forced the royal magazines, furniſhing themſelves with arms and ſtores, and ravaging the country without oppoſition.

Simon and his followers.

On the other ſide the river was Simon, who had been a domeſtic in the ſervice of Herod. He was diſtinguiſhed by the uncommon ſize, elegance, and ſymmetry of his perſon. He was followed by a ſet of vagabonds, and ranging the country with a crown on his head, burning and deſtroying as he went, even to Jericho, where he ſet fire to the palace, reduced to aſhes many adjacent buildings, and obtained a very valuable treaſure. He would probably have reduced the whole country, but that Gratus arrived with a body of people from Sebaſte, and bowmen from Trachon; on which a battle enſued, when Simon was routed, with the loſs of many men; and while he was flying acroſs a ſteep bottom, Gratus killed him by a blow acroſs the neck and ſhoulders. Another gang of depredators aſſembled near Amathus and the banks of Jordan, and ravaged all the adjacent country.

Of the rebel Athronges.

At this time a ſhepherd, named Athronges, had the confidence to claim a right to ſovereign authority. He was robuſt of body, and of ſufficient reſolution to brave danger and death in their moſt frightful forms.

He had four brothers who aſſiſted him, and acted as his officers and counſellors. Each man commanded a troop, and with theſe they ravaged the country. When buſineſs of conſequence demanded diſpatch, Athronges ſat on a throne with a crown on his head, iſſuing orders, and pronouncing judgment, in all the ſtate of royalty. Thus the five brothers proceeded for a while, in deſpite of all oppoſition. They attacked the Romans, the king's troops, and even the Jews when any advantage could be gained by a contention. A party of the Romans, while conveying grain to one of their legions, was met by theſe free booters near Emmaus*, and a battle enſuing, they ſlew Arius, the Centurion, and about forty of his beſt men; and the reſt would probably have ſhared the ſame fate, had not Gratus, with the people of Sebaſte, opportunity arrived to their relief. At length three of the brothers were made priſoners; the eldeſt by Archelaus, and the two next by Gratus and Ptolemy; and the fourth ſurrenderd upon conditions to Archelaus.

CHAP. III.

Sepphoris and other places taken. Upon the approach of Varus, the Jews quit the ſiege of Jeruſalem. Near two thouſand of the principal inſurgents crucified. The generoſity of Varus to the Jews of Idumea.

RECEIVING intelligence that the legion he had left in Jeruſalem was in danger of being loſt, Varus haſtened to their relief with two other legions and four diviſions of horſe, giving notice for the auxiliaries of the king and prince to join him at Ptolemais. On his way, he received a reinforcement of fifteen hundred armed men from Berytus. On his arrival at Ptolemais he was joined by Aretas, king of Arabia, who was an inveterate enemy to Herod. Having drawn up his forces near the town, he ſent a detachment into Galilee, under the command of his friend Gallus, who in a ſhort time, encountered and vanquiſhed a party of the enemy, effected an entrance into the city of Sepphoris, and after deſtroying the place by fire, made ſlaves of the inhabitants.

Sepphoris burnt.

Varus now marched into Samaria, but offered no injury to the city, in conſideration of the people not having engaged in the revolt. He then encamped his army at Arus, a village belonging to Ptolemais, which place the Arabians deſtroyed, becauſe the owner was a friend to Herod. The army then advanced to the fortified city of Sappho †, which they plundered. Emmaus being deſerted by the inhabitants, it was burnt by the order of Varus, in revenge for the death of Arius and his companions.

Varus now marched towards Jeruſalem, and on his approach the Jews abandoned the ſiege, many of them flying for ſafety to the woods and fields: but the citizens in general congratulated him on his arrival, diſclaiming all concern in the revolt. They declared that ſo far from joining the inſurgents, they were equally blocked up with the Romans. On his approach, Varus was met by Joſeph, the nephew of Archelaus, Rufus and Gratus, the king's generals, the people of Sebaſte, and the Roman ſoldiers, all in military array. Not daring to meet Varus, Sabinus privately retreated to the ſea-coaſt. In the mean time, Varus diſpatched troops through the country in ſearch of the authors of the inſurrection, and great numbers being taken, he cauſed near two thouſand of the moſt criminal to be crucified, and many others to be impriſoned. Varus diſcharged the Arabians on account of their not having acted as ſoldiers of honour, but having, on the contrary, directed their attention wholly to ſpoil and devaſtation.

Near two thouſand people crucified.

Upon receiving intelligence that ten thouſand Jews were in arms in the neighbourhood of Idumea, Varus marched to oppoſe them; but by the advice of Achiah, they laid down their arms, and ſurrendered. He treated the common people with lenity, but the officers he ſent to Cæſar. Some of theſe the emperor pardoned, but thoſe who were related to Herod, he proceeded againſt as being traitors to their king. Having thus adjuſted affairs at Jeruſalem, Varus left there the garriſon he had before ſtationed for the ſecurity of the city, and proceeded to Antioch.

---

* Al. Ammaus.

† Sampho. Antiq.

CHAP. IV.

The Jews ſubmit their caſe to Cæſar. The emperor ſettles the government, and adjuſts the will of Herod.

The Jews petition Cæſar for a free exerciſe of their religion.

WITH the conſent of Varus, fifty deputies were ſent from Jeruſalem to Rome, being authoriſed to petition Cæſar, that the Jews might be allowed the free exerciſe of their religion, and this requiſition was ſeconded by eight thouſand Jews reſident in Rome. Hereupon, the emperor ſummoned a council of the Roman nobility, and his particular friends, to meet in the temple of Apollo, upon Mount Palatine, a fine building erected by him at a great expence.

When the council met, Archelaus and his friends ranged themſelves on one hand, and a great number of the Jews and their ambaſſadors on the other. The relations of Archelaus ſeemed to act a neutral part. The ill-will they bore him would not permit them to eſpouſe his cauſe; and, at the ſame time, they were aſhamed to oppoſe a prince of his blood, by taking part with his enemies. Among others who were preſent was Philip, the brother of Archelaus, whom Varus had diſpatched on two friendly motives: the firſt was, that he might be ready to aid his brother, if his ſervice ſhould be wanted; and the other, that he might obtain a ſhare in the government, if Cæſar ſhould determine to divide it among the children of Herod.

In the council it was alledged, that Herod had acted as a lawleſs tyrant; that he had condemned great numbers of his ſubjects to the moſt cruel torments, and plundered their cities and towns of the moſt valuable effects, and oſtentatiouſly laviſhed them upon foreigners: ſo that after his advancement to the throne, the ſufferings of the Jews were more ſevere than they had experienced ſince their deliverance from the Babyloniſh captivity. It was further ſaid, that the character of Archelaus was not leſs deteſtable than that of his father; and that he had given a deplorable proof of being of a diſpoſition ſimilar to that of his predeceſſor in the murder of three thouſand citizens upon his advancement to the throne. It was added, that the Jews had only to ſupplicate Cæſar to compaſſionate their ſufferings, and protect them from the cruelty of their oppreſſors; that he would annex Judea to Syria, and ſubject them to the Roman government; when it would appear they were not the turbulent and ſeditious people they had been repreſented by their enemies.

In reply, Nicolaus ſpoke in extenuation of the crimes imputed to the late and preſent king; and then proceeded to draw a general character of the Jewiſh nation. He inſiſted that they were a people averſe to regal government, and impatient of every kind of controul; and concluded with ſeverely cenſuring the relations of Archelaus, for taking part with his malicious accuſers. Having heard both parties, Cæſar diſmiſſed the council; and after a few days conſideration, he gave one half of the kingdom, with the title of ethnarch to Archelaus, promiſing, that if he ſhould appear deſerving the honour, he would confer upon him the regal dignity. The other half of the kingdom he divided between Philip and Antipas, ſons of Herod, at the ſame time conſtituting them ethnarchs. Antipas had the country beyond the river, together with Galilee, the annual value thereof being two hundred talents. Philip had Batanea, Trachon, Auranitis, with part of the land of Zeno, near Jamnia; his yearly revenue being one hundred talents.

Cæſar's diviſion of the kingdo

The ethnarchy of Archelaus amounted to four thouſand talents, and conſiſted of Idumea, Judea, and Samaria; but to this laſt was remitted a fourth of its tribute, as a gratuity for not being concerned in the rebellion with their neighbours. Straton's Tower, Sebaſte, Joppa, and * Jeruſalem were included in the lot of Archelaus: but the Greek cities of Gaza, Gadara, and Hyppon were ſeparated from the kingdom, and annexed to Syria. To Salome, excluſive of what the king had left her, Cæſar gave Jamnia, Aſotus, and Phaſaelis, with a palace at Aſkalon: all eſtimated at ſixty talents: but the palace was made ſubject to the dominion of the ethnarchy. When Cæſar had adjuſted Herod's will, he gratified his two daughters with a preſent of five hundred pieces of minted money, on their marriage with the ſons of Pheroras; and finally, on the diviſions of Herod's patrimony, he diſtributed among the family a thouſand talents, which were left to himſelf; reſerving only a few trifling articles, in remembrance of the teſtator.

CHAP. V.

Alexander perſonated by an impoſtor, who is condemned to the gallies. The projector of

---

* Some read Anthedon for Jeruſalem.

the impoſtor puniſhed with death.

lexander
rſonated.

A Young Jew, who had been educated at Sidon, with the freedman of a Roman citizen, at this time undertook to perſonate Alexander, who had been put to death by Herod. He was adviſed and encouraged in the purſuit of this ſtratagem, by another Jew who was acquainted with the perſons and the various intrigues of thoſe forming the court of Herod. This man accompanied his aſſociate to Rome, and inſtructed him to pretend, that the perſons employed by Herod to put himſelf and his brother Ariſtobulus to death, having relented in their favour, conveyed them to a place of ſafety, and ſubſtituted the bodies of two other men in their ſtead. This ſtory gaining credit with many of the Jews of Crete, they abundantly ſupplied the impoſtor with whatever his occaſions required. Proceeding to Melos, he was there received in the moſt bountiful manner. When he came to Puteoli, he was preſented with valuable preſents by the Jews of that place, while the friends of his ſuppoſed father paid him the reſpect due to a ſovereign prince. In fact, there was ſuch an amazing likeneſs between him and the real Alexander, that thoſe who had ſeen the latter, actually believed this man to be him. So much credit this ſtory gained, that the Jews of Rome flocked about him, thronging every ſtreet through which he was to paſs; carrying him about in a chair of ſtate, and contributing by every inſtance of reſpect and munificence, to give an air of reality to the counterfeit.

Having ſeen Alexander when accuſed by Herod, Cæſar had ſome recollection of his perſon. Suſpecting the matter to be an impoſition, and deeming a ſtrict enquiry into ſo ſingular an affair to be abſolutely neceſſary, the emperor ordered Celadus to conduct the young man into his preſence. On the firſt view, Celadus ſtrongly ſuſpected him to be an impoſtor, and his opinion was confirmed upon obſerving the coarſeneſs of his ſkin, the inelegance of his ſhape, and the aukwardneſs of his addreſs. Upon being queſtioned reſpecting Ariſtobulus, he replied, "My brother Ariſtobulus I left in perfect health at Cyprus: a ſurpriſe might be fatal, and therefore we deemed it not prudent to appear together." Celadus now took him aſide, telling, that he knew him to be an impoſtor; but that if he would give up the contriver of the ſtratagem, he would pledge himſelf that Cæſar ſhould ſpare his life. This he agreed to do, and having accompanied Celadus to the emperor, mentioned the name of the Jew who had adviſed him to adopt the ſtratagem, as a means of extorting money from the public. Hereupon, the emperor condemned the counterfeit Alexander to the gallies, an employment adapted to his athletic form, and ordered his accomplice to be puniſhed with death.

The impoſtor detected.

CHAP. VI.

Archelaus baniſhed, and his effects confiſcated. A foreboding dream. A ſingular dream of the princeſs Glaphyra. Her viſion of her firſt huſband. She dies two days after relating her dream.

Archelaus baniſhed for his oppreſſion, and his goods ſeized. A foreboding dream.

ARCHELAUS being ſettled in his ethnarchy, former enmities revived in his mind, and he ſeverely oppreſſed both the Jews and Samaritans. Thoſe people jointly diſpatched an embaſſy to Cæſar, complaining of the conduct of Archelaus, who was thereupon baniſhed to Vienne, a city of Gaul, and all his effects were confiſcated. This was in the ninth year of his government.

It is related of Archelaus, that previous to his being ſummoned to attend Cæſar, he dreamt that he ſaw ſome oxen eat nine large ears of corn, and that upon applying to divers Chaldeans and magicians for an interpretation, their opinions were various and contradictory: but that at length, an Eſſene, named Simon, gave the following explanation: "The nine ears of corn allude to an equal number of years; the oxen ſignify over-turning or changing of things, as the earth is turned over by the plough. You will reign as many years as there were ears of corn, and your death will be preceded by various changes of fortune." Within five days after this interpretation, Archelaus was ſummoned to make his defence before Cæſar.

The princeſs Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and wife of the Archelaus before-mentioned, had alſo a ſingular dream. Her firſt huſband was Alexander, brother to Archelaus, and ſon of Herod, who cauſed him to be put to death. After his diſeaſe, ſhe was married to Juba, king of Lybia, and after his demiſe ſhe reſided with her father.

On firſt ſeeing her, Archelaus, the ethnarch, he fell ſo violently in love with her, that he diſmiſſed his wife Mariamne, and married her. Not long after this ſhe returned to Judea, where ſhe beheld her firſt huſband in a viſion, who reproached her in the following manner: "Abandoned woman! would not one huſband after me ſuffice thee? And art thou ſhameleſs enough to wed a third, and even under my roof? This third, too, my own brother? This is an inſult not to be borne: but thy conduct will not avail thee: I will have thee again, in deſpite of thy will." Glaphyra died two days after ſhe had related this dream to her friends.

A ſtrange dream of the princeſs Glaphyra.

CHAP

CHAP. VII.

Account of three ſects among the Jews, called Eſſenes, Phariſees, and Sadducees.

THE ethnarchy of Archelaus being reduced to a province, Cæſar appointed Coponius, a Roman knight, governor thereof. During his government, one Judas, a Galilean, incited the people to a revolt, hinting that by acknowledging the ſovereignty of the Romans, and paying them tribute, they treated God and man in the ſame manner. Undoubtedly the ſentiments of this man were peculiar to himſelf.

Three ſorts of Jews; Phariſees, Sadducees and Eſſenes. Of the Eſſenes.

Among the Jews are three ſects of religion: Eſſenes, Phariſees, and Sadducees; of which the firſt are moſt diſtinguiſhed for their moral and religious conduct. The Eſſenes are the moſt friendly among each other of any people exiſting. They are enemies equally to pleaſure and to vice, and deem continence, and the ſubjection of their paſſions as the firſt of virtues. They have no exalted idea of marriage; but are fond of the children of other people, whom they take when young, and educate them as their own. Their objections to marriage do not lead them to wiſh the extinction of mankind; but they think the women frail, and doubt their fidelity to any ſingle man.

They diſpiſe abundance of wealth; and one principal cement of their ſociety is the enjoyment of their poſſeſſions in common, ſo that none of them ſhall experience the extremity of riches or poverty: but the whole ſociety, like brothers, ſhare in the common bounties of providence.

They cannot bear that oil ſhould touch their bodies; and if ſuch a thing happens by accident, are uneaſy till they get rid of it. They affect great ſimplicity in their apparel, not regarding how coarſe it is, ſo it be clean and white.

From the beſt men of their ſociety they chuſe ſtewards, to whom they commit the receipt and management of their revenues, leaving it to them to diſtribute to the brotherhood, according to their ſeveral neceſſities.

They do not reſide in any fixed habitations, but wander about in different cities, where they are always ready to accommodate ſuch of their party as may happen to come there, though they have been perfect ſtrangers till ſuch accidental meeting.

When they travel, they carry nothing with them but arms for their protection. There are always ſome of the fraternity in every city, to accommodate their friends; ſo that they are in no want of lodgings, proviſions, cloaths, or the other neceſſaries of life. Their dreſs is not unlike that worn by children when under the care of their preceptors.

They neither change either their cloaths nor ſhoes till they are ragged, or worn out. They neither buy nor ſell one with another; but chearfully ſupply each other with ſuch things as are wanted; and this not in the way of exchange: for their laws compel the one to give, and leave the other at liberty to accept.

They are the moſt conſcientious men exiſting. They will not ſpeak a word of common buſineſs before the riſing of the ſun: but, at that time, uſe traditional forms of prayer, in which they aſk of God that the ſun may ſhine on them. Theſe devotions ended, they engage in their various occupations till the fifth hour of the day*, when they again aſſemble, with linen cloths thrown over them, and waſh themſelves from head to foot with cold water; which being done, they retreat to their cells, where no perſon of any other profeſſion is permitted to come near them. Thence they proceed into a refectory, which they deem almoſt as holy as the temple. Here they remain ſome time without ſpeaking, when the baker brings each man his loaf, and the cook a plate, or meſs of ſoup to every one, and ſets it before them. The prieſt then ſays grace, before which no one muſt preſume to touch his food. After dinner, ſolemn thanks are returned, and then they ſtrip off their habits, which they deem ſomewhat ſacred, and proceed to their common employment till evening. When they go to ſupper they ſit at one table, and if they have any viſitors they ſit with them.

No noiſe or diſturbance is heard in their houſes. They ſpeak alternately; and their gravity makes them greatly admired by ſtrangers. Theſe are the conſequences of their ſober life, and moderation in eating and drinking. The advice of their ſuperiors is neceſſary in every act they do, except thoſe of charity, in which they are left to their own diſcretion. Yet they are not permitted to give any thing to their relations, without conſent of their governors.

They have great command of their paſſions; are men of firm faith, fond of peace, and deem their word as ſacred as an oath: in fact, they conſider the taking an oath is worſe than perjury; and have no opinion of a man who cannot be credited without calling God to witneſs what he ſays. They are great admirers of ancient wiſdom, as far as it relates to the good of ſoul or body; particularly reſpecting remedies for diſeaſes;

---

* The antients begun to reckon their hours of the day at our ſix in the morning, which they called the firſt, the ſecond, the third hour of the day, &c. their fifth hour therefore muſt be our eleven o'clock in the forenoon.

and the virtues of plants, minerals, metals, and ſtones.

e form of ring into ſociety.

If a perſon is diſpoſed to enter into their ſociety, they do not haſtily admit him, but keep him on trial for a year. Thoſe thus on probation receive each a pick-ax, a girdle, and a white garment. After a man has given ſome proof of his continence and virtue, his diet is changed, and he is allowed the uſe of the purifying waters: but he muſt be two years on probation before he is admitted to the table in the refectory. After this, he is admitted into the ſociety; but not deemed an eſtabliſhed member of it, till he has bound himſelf to the following conditions.

He muſt firſt ſolemnly profeſs to love and worſhip God; to do juſtice to all men; not to injure any one, even if commanded to do it; to abhor all wicked men; to aſſociate with the friends of juſtice and equity; to keep faith with all men, but eſpecially with princes, who are the appointed ſervants of God. He muſt declare that, if he ſhould be promoted above his companions, he will not abuſe his power to the injury of thoſe beneath him, nor by elegance of dreſs diſtinguiſh himſelf from his inferiors; but that he will love truth, and devote himſelf to it, and puniſh thoſe who ſpeak falſely. He muſt bind himſelf to keep his hands free from theft and falſe dealing, and his ſoul unpolluted with deſire of unlawful gain: not to conceal the myſteries of religion from his brethren of the profeſſion, nor develope them to the prophane, even to ſave his life. With regard to his doctrine, he muſt promulgate only what he has been taught; endeavour to preſerve the doctrine he profeſſes, the books written concerning it, and the names of thoſe from whom he received it. Theſe profeſſions and proteſtations are uſed as a teſt to new members, to bind them ſtrictly to their duty.

ir mode puniſhing nders.

When any perſon is detected in a notorious wickedneſs, he is turned out of the ſociety; and theſe generally make an unfortunate exit. The man who is reprobated by theſe ſolemn vows is not permitted to receive a ſingle mouthful of bread from the hands of a ſtranger, even though his life depended on it; ſo that they are driven to graze like beaſts, till the fleſh periſhes from their bones. The ſociety have ſometimes received them again, when they have been in this utter extremity, and at the point of death: conceiving that the puniſhment they had undergone was a kind of attonement for the crime.

They are ſingularly ſtrict in the adminiſtration of juſtice: nothing is determined on without being carried by a hundred voices; and there is no revoking the judgment when it is once paſt.

Second to the authority of God they deem that of their law-giver, to ſpeak ill of, or blaſpheme whom is puniſhed with death. They pay the utmoſt reſpect to their elders, and to the majority of the people; deeming it reaſonable to obey the former, and attend to the opinion of the latter. When ten of them meet in council, no one is permitted to ſpeak if the other nine oppoſe him. Spitting towards the midſt of the company, or on the right hand, they deem an act of immorality.

No Jews are ſo ſtrict obſervers of the Sabbath as theſe people. On the preceding evening they eat a meal to ſuffice for the Sabbath, that they may not kindle a fire on that day, on which they dare not remove a pot or diſh from one place to another, or even relieve themſelves by a natural evacuation. When, on other days, they have theſe neceſſary calls, they dig a hole near a foot deep, with a pick-ax, and having diſburthened themſelves, fill the hole with earth, ſuperſtitiouſly careful that ſuch an object ſhall not pollute the beams of the ſun. Thus they attempt a ſolemn purification, after a common relief of nature.

The people profeſſing this way of life are in four diviſions; agreeable to the obligations under which they have reſpectively bound themſelves. The younger are deemed ſo much inferior to the elder, that if they happen to touch each other, they are under the neceſſity of purifying, as if they had touched a ſtranger. They live to a great age; many of them to more than a hundred years, which we may naturally attribute to the purity of their food, and the ſimplicity of their manners.

Their contempt of danger and death.

Their reſolution is not ſhaken when they are in the moſt imminent danger; and they prefer an honourable death to the continuance of life. During the wars between the Jews and the Romans, the former reſolutely ſuſtained the moſt excruciating torments, ſome ſubmitting to be burnt alive, and others to have their bones broken, or otherwiſe to be moſt cruelly treated, rather than ſpeak diſreſpectfully of our great legiſlator, or to taſte of prohibited food. With chearful countenances they triumphed over their tormentors, yielding up their lives with a ſhare of reſolution that evinced their firm hope of a glorious immortality.

The Eſſenes believe that the body is mortal, but that the ſoul being equally unſubſtantial with the moſt ſubtle air, is incorruptible and immortal; that it is encloſed in the body, by a kind of natural inclination or attraction, and that when ſeparated from the body, it aſcends to the regions of eternal bliſs. This opinion is not diſſimilar to that of the Greeks, who imagine a place beyond the ocean, where ſnow is not known, and where neither heat nor rain prevail in the extreme, but which is refreſhed with gentle gales. This they deem the reſidence of happy ſouls, ſuppoſing that thoſe of the wicked are conſigned to violent tempeſts, ſevere froſts, and endleſs miſery. This has ſome reſemblance to the opinion of the Greeks, concerning the Fortunate Iſlands, which they repreſent as being appropriated to the reception of the ſpirits of their heroes and demi-gods. The Greeks believe there is a hell, deſcribing it as a pit of immenſe depth, containing numberleſs plagues and torments, as Syſiphus, Tantalus, Ixion, and Tityus. Among the Eſſenes are ſome who undertake to predict the events of futurity, preparatory to which they undergo the ceremony of purification; and it generally happens that their predictions are verified.

There is another ſect of Eſſenes who agree with the former with regard to laws, manners, and food; but not in reſpect of marriage; for they ſay, that thoſe who oppoſe this inſtitution are declared enemies of mankind, as they would prevent the propagation of the human race; urging, that if every one held this ſentiment, the human race would ſoon become extinct. In all the concerns of life theſe people act with great caution: they ſubject the women to a probation of three years, and if, at the end of that period, they are in health proper for child-bearing, they are then deemed qualified for marriage. Among theſe the women are covered when they waſh, in the ſame manner as the men.

Of the Phariſees.

The Phariſees are the moſt eminent doctors of the law, and men of the greateſt learning in all the rites and ceremonies of the Jews. The principal article in their creed is that, "Every thing is effected by God and fate;" yet that it is much in our own power to determine whether we do well or ill; only fate ſometimes interpoſes in particular inſtances." They acknowledge the immortality of the ſoul, and believe that the ſouls of good men are tranſmigrated into other bodies; but that the ſouls of the wicked are ſent into a ſtate of eternal miſery.

Of the Sadducees.

On the contrary, the Sadducees abſolutely deny the doctrine of fate. They ſay that "God is incapable of doing evil, but leaves men at liberty to act as they pleaſe; and that they have their choice of good and evil." With regard to future rewards and puniſhments, they have no idea of them. The Phariſees are a ſociable people, and live in harmony with each other: but the Sadducees are perpetually diſagreeing among themſelves, and are remarkably ſevere in their conduct towards ſtrangers.

CHAP. VIII.

Auguſtus dies, and is ſucceeded by Tiberius. Pilate ſucceeds to the government of Judea. A popular tumult in conſequence of Cæſar's enſigns being conveyed to Jeruſalem. They are removed. Another diſturbance. Agrippa impriſoned. Tiberius ſucceeded by Caius Cæſar, who promotes Agrippa. Herod dies in Spain.

THE ethnarchy of Archelaus being reduced to a province, Herod and Philip, otherwiſe named Antipas, continued in poſſeſſion of their tetrarchies. Salome died, bequeathing her eſtate to the empreſs Livia*.

Auguſtus dies, and is ſucceeded by Tiberius.

After reigning fifty-ſeven years, ſix months and two days, Auguſtus died, and was ſucceeded by Tiberius, the ſon of Livia, in the government of the Roman empire. In Paneas, Philip the tretrach built a city, which he called Cæſarea. This place was ſituated at the head of the river Jordan. He alſo conſtructed a city in Gaulanitis, giving it the name of Julias. Tiberius in Galilee, and Julias in Perea, were built by Herod.

Cæſar's enſigns conveyed into Jeruſalem.

Tiberius having appointed Pilate governor of Judea, he privately conveyed into Jeruſalem, by night, ſome enſigns of Cæſar, with his image on them. Hereupon the Jews grew tumultuous, apprehending the loſs of their religion and liberties, by this inſult on their laws, which ſtrictly forbid the bringing of images into the city. Great numbers of people from all parts of the province ſoon inflamed the uproar in the city; on which the Jews went in a body to Cæſarea, beſeeching Pilate to direct the images to be removed. Pilate paid no attention to their remonſtrances; on which the Jews threw themſelves on the ground near his houſe, and continued in that poſture five days and nights.

Pilate aſcended a tribunal in the great court on the ſixth day, and ſummoned the Jews, as if to acquaint them with his determination: but, on a ſignal being given, they inſtantly found themſelves ſurrounded by armed ſoldiers three in depth. The Jews were alarmed at this circumſtance, and ſtill more when Pilate declared that, unleſs they received the enſigns into the city, they ſhould all periſh; and hereon, he commanded the ſoldiers to draw their ſwords. On this, the Jews threw themſelves on the ground before the ſoldiers, and ſtretched out their necks to the ſtroke of the ſword, unanimouſly declaring, that they would die, rather than ſubmit to a violation of their laws. This magnanimity of behaviour aſtoniſhed Pilate to ſuch a degree, that he gave immediate orders for the removal of the enſigns.

The cauſe grievance removed.

Another contention immediately followed. The Jews poſſeſs a ſacred treaſure, which bears the name of corban; and on this Pilate impoſed a tax towards the expence of bringing water, by means of aqueducts, from the diſtance of three hundred furlongs. This circumſtance ſo enraged the common people, that they freely complained of it to Pilate, while he ſat upon the tribunal. But Pilate had taken care to provide for the conſequences of a riot, by ordering diſguiſed ſoldiers to mix with them, and attack them when directions ſhould be given; but they were commanded not to draw their ſwords, but make uſe of cudgels only. The mob growing riotous and ungovernable, Pilate gave the ſignal to the ſoldiers, who obeyed his orders by doing great execution. Many of the Jews were deſtroyed; ſome by the blows they received, ſome were trampled to death in the croud, and others killed in the purſuit. This chaſtiſement affected the multitude to ſuch a degree, that they made no more complaints; and thus the riot was effectually quelled.

---

* Al. Julia.

Some time after this, Agrippa, the ſon of that Ariſtobulus who was put to death by his father Herod, went to Tiberius with a complaint againſt Herod the tetrarch; but the emperor diſregarding it, Agrippa remained at Rome, in the character of a private gentleman; and inſinuated himſelf with perſons of the firſt rank, particularly with Caius, the ſon of Germanicus. It happened that when Agrippa was entertaining Caius at his table, he, in the height of his feſtivity, extended his arm, and ſaid, "I ſhould be happy to ſee Caius maſter of the world inſtead of Tiberius." This expreſſion being mentioned to Cæſar, he cauſed Agrippa to be caſt into priſon, where he remained, in a miſerable ſituation till the death of the emperor, which happened about ſix months afterwards, when he had reigned twenty years, ſix months, and three days.

grippa in priſon.

Caius Cæſar ſucceeds Tiberius.

Upon the deceaſe of Tiberius, Caius Cæſar ſucceeded to the government, and immediately releaſed Agrippa, and beſtowed upon him the tetrarchy of Philip, lately deceaſed, together with the title of king. The advancement of Agrippa exited the envy of Herod the tetrarch, whoſe wife, Herodias, encouraged him to cheriſh the ambitious hope of ſucceeding to the kingdom. She upbraided him with indolence, ſaying the trouble of a journey to Cæſar, and making the requeſt, would have ſecured him in the poſſeſſion of a throne; for it could not be ſuppoſed that Caius would have heſitated to advance him from a tretrarchy to the ſovereign dignity, ſince he had made no difficulty of promoting Agrippa from the rank of a private man to that of a king. This ſtimulated, Herod repaired to Cæſar, in order to ſolicit promotion, being followed by Agrippa. So far from favouring his aſpiring views, the emperor ſeverely reprimanded Herod for his ambition and avarice, and deprived him of his tetrarchy, which he gave to Agrippa. Thus diſappointed, Herod retired into Spain, being accompanied by his wife; and he ſometime afterwards died in that country.

CHAP. IX.

The impious preſumption of Caius. His horrid cruelties. Cæſar's ſtatues ordered to be placed in the temple. Deſcription of Ptolemais. The Jews petition Petronius for redreſs. He aſſembles them at Tiberias, and promiſes to apply to Cæſar in their behalf. Cæſar orders Petronius to be put to death, but his own deceaſe prevents the execution of the command.

THE ſucceſs of Caius Cæſar inflamed his pride to ſuch an extravagant degree, that he impiouſly arrogated the character of a diety, and commanded that divine honours ſhould be paid him. He cauſed ſuch numbers of the nobility to be beheaded, that the whole order was threatened with extirpation; and his frequent executions among the other claſſes of his ſubjects greatly impaired the ſtrength of his country. His oppreſſion he extended to Judea, into which country he diſpatched Petronius, with a commiſſion to erect his ſtatues in the temple, to put to death every man who ſhould preſume to oppoſe the execution of this order, and to reduce all the other Jews to a ſtate of ſlavery.

Caius Cæſar claims divine honours. His horrid cruelties.

With three legions and a body of auxiliaries from Syria, Petronius marched from Antioch towards Judea; and when the army approached Ptolemais, the Jewiſh nation was thrown into an univerſal alarm.

The city of Ptolemais is ſituated on an extenſive plain, on the coaſt of Galilee, being ſurrounded to the eaſtward with mountains at the diſtance of about ſixty furlongs; with Mount Carmel ſouthward at about a hundred and twenty furlongs, and to the north about a hundred, with the lofty mountain called the Tyrian Ladder.

Deſcription of Ptolemais.

Two ſtadia from the town is a ſmall river in the neighbourhood of Belus, near which is ſituated the ſepulchre of Memnon, adjacent to a proſpect near a hundred cubits over, which has ſomething very ſingular in it. It appears like a circular valley, yielding a ſort of glaſſy ſand. This ſand is met by ſhips, which carry it away; but a freſh ſtock is ſtill ſupplied by the winds from the top of the mountains. This place naturally turns any thing that comes into it into glaſs; but the moſt ſingular circumſtance is, that when the ſand has been vitrified, it will turn to ſand again,

A ſurpriſing kind of ſand.

again, only on its being thrown on the the banks; ſuch is the peculiar nature of the ſoil.

The Jews petition. Petronius.

In the diſtreſs above mentioned, the Jews, with their wives and children, repaired to Petronius at Ptolemais, where they intreated him not to urge the violation of the laws, to the deſtruction of ſo many unoffending perſons. So earneſt, and ſo numerous were the petitioners, and ſo unfortunate was their ſituation, that Petronius was induced to leave his army, and the ſtatues of the emperor at Ptolemais; and proceeding towards Galilee, he ſummoned the Jews of every denomination to attend him at Tiberias. When he arrived there, he repreſented to them the ſtrength and power of Rome, and the threats of the emperor; adding, that the requeſt of the Jews was a kind of affront, ſince they had no right to diſpute the orders for placing the emperor's ſtatues in their temples, among the other gods, as they were ſubmitted to by all the other ſubjects of the empire. He inſinuated that their expoſtulations had the air of rebellion, and himſelf, next to Cæſar, was intereſted in the affair.

The Jews had nothing to urge, but that the erecting images in any place, ſacred to profane, was contrary to the laws and cuſtoms of their country. “But, ſaid Petronius, ought I not to keep the laws of my maſter, as well as you thoſe of yours; and if I ſhould violate them in your favour, ſhould I not deſerve puniſhment? You are not now oppoſed by Petronius, but by Cæſar; for I am equally a ſervant with yourſelves.” Hereupon all the people made a declaration that they would never ſubmit to a violation of their laws, though their lives were to pay the penalty of their reſiſtance.

The tumult having ſomewhat ſubſided, Petronius aſked if they were determined to take up arms againſt Cæſar. They replied in the negative; and that they offered up daily prayers for him, and for all the inhabitants of Rome: but that if Cæſar perſiſted in his reſolution to place images in their temple, he ſought the ready method to ſacrifice the whole body of the Jews; for that themſelves, their wives, and their children, were all ready to yield up their lives on the occaſion. This united reſolution of ſuch a multitude, all zealous in the cauſe of religion, had ſuch an effect on Petronius, that he broke up the aſſembly without coming to any determination.

On the following day, however, he went privately to ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons among them; and likewiſe on the ſame day, addreſſed himſelf to the common people, at one time adviſing them as a friend; then reminding them of the power and bravery of the Romans, and of the danger of incurring the diſpleaſure of Cæſar, to whoſe command he was bound to pay implicit obedience. Finding his argument of no avail, and that during the controverſy, which continued fifty days, the Jews had loſt the ſeaſon for ſowing their corn, he reſolved to attempt giving them ſatisfaction, notwithſtanding the imminent danger of the undertaking. Having ſignified to the people his generous deſign, they offered up vows and prayers for his welfare; and marching his army to Antioch, he diſpatched a letter from that city to inform Cæſar that the whole Jewiſh nation had united in a petition that no affront might be offered to their laws, and that he deemed a compliance with their requeſt a meaſure of prudence, ſince a refuſal might endanger the loſs of the whole province of Judea. Upon receiving this letter, Cæſar iſſued an order for putting Petronius immediately to death, for having neglected to execute his commands. But the expreſs being detained by contrary winds, it did not arrive till twenty-ſeven days after news being brought by a ſhorter paſſage that the emperor was dead.

The generou reſolution of Petronius in favour of th Jews.

Caius Cæſar dies.

CHAP. X.

Claudius ſucceeds Caius. He is ſecured in the government by the prudent advice of Agrippa. He gains popularity, and acts generouſly towards Agrippa and Herod. Jeruſalem ſurrounded with a wall. Agrippa dies. The family of Alexander and Ariſtobulus.

CAIUS Cæſar was deſtroyed by treachery, after reigning three years and ſix months, and the army which was then at Rome, advanced Claudius to the government. The conſuls, Sentius Saturninus, and Pomponius Secundus, appointed three companies for the protection of the city, agreeable to the reſolution of the ſenate. Being aſſembled in the capitol, the ſenate reſolved to oppoſe Claudius, on account of the cruelties that had been committed by Caius, and to endeavour to reſtore the government to its ancient form of an ariſtocracy. At this time Agrippa arriving in Rome, he was invited to a ſeat in the ſenate; and Claudius requeſted that he would ſupport his cauſe. Agrippa readily attached himſelf to the intereſt of Claudius, whom he already conſidered in the character of emperor, and was diſpatched by him on an embaſſy to the ſenate.

Claudius declared the ſucceſſor of Caius Cæſar.

Agrippa eſpouſes the cauſe of Claudius.

His buſineſs was to declare that Claudius having been choſen emperor by the army, it was entirely their act, without any conſent of his own; and it was not in his power to recede, conſiſtently either with his ſafety or honour: for, to decline the dignity would appear as if he deſpiſed the ſoldiers; and if he ſeemed inſenſible of the obligation, they would be inſtigated to revenge. Agrippa repeatedly urged, that as Claudius was already choſen, he could not think of reſigning; ſince, even if he did, he ſhould ſtill be envied as the ſovereign of their choice; but that as he was in actual poſſeſſion of the government, he was determined to diſcharge the duties of his office, as a prince who had a real affection for his people, and not as a tyrant, ſeeking the gratification of his own will. He ſaid that Claudius would reſt ſatisfied with the name of emperor, but take advice of the ſenate in ſtate affairs: "For, ſaid he, the ſhocking fate of Caius, would make Claudius unaſſuming, if he was not naturally diſpoſed to temperance and moderation."

Agrippa having delivered his commiſſion, the ſenate, confiding in their influence with the army, replied that "They were not men that would ſubmit to voluntary ſlavery." This meſſage was carried to Claudius, who immediately ſent Agrippa back with an anſwer to the ſenate, importing that Claudius was not of a diſpoſition to betray thoſe friends who had advanced him to the empire; that he was diſturbed at the idea of having any diſpute with the ſenate; but that if the affair muſt be determined by force of arms, he wiſhed they would fix on a ſpot without the city for the deciſion; ſince it was a pity that Rome itſelf ſhould be made a ſcene of blood, and reduced to aſhes, only to indulge the humour of a few violent men.

A ſoldier bravely aſſerts the honour of Claudius.

While affairs were in this ſituation, one of the ſoldiers advanced, and drew his ſword, ſaying, "Why, my companions, ſhould we remain thus in rancorous enmity with our beſt friends, and ſtand on the precipice of a civil war, becauſe we adhere to Claudius, who is an emperor of unblemiſhed character, and a prince whom we ought not to oppoſe with arms, as an enemy, but rather treat him with duty and reſpect, as our protector?" Having thus ſaid, he proceeded through the midſt of the court, and was followed by the reſt of the ſoldiers. The nobles were alarmed at the probable conſequences of this deſertion; and finding that oppoſition availed nothing, they followed the example of the military, and retired declaring for Claudius. In the mean time, a number of officious ſoldiers were watching under the walls, with drawn ſwords, to kill them as they came out; and all of them would probably have been ſacrificed, before Claudius was acquainted with the affair, if Agrippa had not apprized him of it, in time to prevent the ſlaughter, and expreſly told him, that if he did not reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of the army, particularly towards the nobility, devaſtation would ſtalk at large, and, in a little time, he would be reduced to a prince of a mere deſart, inſtead of being the ſovereign of a mighty empire. This advice being approved by Claudius, he reduced the ſoldiers to obedience, reſpectfully entertained the ſenators in his camp, and then accompanied them to offer the cuſtomary vows and ſacrifices for the proſperity of the empire. Claudius gave to Agrippa, not only the whole of his father's kingdom, but likewiſe Auranitis, Trachonitis, and ſome other places which Auguſtus had beſtowed upon Herod, together with the diſtrict bearing the name of the kingdom of Lyſanias. To Herod, the brother of Agrippa, who had eſpouſed his daughter Berenice, Claudius gave the kingdom of Chalcis.

Claudius makes himſelf popular. He pays his vows, and ſacrifices in form. His royal bounties to Agrippa and Herod.

Agrippa's wealth and power now ſurpaſſed deſcription; and he was a man of too much prudence to exhauſt his riches in idle purſuits. He engaged in the arduous undertaking of ſurrounding Jeruſalem with a wall of ſurpriſing ſtrength; and had the work been compleated according to his plan, the city would have been able effectually to reſiſt the utmoſt power of the Roman empire. But he left this great work unfiniſhed. Having governed as tetrarch three years, and reigned an equal period in quality of king, Agrippa died at Cæſarea. By his wife Cypris he had three daughters, named Berenice, Mariamne, and Druſilla, and likewiſe a ſon named Agrippa. The latter being very young at the time of his father's deceaſe, Claudius reduced the kingdom to a province, putting it under the government of Cuſpius Fadus. Tiberius Alexander ſucceeded Fadus, and by attempting no alterations of the laws and cuſtoms, he preſerved the diſtrict in perfect tranquillity. Soon afterwards died Herod, governor of Chalcis, leaving by Berenice, the daughter of his brother, two ſons, named Berenicianus, and Hyrcanus, and Ariſtobulus, another brother, died in a private ſtation, leaving a daughter named Jotapa. As we have before mentioned, theſe were the children of Ariſtobulus, the ſon of Herod. Alexander and Ariſtobulus were the ſons of Herod by Mariamne, and they were put to death by the command of their father. The children of Alexander governed afterwards in Armenia the Greater.

The walling in of Jeruſalem.

Agrippa dies at Cæſarea.

The family of Alexander and Ariſtobulus.

CHAP. XI.

Herod ſucceeded by Agrippa in the government of Chalcis. A groſs affront offered to the Jews, and its conſequences. A ſoldier burns the books of Moſes, and is put to death for the offence. A contention between the Jews of Galilee and Samaria. Claudius dying, he is ſucceeded by Nero.

UPON the deceaſe of Herod, Agrippa, the ſon of Agrippa, was promoted

A daring affront to the Jews.

by his uncle to the throne of Chalcis; and Cumanus ſucceeded Tiberius Alexander in the government of Judea. During the adminiſtration of the latter, great miſfortunes befel the Jews. Prodigious numbers of people being aſſembled in Jeruſalem on occaſion of the feaſt of unleavened bread, a party of ſoldiers was, as uſual, ſtationed at the gate of the temple, in order to prevent tumultuous proceedings among the populace. One of the troops inſolently expoſed his poſteriors to the congregation, who being highly exaſperated againſt the man for his indecent conduct, many of them haſtened to Cumanus, demanding juſtice to be inflicted upon the offender; and in the mean time, ſome young men of warm tempers engaged in a quarrel with the ſoldiers, and aſſaulted them with ſtones. Leſt an inſurrection ſhould enſue, Cumanus diſpatched a reinforcement to the troops ſtationed at the temple, which throwing the people into great conſternation, they endeavoured to get out of the building, in conſequence of which the avenues were ſo crouded that near ten thouſand of them loſt their lives through the preſſure of the multitude.

Thee books of Moſes deſtroyed by a ſoldier.

The above was ſoon ſucceeded by another public calamity. One Stephen, a domeſtic in the ſervice of Cæſar, being on a journey with ſome houſehold goods, the property of his maſter, he was attacked and robbed by a party of thieves, near Bethoron; whereupon Cumanus ordered a party of troops to take the inhabitants of that and the adjacent places into cuſtody, in order to make them reſponſible for having neglected to apprehend the robbers. While employed in this ſervice, one of the ſoldiers happened to find the books of Moſes, which he immediately tore into pieces, and threw the fragments into a fire. In conſequence of this inſult, the Jews aſſembled in great numbers, and repairing to Cumanus, who was then at Cæſarea, vehemently demanded juſtice to be executed upon the author of ſo daring an outrage. The people being reſolute in their demands, Cumanus ordered the offender to be produced, and puniſhed with death in their preſence. This ſentence being executed, the tumult ſubſided.

A quarrel between the Galilean and Samaritan Jews.

At this period an unhappy diſpute likewiſe happened between the Jews of Galilee, and thoſe of Samaria. A Galilean Jew going to worſhip at a feſtival at Jeruſalem, he was killed while paſſing through the village of Geman in the plain of Samaria. Hereupon the Galileans aſſembled in a body, to take vengeance on the Samaritans by force of arms. Thoſe of better rank applied to Cumanus; and adviſed him to do juſtice on the murderers, on a ſtrict ſcrutiny: but he would not interfere. The report of this violence reaching Jeruſalem, the people were beyond meaſure inflamed, and reſolved to attack Samaria. The ringleaders of theſe outrages were Eleazar, the ſon of Dineas, and Alexander; who making inroads into the diſtrict of Acrabatena, put the inhabitants to death, and ravaged the country.

Cumanus hearing of theſe diſorders, advanced with a party of horſe from Sebaſte, to relieve the country, and deſtroyed and made priſoners many of Eleazar's adherents. With regard to thoſe who had made ſuch ravages in Samaria, the officers and principal people in Jeruſalem went after them in ſackcloth and aſhes, entreating them to abandon their deſign. "Do not, ſaid they, let your rage againſt Samaria deſtroy Jeruſalem. Pity your country, temple, city, wives and children; the fate of all being at ſtake in this conteſt; nor let the idea of avenging one unfortunate Galilean, coſt you all that you hold dear in the world." The Jews were at length pacified by theſe remonſtrances.

Peace being naturally productive of ſloth, robberies of every kind became now very common. Numidius Quadratus, governor of Syria, was applied to, at Tyre, by the principal of the Samaritans, who repreſented how greatly their country was infeſted by robbers. Jonathan, the ſon of Ananus, the high-prieſt, being preſent, with a conſiderable number of Jews of diſtinction, he reproached the Samaritans, as the authors of the inſurrection, by the death of the Galilean; and likewiſe hinted, that Cumanus's neglect of properly puniſhing the offenders had produced all the fatal conſequences.

The offenders ſentenced to puniſhment.

When Quadratus had heard thus much of the affair, he poſtponed the farther conſideration of it till he ſhould arrive in Judea, where he might obtain fuller information. He now went to Cæſarea, and ordered the execution of thoſe whom Cumanus had made priſoners; and then proceeded to Lydda, where he again heard the cauſe, and ordered eighteen of the principal Jews, who were proved to have been concerned, to be beheaded. He ſent ſome of the noble Samaritans to anſwer for their conduct before Cæſar; likewiſe Jonathan and Ananias, high-prieſts of the Jews, Ananus ſon of Ananias, Cumanus, and Celer, the tribune, and ſeveral other Jews of diſtinction. Having thus adjuſted affairs, he went to Jeruſalem: but returned from thence to Antioch, upon finding the inhabitants engaged in the peaceable celebration of the feaſt of unleavened bread.

The cauſe being heard at Rome, Cæſar ſentenced three of the principal Samaritans to be beheaded, Cumanus to be baniſhed, Celer, the tribune, to be ſent in chains to

Jeruſalem, and after being dragged through the ſtreets, to be beheaded. He then nominated Felix, brother of Pallas, governor of Judea, Samaria, Galilee, and Perea; and advanced Agrippa from the kingdom of Chalcis to a more conſiderable command, ſubjecting Trachonitis and Batanea to his juriſdiction, and giving him the tetrarchy that Varus had enjoyed, and the kingdom of Lyſanias.

Claudius ſucceeded by Nero, an infamous character.

After a reign of thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, Claudius died, and was ſucceeded by Nero, who proved a moſt inhuman tyrant. He murdered his mother, his wife, his brother, and many other relations. He ſhamefully degraded the dignity of the imperial character by adopting the buffoneries of a ſtage-player, and by numberleſs other acts equally unbecoming his exalted ſtation.

CHAP. XII.

Felix defeats a band of robbers, and makes their leader a priſoner. Great diſturbances occaſioned by a gang of murderers. An impoſtor at the head of thirty thouſand men routed by Felix. A diſpute between the Jews and the Syrians referred to the conſideration of Cæſar. Feſtus ſucceeds Felix.

Antiq. l. xx. c.11, 12, 13.

THE government of Armenia Minor, Nero gave to Ariſtobulus, he ſon of Herod, and to the juriſdiction of Agrippa he added the cities of Tarichea and Tiberais in Galilee, and Abila and Julias in Perea. The remaining part of Judea he granted to Felix, who was no ſooner in the poſſeſſion of this increaſe of power, than he made war againſt the deſperate robbers, who had now infeſted the country upwards of twenty years. Having made priſoners of Eleazar, the leader of the Banditti, and many of his aſſociates, Felix ſent them to Rome.

Felix defeats a band of robbers, and makes priſoner of their chief.

Another dangerous banditti.

Soon afterwards, another band of public diſturbers appeared, being called Sacirii, from the word Sica, ſignifying the weapon they were accuſtomed to uſe. In the public ſtreets of Jeruſalem, and particularly when the city was crouded, on occaſion of feſtivals, theſe miſcreants perpetrated the moſt daring murders and other outrages, carrying ſhort daggers under their clothes, and ſeeking opportunities of aſſaſſinating all thoſe againſt whom they harboured any enmity.

This practice was continued ſome time before the authors of it were ſuſpected. Jonathan, the high-prieſt, was the firſt who fell by their hands, and daily murders followed his death. The citizens were ſo alarmed, that their apprehenſions aggravated the reality; for the danger in battle was not greater than in walking the ſtreets: every man at a diſtance was ſuſpected for an enemy, and people were afraid of their approaching friends: yet the murderers were ſo dextrous at their work, that vigilance itſelf could not guard againſt them.

Another ſet now aroſe, whoſe tongues were as miſchievous as the weapons of the former. Though they ſhed no blood, their doctrines were worſe than daggers, utterly contaminating the minds of the people. Theſe enthuſiaſts, under pretence of religion, propagated ſtrange doctrines. They enticed the people into woods and ſolitary places, pretending that God had determined to give them abſolute liberty, of which he would grant them infallible aſſurance by ſigns from Heaven. Felix, foreſeeing that this plan tended to foment a rebellion, diſpatched a body of troops after the enthuſiaſts, by which great numbers of them were deſtroyed.

Felix diſperſes a party of ſeducers.

This calamity was followed by another, not leſs diſagreeable than the former. An Egyptian magician, pretending to be a prophet, had collected a body of thirty thouſand men, whom he marched, by the way of the wilderneſs, to Mount Olivet, whence he propoſed to proceed to Jeruſalem, drive off the Roman garriſon, and take poſſeſſion of the city and country; being properly provided for this enterprize with counſellors and guards. Felix, foreſeeing that delay would increaſe danger, aſſembled his Roman legions, and a body of Jews, and advanced towards the Egyptian, whom he totally routed, killing numbers of his people, making many priſoners, and diſperſing the reſt. The Egyptian, and ſome of his friends, ſought their ſafety in flight.

When the body is diſtempered, one diſorder frequently ſucceeds another: and thus it is with nations. The robbers and magicians now concerted with each other how they ſhould engage the people to ſhake off the Roman yoke, and aſſert an abſolute liberty. To effect this, they uſed arguments and menaces, threatning with death thoſe who denied their authority. Their view was to reduce thoſe by terror, who would not otherwiſe ſubmit to voluntary ſlavery. Theſe people were diſperſed through the country, plundering the houſes of the rich, and killing and burning as they went: ſo that Judea was reduced to the utmoſt degree of confuſion and deſpair.

Some diſorders now likewiſe aroſe near Cæſarea, on a diſpute between the Jews and Syrians, who lived together in a promiſcuous manner. The Jews inſiſted, that the city belonged to them, as it was founded by king Herod, who was a Jew. The Syrians contended, that it could not have been built by a Jew, but that it had belonged to the Gentiles: for if it were the property of the Jews, they would not have permitted the erection of temples and ſtatues therein. This debate at length grew to ſuch a height, that many violences were daily committed. On the one hand, the elders gave their beſt advice, and exerted their utmoſt authority, though without effect, for appeaſing the Jews, while, on the other, the Greeks thought they ſhould degrade themſelves by yielding in any reſpect to their adverſaries. Felix now iſſued a proclamation for the faction to quit the city; but numbers of them ſtill remaining, in contempt of this order, the governor diſpatched a party of ſoldiers againſt them, by whom many were ſlain, and their effects ſeized. The ſedition continuing to increaſe, Felix ſent, as commiſſioners, ſome of the leading men of each party, to ſtate their reſpective pretentions to Nero. Felix being ſucceeded by Feſtus, he vigorouſly purſued the robbers, many of whom he apprehended and put to death.

CHAP. XIII.

The government deſcends to Albinus, and from him to Geſſius Florus. Ceſtius Gallus governor of Syria. Florus endeavours to foment a rebellion. Cæſar decrees in favour of the Jews of Cæſarea. Origin of the Jewiſh war.

ALBINUS, the ſucceſſor of Feſtus, was a man of ſuch abandoned principles, that avarice, extortion, corruption, and oppreſſion, public and private, were vices equally familiar to him. However atrocious their guilt, public delinquents who were able to bribe this governor were confident that he would pronounce them innocent. At this time a faction prevailed in Jeruſalem, conſiſting of a body of malcontents, who wiſhed to effect a revolution in the government, and ſuch of them as were poſſeſſed of property, compounded for the favour of Albinus, in caſe of their being embroiled in difficulties. Each of the leaders of the mutineers was attended by a band of deſperadoes; and the governor, the moſt iniquitous of the whole, had guards conſtantly in readineſs to execute his oppreſſive commands. The injured dared not complain; and thoſe who had property were glad to relinquiſh a part, as a means of preſerving the reſt. In ſhort, the number of tyrants in power ſeemed to predict that the whole country would ſoon be reduced to a ſtate of the moſt abject ſlavery.

Albinus was ſuceeded by Geſſius Florus, whoſe principles were ſo much more abandoned, that the former ſeemed innocent on the compariſon. Albinus was treacherous, but obſerved a ſecrecy in his crimes that had the appearance of modeſty: but Geſſius was ſo conſummate in his wickedneſs, that he boaſted of his attrocious behaviour, and declared himſelf the general enemy of the nation. His conduct in his province was more like that of an executioner than a governor; for he treated all the people like criminals, and extended his rapine and tyranny beyond all bounds. He was equally devoid of compaſſion, and dead to all ſenſe of honour; cruel to the unfortunate, and utterly abandoned in caſes ſo enormous that impudence itſelf would bluſh at the recollection of them. He exceeded all the men of his time in making lies and impoſition paſs for truth; and was equally artful in diſcovering new modes of doing miſchief. He could not be contented with the idea of deſtroying a whole nation by ſlow degrees; but his vengeance extended to the ſweeping away whole cities entire, and extirpating the body of the people at once. He gave ſuch encouragement to the ſons of rapine and plunder, that he might as well have proclaimed that every man was at liberty to ſeize whatever he could lay his hands on, provided that he himſelf obtained a ſhare of the ſpoil. Such were his avarice and oppreſſion, that the people under his government were actually in danger of periſhing through want of the common neceſſaries of life, in conſequence of which, many of them quitted the country.

At this time Ceſtius Gallus had the command in Syria, and it was then deemed dangerous for any Jew to complain of the conduct of Florus; notwithſtanding which, when Gallus went to Jeruſalem, on the feaſt of unleavened bread, not leſs than three hundred thouſand Jews applied to Gallus, to relieve the province from the government of Florus. This was made known to Florus, who made a perfect jeſt of the affair. In the interim, Ceſtius, having uſed his utmoſt endeavours to calm the paſſions of the multitude, by aſſuring them that Florus ſhould treat them with more humanity for the future, returned to Antioch. Florus attended Gallus on his journey as far as Cæſarea, recounting many improbable tales to him as they travelled; but, in the mean time, revolving in his own mind the neceſſity of a war with the Jews, as the only method to prevent a rigid ſcrutiny into his actions, and thereby remain unpuniſhed. He apprehended that, if peace ſhould continue, the cauſe would be brought before Cæſar, which might be attended with danger; and, that if he could but incite them to a revolt, the leſſer calamity might be loſt in the greater; wherefore he thought the moſt effectual method of conſulting his own ſafety, would be by gradually forcing them into a rebellion.

The Cæſarean Greeks having ſubmitted their complaint againſt the Jews, to the emperor,

ror, he pronounced a decree in their favour, which proved the cauſe of the Jewiſh war. This decree was paſſed in the month Artimeſius, in the twelfth year of Nero, and the ſeventeenth of that of Agrippa.

CHAP. XIV.

An affront offered to the Jews. Florus bribed, but proves treacherous. A mockery of the Jews, and a commotion enſues. The books of the law removed. Florus continues to foment the diſſention. His abominable cruelties.

ADjacent to the building made uſe of as a ſynagogue, a Greek of Cæſarea had a houſe, which the Jews were deſirous of purchaſing, even for a greater ſum than its real value. Hereupon, the Greek maliciouſly employed people to fit up ſuch a number of ſmall ſhops upon the ſpot that the way to the ſynagogue would ſcarcely admit a ſingle perſon to paſs. In conſequence of this, ſome young Jews, in the heat of paſſion, warned the workmen that if they proceeded it would be at their own peril. This prohibition being countermanded by Florus, the Jews hoped they might ſecure his intereſt by means of a bribe. John, a farmer of the royal cuſtoms, and ſome other leading people, having aſſembled upon this buſineſs, they contracted to pay Florus eight talents, on condition of his prohibiting the buildings. He accepted the money, and promiſed that the agreement ſhould be fulfilled on his part, immediately after which he went from Cæſarea to Sebaſte, doubtleſs with a view to afford an opportunity for a popular tumult.

The Jews affronted, and a commotion enſues.

The next day being the Jewiſh ſabbath, a Cæſarean, while the people were employed in their devotions in the ſynagogue, placed an earthen veſſel, containing a ſacrifice of birds, at the entrance of the building. This mockery of their ſolemnities tranſported the majority of the congregation beyond the bounds of patience: but the more conſiderable and moderate people adviſed an appeal to government for redreſs, while the young and inconſiderate were for more violent proceedings; nor were the Cæſareans leſs diſpoſed to an open rupture, as a cauſe for which they had placed the mock-ſacrifice at the door of the tabernacle.

Jucundus endeavours to appeaſe the tumult.

It happened that Jucundus, a captain of horſe, who had been appointed to keep the peace, arrived at this critical juncture; and having given orders for the veſſel abovementioned to be removed, he did all in his power to quell the diſturbance. The Jews, finding the Cæſareans too powerful for Jucundus, conveyed the books of their law to the province of Narbata, about ſixty furlongs from Cæſarea. Then twelve of their principal people, with John, the farmer of the cuſtoms, repaired to Florus at Sebaſte, and petitioned for redreſs; with a ſlight hint of the eight talents he had received. Florus inſtantly ordered them into cuſtody; and his pretence was their having removed their law from Cæſarea.

The Jews remove the books of their law.

The Jews of Jeruſalem were inexpreſſibly aſtoniſhed at this conduct of Florus; but they thought it prudent, at preſent, not to be free in expreſſing their ſentiments. In the mean time, Florus continued to foment the ſedition; and that he might do it the more effectually, demanded ſeventeen talents out of the treaſury, as for the ſervice of the emperor. This cauſed great confuſion among the Jews, who ran backwards and forwards about the temple, exclaiming as if they were diſtracted, and in the name of Cæſar, demanding a deliverance from the inhumanities of Florus, whom they purſued with curſes, clamour, and every kind of inſult. One of them, in deriſion of the governor, carried a baſket on his back through the ſtreets, begging alms for the unfortunate Florus. Theſe reflections, however, had no other effect, than making him more avaricious, and more malignant. Florus, marched with a body of horſe and foot to Jeruſalem, where he made the power of Rome ſubſervient only to the gratification of his paſſions of revenge, pride, and avarice.

Notwithſtanding all the indignities that he had offered them, the people ſtill continued an apparent reſpect to Florus. While they were diſpoſed to pay him every poſſible honour on his entering the city, Florus defeated the compliment by ſending a centurion, named Capito, with fifty horſe, to impede their journey. Capito delivered to them a meſſage to the following effect: "By the command of Florus, I am to direct that you return home; and to inform you, that the man whom you have ſo freely treated, partly in a ſerious way, and partly in ridicule, cannot form a more favourable opinion of you for your falſe and complimentary ſpeeches. If you are really men of courage, as you would wiſh to be thought, why do you not abuſe that man to his face, who you have been ſo free to cenſure in his abſence, and by force of arms aſſert that liberty, for which you have clamoured ſo loudly?" Daunted by this rebuke, the multitude diſperſed, without waiting to congratulate Florus, or to pay the cuſtomary reſpects to the ſoldiers.

On the following day, Florus aſcended the tribunal, and having aſſembled the high-prieſts and the principal people of the city, he remarked on the inſulting ſpeeches that had been applied to him, demanding that the offenders ſhould be delivered up, and threatening vengeance upon the people preſent, in caſe of refuſal. Upon this, the Jews ſaid, the majority of their people were diſpoſed to peace, ſupplicating the governor to moderate his diſpleaſure, ſince among ſo numerous a body, ſome raſh, and inconſiderate individuals would naturally be included.

The Jews behave with moderation.

What was urged in behalf of the offenders ſerved but more violently to inflame the rage of Florus, who ordered the ſoldiers to the great market in the upper town, to kill all the Jews they met, and to plunder the place. The troops did not confine themſelves within the limits of the governor's orders reſpecting the market in the upper town, but pillaged buildings in other ſituations, and deſtroyed the the inhabitants without diſtinction. Numbers of the nobility being ſeized and conducted to Florus, he ordered them to be whipped, and then to be crucified. Six hundred and thirty lives are eſtimated to be have been ſacrificed that day, including women and children; for no mercy was ſhewn even to infants at the breaſts of their mothers. However dreadful in itſelf, this misfortune was the more grievous on account of its ſingularity; for till this time no inſtance had been known of people of the Equeſtrian order being whipped and gibbeted, like ſlaves, as though they were Jews by birth, they were of Roman dignity, which had hitherto been held ſacred.

The horrid barbarities of Florus.

CHAP. XV.

Berenice intercedes with Florus in behalf of the Jews. He contrives to foment new troubles. He makes an attempt upon the caſtle, but is repulſed. The communication between Fort Antonia and the temple deſtroyed. Florus abandons his deſign, and repairs to Cæſarea.

Berenice intercedes for the Jews.

NERO having made Alexander governor of Egypt, Agrippa was now gone to Alexandria, to pay him a viſit. Berenice, ſiſter of Alexander, was at Jeruſalem, greatly afflicted on account of the tumults which had ariſen, ſo that ſhe ſent ſome of her officers and guards to Florus, to entreat that he would reſtrain his indignation, and ſhed no more blood. But Florus being alike inſenſible of the crimes he had been guilty of, and of the honour of the mediatrix, the ſoldiers were permitted to continue their maſſacres, notwithſtanding the preſence of Berenice, who would certainly have been ſacrificed if ſhe had not eſcaped into the palace. She now went to Jeruſalem, for the purpoſe of paying a vow to God, as uſual after deliverance from ſickneſs, or other imminent danger. She continued in prayer thirty days, abſtaining from wine, and ſhaving her hair. It was now the ſixteenth of the month Artemiſius, when Berenice was in the daily courſe of her devotion, ſtanding bare-foot before the tribunal, and ſoliciting Florus in behalf of the people: but ſhe had not met with any ſucceſs; and her pious office was undertaken at the riſk of her life.

On the following day the people aſſembled in the market-place of the upper town, exclaiming moſt violently againſt thoſe who had murdered their friends on the proceeding day: but Florus was particularly the object of their rage and reſentment. The high-prieſts and men of eminence were ſo apprehenſive of the danger of again inciting the wrath of Florus, that they rent their garments, and going among the people, entreated them not to talk ſo freely, for that every ill conſequence was to be dreaded from the vengeance of Florus. The paſſions of the people now began to ſubſide; partly through reſpect to the mediators, and partly in the hope that the malice of the governor was appeaſed.

This return of peace was painful to Florus, who began to conſider how he might foment a new diſturbance. With this view, he ſent for the high-prieſts, and principal people among the Jews to attend him; and informed them, that two companies were coming from Cæſarea, and if the people would go out and meet them on the way, it would be deemed a ſubſtantial proof of their affection to the government. This propoſal being readily acceeded to, Florus gave directions to the centurions, that if the Jews, on their meeting ſhould treat them with civility and reſpect, they ſhould not pay any compliment in return; and if ſuch behaviour ſhould be reſented, that they ſhould aſſault them with their weapons.

The governor foments new troubles.

The Jews being aſſembled in the temple, the high-prieſts enjoined them to give the Romans a moſt reſpectful meeting, as a means of averting the ill conſequences that migh otherwiſe enſue. The whole number of prieſts and Levites, the choriſters and organiſts, now entered the building, and having expoſed the holy veſſels and other precious ornaments to view, they united in exhorting the people againſt offering any provocation to the Romans, leſt the plunder of the temple ſhould be the conſequence.

The arguments advanced having the deſired effect, the prieſts and the moſt conſiderable of the people, being followed by the multitude, proceeded to meet the Roman troops: but their ſolicitations being received with a contemptuous ſilence, the more violent of the Jews reproached Florus as the author of the prevailing calamities. In obedience to a ſignal given by the governors, the ſoldiers attacked the Jews with clubs and cudgels, and being put to the flight, great numbers of them were trampled to death by the horſes; many died of their wounds, and others loſt their lives through the preſſure of the croud, in endeavouring to paſs the gate. The ſpectacle was truly dreadful; for vaſt numbers of the deceaſed were ſo mangled and disfigured, that the ſurvivors could not diſtinguiſh their friends and relations, when deſirous of affording them decent interment.

A frightful ſcene of deſtruction.

The principal aim of the ſoldiers was to get between the Jews and the gate of Bezeth, which was a paſs leading to the caſtle of Antonia and the temple. In the mean time, Florus ſallied from the palace, with the troops under his command, on the rear of the Jews, with a view of making himſelf maſter of the caſtle: but the Jews rallying, and making head againſt him, his deſign was fruſtrated. By this time many of the Jews had taken poſſeſſion of the houſes, from the roofs of which they aſſaulted the Romans with ſuch violent ſhower of ſtones and darts, that, unable to make any reſiſtance, or preſs through the crowds of people in the narrow ſtreets, Florus was compelled to retreat to the palace, with the remainder of his troops. As the Jews apprehended Florus would return to the attack, and make an attempt on the temple by way of Fort Antonia, they immediately cut down a gallery which communicated between that fort and the temple. Florus was ſo mortified by this circumſtance, that he abandoned the enterprize, finding his project hopeleſs, and his avarice diſappointed; for his principal view was to ſeize the holy treaſure. He now held a conference with the high-prieſt and the ſenate; informing them that he meant to quit the city, but would leave them ſuch a garriſon as they ſhould require. To this they anſwered, that if no new innovations took place, one company would ſuffice; but hoped it might not be that company with which the people had already quarrelled. Agreeable to their requeſt, Florus ordered another company, and then returned to Cæſarea.

Florus attempts the caſtle, but is repulſed.

He returns to Cæſarea.

CHAP. XVI.

Florus complains of the Jews to Ceſtius, who appoints Politianus to enquire as to the truth of the charge. Politianus is convinced of the loyalty of the Jews, who ſubmit an accuſation againſt Florus to Nero. Agrippa abates the tumult, but it is ſoon revived.

Florus accuſes the Jews to Ceſtius, who is undeceived by Berenice and others.

ON his arrival at Cæſarea, Florus deviſed a new mode of occaſioning a war; and in a letter to Ceſtius, governor of Syria, accuſed the Jews of rebellious practices. The queen Berenice, and the chief people of Jeruſalem acted nobly on this occaſion; informing Ceſtius of the real matter of fact, and acquainting him with the mode in which Florus had governed. Ceſtius having obtained this information, held a conſultation with his principal people on the moſt prudent mode of proceeding. Some adviſed the ſending an army into Judea, to puniſh the offenders, if the account proved true; but wiſhed he would encourage their loyalty, if it was falſe. Ceſtius thought it prudent previouſly to ſend a man of credit and addreſs, to enquire into the ſtate of facts. The perſon fixed on was a tribune named Politianus, who meeting king Agrippa near Jamnia, on his return from Alexandria, informed him of his buſineſs. At this time many ſenators and perſons of rank, and among them ſeveral high-prieſts, attended to pay their duty to the king. When the firſt reſpectful compliments were paſſed, they gave a melancholy deſcription of the condition to which the inhumanity of Florus had reduced the Jews. Agrippa was of their opinion; but he thought it incompatible with his rank to increaſe the complaint; and therefore he artfully ſeemed to take part againſt the Jews, whoſe ſituation he nevertheleſs commiſerated.

Agrippa and Politianus were met about ſixty furlongs from Jeruſalem, by the people of that city, who conducted them thither with every mark of reſpect: in the interim the women grievouſly lamented the loſs of their murdered huſbands; and all the multitude, as if infected by their ſorrow, burſt into lamentations. Some earneſtly ſolicited Agrippa to compaſſionate their nation; and others entreated Politianus to go into the city, and ſee what havock had been there made by Florus. Hereupon they conducted him to the market-place, and ſhewed him the devaſtation that had been made. After this, through the intereſt of Agrippa, they prevailed on Politianus to go through the city as far as the pool of Siloah, attended by one ſervant only, whereby he might witneſs the reſpect the Jews paid to the Romans in authority: but they ſaid that the cruelties of Florus were inſupportable.

Politianus having taken a view of the city, and indiſputably convinced himſelf of the loyal diſpoſition of the Jews, he aſſembled the people, and went up to the temple, where he made a ſpeech, highly commending their fidelity to the Romans; and then offered praiſes and thankſgivings to God, in the manner preſcribed by law, and with all poſſible veneration for the rites of religion. This being done, he retired to Ceſtius.

No ſooner was Politianus gone, than the people in general made their addreſſes to the king and the high-prieſts, ſoliciting permiſſion to ſend ambaſſadors to Nero, to exhibit a complaint againſt Florus, urging, that if they ſhould not attempt to bring ſo violent an outrage to examination, it would appear as if themſelves were the criminals.

Agrippa diſſuades the people from ſedition.

Agrippa conſidered that to permit ſuch an immenſe multitude to exhibit an inveterate complaint againſt their governor would have the appearance of malice; and further, that if ſome meaſures were not purſued for appeaſing the paſſions of the Jews, a revolt might enſue. He therefore aſſembled the people in a ſpacious gallery, which was connected with the temple by means of a bridge, and having placed his ſiſter Berenice in a chair of ſtate in the Aſmonæan palace, which commanded a view of the gallery from the upper part of the town, he delivered a ſpeech there inlargely expatiating on the power of the Romans, repreſenting them as the ſovereigns of the univerſe, and earneſtly exhorting his auditors to avoid all rebellious proceedings. Agrippa was informed, that the Jews had no cauſe of complaint againſt the Romans, their enmity being only directed againſt Florus, on account of his horrid cruelties and intolerable oppreſſions. Upon this, Agrippa ſaid "You have acted as the profeſſed enemies of Rome would have done. You broke down the Antonian galleries, and refuſed the tribute due to Cæſar. Your buſineſs then, if you would prevent any farther complaint of your conduct, is to rebuild the galleries, and pay the taxes."

The paſſions of the people now ſubſiding, they attended the king and Berenice to the temple; immediately began to rebuild the galleries; and diſpatched officers and agents through the province, to collect ſuch duties as were yet unpaid. Theſe duties, amounting to forty talents, were accordingly collected and paid.

Agrippa reviled and aſſaulted.

The inſurrection having now, in a great degree ſubſided, Agrippa adviſed the people to a patient ſubmiſſion to Florus, till another governor ſhould be appointed by Cæſar. This again inflamed the paſſions of the people, who treated Agrippa with the moſt opprobrious language, and pelted him with ſtones, till he was compelled to quit the city. This contemptuous treatment had a very diſagreeable effect on the mind of the king, who finding the people ungovernable, diſpatched ſeveral men of rank to Florus at Cæſarea, deſiring he would chuſe ſome of them collectors for the province, and he then departed into his own kingdom.

CHAP. XVII.

Maſſada ſurpriſed, and the garriſon put to the ſword. The Jews reject the cuſtomary ſacrifices of the Romans, and a war enſues. A great ſlaughter. The royal troops overpowered. Public buildings demoliſhed. Antonia taken.

The garriſon of Maſſada put to the ſword.

BY this time many of the factious Jews had privately gotten into the Roman garriſon of Maſſada, where they ſurpriſed the ſoldiers, killed every one of the Romans, and in the room of them ſubſtituted a guard of their own people.

About this juncture there likewiſe happened another commotion in the temple of Jeruſalem. A bold and enterprizing man named Eleazar, ſon of Ananias, the high-prieſt, urged a number of his friends among the prieſts, that no offering or ſacrifice might be accepted but from the Jewiſh people. This circumſtance was the foundation of a war with the Romans: for in conſequence of this requeſt of Eleazar, when the ſacrifices of Cæſar were preſented, according to cuſtom, to be offered up for the ſucceſs of the people of Rome, they were rejected. This new and extraordinary proceeding gave offence to the high prieſts and perſons of diſtinction, who proteſted againſt it, and earneſtly recommended the continuance of ſo reaſonable a cuſtom as that of offering up prayers for princes and governors. But the inſurgents were obſtinate for obedience to their orders, relying on the ſtrength of their numbers; and they conſidered Eleazar a man of courage and in office, as their chief. On this occaſion the princes and high prieſts, and the moſt eminent of the Phariſees, aſſembled to deliberate on the moſt proper mode of proceeding. They at length reſolved to try what could be done to appeaſe the paſſions of the multitude; and for this purpoſe aſſembled the people before the brazen gate, on the inſide of the temple to the eaſtward. Here they repreſented to them the raſhneſs of the enterprize in which they had engaged, which would involve their country in a ruinous war. They then adverted to the unreaſonable ground of the diſpute, and the evident injuſtice in which it was founded; they ſaid that their anceſtors were ſo far from refuſing or forbidding the oblations of ſtrangers, that they conſidered them as, in ſome degree, a part of their own worſhip. They likewiſe mentioned the preſents made from time to time, which were ſtill preſerved as ornaments in the temple, and in remembrance of thoſe who gave them.

The emperor's offering rejected.

cedents in our of the oms.

Several perſons converſant in the laws and cuſtoms of the Jews, produced precedents from the practice of ancient times, reſpecting the point in diſpute, proving that the oblations of ſtrangers had never been rejected by their anceſtors: but theſe authorities were wholly diſregarded by thoſe who wiſhed for war, rather than peace; and being attached to this party, the Levites deſerted the altar.

eputies ſent Florus and grippa.

The people of rank agreed to employ deputies to repreſent their conduct in its true light to Florus and Agrippa. Simon, the ſon of Ananias, was the principal of the deputies ſent to Florus; and Saul, Antipas, and Coſtobarus, were the chiefs of thoſe diſpatched to Agrippa, to whom the latter was related. They were authoriſed to ſolicit that troops might be ſent to Jeruſalem, in order to put a ſpeedy end to the rebellion.

The application of the commiſſioners was highly agreeable to Florus, who wiſhed for war, however deſtructive the reſult might be, as was evident from his delaying to give an anſwer to the deputies, whereby he afforded the rebels an opportunity of augmenting their forces. Agrippa, on the contrary, was anxious to promote the public welfare, by effecting a reconciliation, whereby the Jews would be at once ſecured in poſſeſſion of Jeruſalem, and in ſubjection to the Roman empire. This tumultuous ſtate of affairs being likely to effect his own intereſt in a material degree, Agrippa diſpatched to Jeruſalem two thouſand auxiliary horſe, from Auranitis, Trachonitis and Batanea, under the command of Darius and Philip, the latter of whom was the ſon of Joachim.

war begun the upper own.

The deputies were received by the high-prieſts, the princes of the people, and by thoſe in general who were diſpoſed to peace, in the upper town; the lower part, and the temple being then in poſſeſſion of the inſurgents. After a ſmart ſkirmiſh with darts, and ſtones, the contending parties had recourſe to their bows and arrows, and inceſſantly annoyed each other, frequently fighting hand to hand. The inſurgents made their attacks in the moſt deſperate manner: but the royal forces appeared to have a ſuperior knowledge of the military art. The principal operation they had in view, was to compel the ſacrilegious faction to abandon the temple; while, on the contrary, Eleazar and his adherents laboured with equal zeal, to get the upper town into their poſſeſſion. The conteſt continued, without intermiſſion, for ſeven days, in which time, though there was great ſlaughter on both ſides, no advantage was obtained by either.

A great ſlaughter.

At this period a feſtival approached, which is named Xylophoria, from the cuſtom of carrying wood to the temple, to keep the fire * throughout the year. Advantage was taken of this circumſtance to exclude the inſurgents from their worſhip: but while a number of the Jews were engaged in this office, the Sicarii, a band of murderers ſo called from their cuſtom of carrying their daggers privately, broke in upon theſe people, and ſo improved their advantage, that the royal troops were obliged to abandon the upper town; of which immediate poſſeſſion was taken by the rebels. After this exploit, they broke into the houſe of Ananias, the high-prieſt, and reduced to aſhes the palaces of Agrippa and Berenice. This being done, they reſolved, in the next place, to ſet fire to the offices of record, and conſume them and their contents; imagining that if they could deprive the people of property, of the papers which were neceſſary to prove their titles, they ſhould have but little difficulty in bringing over to their intereſt all the debtors and other indigent people. So terrified were the officers who had the cuſtody of the public records, that they deſerted their truſt, each man ſeeking his own ſafety in flight; and, in ſhort, the inſurgents burnt to aſhes the public offices, together with all the papers and other documents depoſited therein.

The king's troops worſted.

In this unhappy ſtate of affairs, a great number of the nobility, with a view of preſerving their lives, ſecreted themſelves in vaults, caverns, and other private places, while others got into the palace, among the king's troops, and defended the paſſage, leſt an aſſault ſhould be made; and of this number were Ananias, the high-prieſt, his brother Hezekias, and the deputies from Agrippa.

Antonia taken, and the garriſon put to the ſword.

On the following day, being the fifteenth of the month Louis †, they aſſaulted the caſtle of Antonia, which, after a reſiſtance of two days, ſurrendered, when the rebels burnt that building to the ground, and put the garriſon to the ſword. After this they divided their forces into two bodies, and attempted to undermine the walls of the palace, where Agrippa's troops had fled for refuge. They continued their operations night and day without intermiſſion, and

---

* The holy fire upon the altar, which originally deſcending from heaven, was to be religiouſly preſerved, and not ſuffered to go out, according to the precept given in Lev. vi. 12, 13 "And the fire upon the altar ſhall be burning in it, it ſhall not be put out, &c. The fire ſhall ever be burning upon the altar, it ſhall never go out." Which the Jews tell us, never once happened from the times of Moſes, till the ſacking of Jeruſalem by Antiochus Epiphanes, who amongſt other prophanations of the temple, alſo put out this fire. Whoever has a mind to have any farther information herein may conſult Cuneus de Rep. Heb. 2. c. 12. and Doughtey's Analecta ſacra, p. 79, 80, 81. of the ſecond Amſterdam edition.

† i. e. Auguſt.

many of the faction, including ſeveral of the Sacirii, periſhed under the walls. The aſſailants hoped to ſtarve the beſieged into compliance; and the latter flattered themſelves that the fatigue of inceſſant duty would occaſion their enemies to relinquiſh their projected enterprize.

Manahem heads the Jeruſalem.

Manahem, the ſon of Judas, an artful man and ſkilful orator, who had formerly reproached the Jews under Cyrenius for profeſſing to worſhip only one God, and at the ſame time acknowledging ſubjection to the Romans, perſuaded ſeveral perſons of quality to join him in attacking Herod's arſenal at Maſſada; and having ſeized the place, he armed ſome of the people he had found there, and marched to Jeruſalem, like a petty prince, and putting himſelf at the head of the mutineers, iſſued orders in form for carrying on the ſiege of the palace.

Being in want of machines, and finding it impracticable to continue working at the foot of the wall, while they were conſtantly annoyed by an enemy directly over their heads, they began to break the ground at a conſiderable diſtance from the caſtle, and carried on a covered way to the foundation of one of the towers, ſupporting its weight as they worked, by ſeveral props of timber. This being done, they retreated, having firſt ſet fire to the props, which being conſumed, the turret fell to the ground. The royal troops, being apprized of what was going forward, had run up a wall behind the turret, to ſupport the reſt of the building. The aſſailants had reckoned their work almoſt complete; but when one of the towers only fell, the diſcovery of what had been done cauſed great aſtoniſhment and confuſion among them.

The royaliſts quit the place.

Notwithſtanding the ſucceſs of this counter-ſcheme, the royaliſts in the palace, ſent a meſſage to Manahem, and the other chiefs of the oppoſition, requeſting that they might have leave to depart: which requeſt was immediately complied with, as far as it related to the king's people, and others that were of the ſame religion: who accordingly departed without loſs of time.

The Romans who were left behind were quite deſpirited by this circumſtance; for they found themſelves unable to cope with the ſuperior number of the enemy; thought it inconſiſtent with their character to ſubmit to treat with rebels; and dreaded the hazard they ſhould run, when expoſed to the mercy of men totally deſtitute of all faith and honour. Reduced to this extremity, they abandoned the place as not being defenſible, and retired with all expedition to the royal forts of Hippon, Phaſael and Mariamne. No ſooner did the ſoldiers begin to quit the place, than the rebels under the command of Manahem broke in, murdered every perſon they could ſeize, and ſtripped the place of all the valuable furniture; and concluded the outrage by ſetting fire to the camp. It was on the ſixth day of the month Gorpieus * that this circumſtance took place.

CHAP. XVIII.

Ananias and Hezekiah put to death. Manahem taken in his place of concealment, and puniſhed with torture and death. Metilius, a Roman general, capitulates. The perfidy of Eleazar, and its conſequences. A ſhocking execution on the ſabbath.

Ananias and Hezekiah ſlain.

ANANIAS, the high-prieſt, and his brother Hezekiah, were found together, on the day ſucceeding the above-mentioned events, in one of the vaults adjoining to the court, where they had ſecreted themſelves; and being brought forth, they were both put to death by a band of the Sicarii. The rebels now placed ſtrong guards about the forts, ſo that it was impoſſible for any of the ſoldiers to effect their eſcape.

The ſucceſs which had attended the ranſack of the fortified places, added to the death of Ananias, the high-prieſt, gave Manahem ſo high an opinion of his own importance, that he grew moſt inſufferably vain, ſuppoſed himſelf an oracle in all affairs of government, and became more inſupportable and inhuman than any other tyrant exiſting. The inſolence of his behaviour became the ſubject of converſation between Eleazar and a number of his ſelect friends, among whom one of them ſpoke to the following purport: "Any man who has once aſſumed courage to aſſert his liberty againſt the tyranny of the Romans, ought to bluſh at the idea of betraying that liberty again to any private man. He ought particularly to deſpiſe the thought of ſubmitting to ſuch a maſter as Manahem, who, if his wanton cruelties had not diſqualified him for government, would have been abſolutely incapacitated by the meanneſs of his extraction. If there ſhould be an unavoidably neceſſity of advancing one man above his companions, Manahem is certainly the laſt man that ſhould be thought of."

Having converſed together till they had inflamed their paſſions, they loſt no time in repairing to the temple, where they found Manahem at his devotions, dreſſed in royal robes, with all the pomp of a prince, attended by a train, and having armed guards for his protection. While he was thus employed, ſome of the people accompanying Eleazar, made a ſudden aſſault on his perſon. Hereupon the people began to pelt him with ſtones, convinced that if he was deſtroyed, things would go on in their proper channel. For ſome little time after the firſt attack, his guards made a faint ſhew of reſiſtance; but when they ſaw that the people in general were his enemies, they fled. The adherents of Eleazar deſtroyed as many as they could get into their cuſtody, and purſued the reſt till they effected their eſcape. Some few of them retired privately to Maſſada, among whom was Eleazar, the ſon of Jairus, who was nearly related to Manahem, and lived to exerciſe a tyrannical government in that place afterwards. With regard to Manahem, he was apprehended in a palace named Ophlas, and being dragged from his lurking-place, he was firſt expoſed to the public view, and then tortured, and put to death. His aſſiſtants, and thoſe who acted by his immediate direction, were treated in the ſame manner; among whom was Abſolam, who had been a principal fomenter of the ſedition.

---

* i. e. September.

anahem
t to death.

Thoſe who were in the oppoſition to Manahem found themſelves ſupported by the people in general, who, as hath been heretofore obſerved, thought that this would be a ready method to bringing about an accommodation: whereas, in fact, one faction was but acting as an oppoſite to the other, ſince the opponents of Manahem did not conſider that they were erecting a new tyranny, on the ruins of the old. The people in general were at this time extremely ſolicitous with thoſe perſons who had the direction of the faction, not to act with ſuch ſeverity towards the Romans; but rather to raiſe the ſiege, and permit them to depart: but the more this matter was urged on the one ſide, the more obſtinately it was oppoſed on the other. The Roman general Metilius, and thoſe who accompanied him, having exerted themſelves to the utmoſt of their power for the defence of the place, and being now reduced to the greateſt extremity, propoſed terms of capitulation to Eleazar, and offered to deliver up the place, together with every thing it contained, on the ſingle condition that their lives might be ſpared.

A treaty be-
ween Meti-
us and
leazar.

Theſe terms were too moderate to be rejected; whereupon Gorian, the ſon of Nicodemus, Ananias, the ſon of Saddaca, and Judas, the ſon of Jonathas, were fixed on as commiſſioners to ratify the treaty on oath, and by ſigning and ſealing. No ſooner were the formalities ended, and the agreement properly ratified, than Metilius, fully confiding in the honour of his opponent, drew off his ſoldiers, without interruption, or ſuſpicion, while the Romans remained under arms: but no ſooner, in conformity to the agreement, had the ſoldiers delivered up their ſwords and ſhields, then the troops of Eleazar broke in upon them, and moſt inhumanly murdered them; the Roman ſoldiers neither ſupplicating for their lives, nor making any reſiſtance; only reflecting on their barbarous foes by uttering the words *oaths* and *articles*. Metilius alone was mean enough to ſolicit his life, which was at length granted, on condition of his ſolemnly promiſing to turn Jew, and ſubmit to circumciſion.

The perfidy
of Eleazar.

The Roman power, however, was very little injured by this atrocious outrage, ſince the loſs of the troops thus deſtroyed was inconſiderable, comparitively with their vaſt armies. But this circumſtance was an evident prelude to the deſtruction of the Jews: for a war was actually in view, and that founded on a good cauſe: the city, which had taken the principal ſhare in the diſpute, was ſo corrupted by perfidy and rebellion, that admitting it might eſcape the vengeance of the Romans, it was not reaſonable to ſuppoſe but that it muſt fall a ſacrifice to Divine juſtice. The face of affairs was now more mournful, melancholy, and diſponding than it had been at any former period: thoſe who were innocent dreaded to ſhare the fate of the guilty. The above-mentioned aſſaſſination took place on the Sabbath day, which was deemed a great aggravation of the crime; ſince, on that day, all labour whatever is forbidden by the Jews.

A horrid
ſlaughter on
the Sabbath.

CHAP. XIX.

Twenty thouſand Jews ſlaughtered in one day. Dreadful havoc in Syria and its neighbourhood. Thirteen thouſand Jews deſtroyed by the people of Scythopolis. The exploits of Simon. His confeſſion and recantation. He kills his father, mother, wife and children; and rather than ſubmit to the enemy, puts an end to his own life.

ON the very day when the above-mentioned maſſacre took place, upwards of twenty thouſand Jews were ſlaughtered at Cæſarea; and the ſmall number that eſcaped by flight, Florus cauſed to be apprehended and ſent in chains to the gallies. This terrible ſlaughter exaſperating the whole Jewiſh nation, they divided themſelves into ſeveral bodies, and diſperſed into various quarters. Having laid waſte a number of the villages of Syria, they deſtroyed ſeveral of the bordering cities, among which were Philadelphia, Gebonitis, Geraſſa, Pella and Scythopolis. They then proceeded to Gadara, Hippon, Gaulonitis, Ptolemais, Gaba, Cæſarea, and the Tyrian Cedaſa, ſome of which places they burnt, and by other means reduced the reſt to ruins. They then aſſaulted Sebate and Aſkalon, which places ſurrendered without oppoſition. They afterwards deſtroyed Anthedon and Gaza, and continuing their ravages, laid waſte ſeveral villages on the frontiers, and put a great number of the inhabitants to the ſword.

Twenty thouſand Jews
maſſacred.

Miſerable
havoc in Syria, and its
adjacencies.

In revenge for theſe outrages, the Syrians put a great number of the Jews to death, both in ſeveral of the cities and in different country places. The ſituation of Syria was now as deplorable as can be imagined; for every city contained two adverſe armies, and the ſafety of one of them was only to be expected from the deſtruction of the other. It was truly dreadful to behold the ſtreets encumbered with dead bodies, which the murderers had left with their nakedneſs entirely expoſed.

To this period the Jews had only made war on ſtrangers; but when they approached the confines of Scythopolis, they found their own countrymen of that diſtrict to be their enemies; ſo much had the latter preferred the conſideration of their own intereſt to that of their king and country. The Scythopolitans were ſuſpicious of the good faith of their new allies, and reflected on what might be the conſequence, if theſe people ſhould unite againſt them with the other Jews, ſurpriſe the town by night, and then aſſert that what they had done aroſe from the neceſſity of their ſituation, or was in revenge of their own ſufferings. On this occaſion the citizens propoſed to the Jews of their confederacy, that if they were willing to give a proof of their integrity, and love of juſtice towards ſtrangers, they would, for the preſent, withdraw with their families, into a grove adjacent to the town. The Jews complied with this requiſition, and every thing remained in peace at Scythopolis during the two following days: but on the third night, intelligence being brought of the defenceleſs ſituation of the Jews; that ſome of them were aſleep, others in careleſs poſtures, and all of them off their guard; the people of Scythopolis attacked them unawares, deſtroyed them all, to the number of thirteen thouſand; and departed, having firſt ſeized every thing of value in the camp.

Thirteen thouſand Jews put to death at Scythopolis.

Simon's exploits.

Having thus given a general account of this tranſaction, it will be proper particularly to mention the death of Simon, the ſon of Saul, who fell a ſacrifice on the occaſion. He was a man of a diſtinguiſhed family, and very remarkable for the ſtrength of his body, and the dignity of his mind; and theſe advantages he had made uſe of in behalf of the Scythopolitans, to the injury of his own countrymen. The Jews living in the neighbourhood of Scythopolis, were almoſt daily the objects of his vengeance; and he would often put whole troops to the rout; for his courage was ſuch that an army ſeemed combined in his perſon. But at length his crimes were puniſhed by an adequate vengeance. Obſerving how the Jews in the grove were ſurrounded by the people of Scythopolis, who plied them inceſſantly with arrows and darts, Simon drew his ſword, and without offering to attack any one, which indeed would have been a fruitleſs attempt amidſt ſuch a multitude, he addreſſed the Scythopolitans to the following purpoſe: "Behold in me an inſtance of juſt puniſhment for the evils I have done, in obtaining your confidence and eſteem, by ſacrificing ſo many of my unhappy countrymen. Why ſhould I have expected greater faith from ſtrangers, than from my own friends and fellow citizens? My death is approaching; and it would ill become the man who has boaſted of his honour, to fall by the hands of the enemy. He ought rather to ſacrifice himſelf: this is the puniſhment I have merited, and the act will accord with the heroic character I have hitherto maintained. It ſhall not be ſaid that I have put it in the power of an enemy to triumph over me in my calamity, and to glory in my deſtruction." Having ſaid thus much, he caſt his eyes, which were at once expreſſive of rage and tenderneſs, on his ancient parents, his wife and children, and the reſt of his ſurrounding family. Having gazed awhile, as in ſuſpence how to act, he ſeized his father by the hair, and placing his foot on him, ſtabbed him through the body; then approaching his mother, who appeared willing to meet her fate, he killed her alſo, as he immediately after did his wife and ſons, who behaved with equal heroiſm. He then placed the bodies upon each other, and ſtanding upon them, and extending his right arm, in order to attract public notice, he put an end to his own life by plunging his ſword into his body.

His confeſſ and recantation.

He puts hi father, mother, wife and children, to death, and then deſtroy himſelf.

CHAP. XX.

A great number of Jews put to death in different places. Seventy deputies from Batanea ſlain. Varus removed from his government. The rebels gain poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Cypros. The Romans deliver up Macherus to the Jews.

The Jews o different places maſſacred.

SEVERAL other maſſacres followed that of Scythopolis. In Aſkalon two thouſand five hundred Jews were ſlain; in Ptolemais two thouſand; a great number were put to death in Tyre, where many others were impriſoned; and in ſeveral other towns they were treated with equal ſeverity: but no violence was offered to the Jewiſh inhabitants of Antioch, Sidon, and Apamia. Such of the Jews as were deſirous of remaining with the Geraſenes were permitted ſo to do, and thoſe who wiſhed to depart, were ſafely conducted to the borders of the country.

At this period a ſingular and unprecedented misfortune attended the Jews in the kingdom of Agrippa. This prince, having reſolved to make a viſit to Ceſtius

Gallus, at Antioch, commiſſioned his friend Varus, who was related to king Sohemus, to tranſact the public affairs in his abſence. It happened at this juncture that ſeventy perſons of the province of Batanea, diſtinguiſhed by their rank and wiſdom, were ſent to requeſt the favour of a garriſon, with a view that they might be enabled to ſuppreſs any tumult that might ariſe. Varus, being informed of this circumſtance, ſent out a party of the king's troops to deſtroy them on their approach; which he was raſh enough to do, not only without the knowledge, but, as it afterwards appeared, greatly againſt the opinion of Agrippa. Varus was ſtimulated by an exceſs of avarice to this infamous outrage on his countrymen; and having thus began his depredations, he proceeded to debauch the manners of the whole kingdom, by every ſpecies of vice and tyranny. When Agrippa came afterwards to be informed of the depredations made by Varus, he was unwilling to put him to death, on account of his regard to Sohemus: but he gave orders that he ſhould be immediately deprived of his government.

Seventy deputies deſtroyed.

In the interim, the poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Cypros, on the frontiers of Jerico, was obtained by the rebels, who deſtroyed the place, after firſt putting the garriſon to the ſword. About the ſame period the Romans of Macheras were treated with by another large body of the Jews, for the ſurrender of their garriſon; and they accordingly agreed to the terms on which it ſhould be given up, thinking it was better to yield it by capitulation, than to be driven out of it by force.

CHAP. XXI.

The favours granted the Jews by Alexander the Great, and afterwards by the Romans. A contention between the Jews of Alexandria and the Greeks. The Roman legions, and five thouſand Lybians, authoriſed to deſtroy at pleaſure.

FROM the time of Alexander the Great, the natives of Alexandria were very averſe to the Jews reſiding in that city. That commander, in conſideration of the ſervices they had done him againſt the Egyptians, granted them the freedom of the city, and beſtowed on them all thoſe privileges of citizens which were poſſeſſed by the Greeks. The ſucceſſors of Alexander continued theſe privileges to them, and allotted them a particular quarter of the town for their own reſidence, where they lived in a great degree ſeparate from all other people; and they were likewiſe indulged with the favour of bearing the name of Macedonians. In proceſs of time, when the Romans came into poſſeſſion of Egypt, Cæſar and his ſucceſſors continued the Jews in all their immunities: but a perpetual diſagreement ſubſiſted between thoſe people and the Greeks.

A deſperate tumult in Alexandria betwixt the Jews and the Greeks.

The whole country was at this time in great confuſion; but the diſorders in Alexandria were more violent than in any other place. The Greeks having aſſembled for the purpoſe of diſpatching ambaſſadors to Nero on public buſineſs, a number of Jews and their Greek aſſociates ruſhed into the amphitheatre, when declaring the Jews to be enemies and ſpies, the Greeks furiouſly attacked the intruders, all of whom, however, eſcaped except three, and theſe the adverſe party ſeized and dragged away, with an intention of burning them alive. With a view of reſcuing their friends, the Jews aſſaulted the Greeks with ſtones, and then carried fire into the amphitheatre, threatening to burn the building, which they aſſuredly would have done, but that Tiberius Alexander found means to moderate their rage.

Tiberius commiſſions an army to plunder and deſtroy at diſcretion.

Finding lenient meaſures to have no effect towards ſuppreſſing the tumult, Tiberius commiſſioned two Roman legions and five thouſand Lybian ſoldiers to march againſt the inſurgents, to deſtroy all who oppoſed them, and plunder and ſet fire to their houſes. A great body of the Jews having aſſembled in a quarter of the town named Delta, the troops marched to that part, and performed their duty with the ſtricteſt military ſeverity. For ſome time the Jews maintained a brave reſiſtance; but their ranks being broken, they were ſoon routed. Never did death and deſtruction aſſume more terrible forms than on this occaſion. People of all ages and both ſexes indiſcriminately fell miſerable victims both to fire and ſword; the whole place ſtreamed with the blood of no leſs than fifty thouſand breathleſs bodies, laying at the ſame time upon the ſpot. The ſurvivors would have ſhared the ſame fate, but that they ſupplicated for mercy; whereupon Tiberius ſtopped the carnage. Such was the animoſity of the Alexandrians, that it was with difficulty they were reſtrained from inſulting the bodies of the deceaſed.

Fifty thouſand Jews ſlain.

CHAP. XXII.

Ceſtius reinforced, and joined by Agrippa. Zabulon plundered and deſtroyed. The Jews put near two thouſand Syrians to death. The deſtruction of the people of Joppa.

OBSERVING that the Jews were held in general abhorrence, Ceſtius took advantage of that circumſtance for vigourouſly proſecuting the war. He marched towards Ptolemais with the whole twelfth legion, which he commanded at Antioch; two thouſand ſelect men from the other legions, and four diviſions of horſe, excluſive of the royal auxiliaries; and theſe laſt conſiſted of two thouſand horſe, and three thouſand foot, belonging to Antiochus, all armed with bows and arrows: one thouſand horſe, and three thouſand foot, of the troops of king Agrippa; and a body of king Sohemus's troops, conſiſting of four thouſand men, about a third part of which were horſe, and the majority of the infantry being archers. While on this march, Ceſtius was reinforced by a great number of volunteers.

Ceſtius was aſſiſted by Agrippa both with ſoldiers and inſtructions; and being thus provided, he proceeded, with part of his army, towards Zabulon, otherwiſe called Andron, the moſt defenſible city of Galilee, and by which Judea is divided from Ptolemais. On his arrival at the place, he found that it was amply ſtored with proviſions of all kinds, but not a ſingle perſon was in the town, the inhabitants having fled to the mountains: on which he gave his ſoldiers permiſſion to plunder the city. The general was aſtoniſhed at the beauty and elegance of the buildings, which bore a great reſemblance to thoſe of Tyre, Sidon and Berytus; yet he cauſed them to be burnt to the ground. This being done, he proceeded to ravage the adjacent country, laying waſte wherever came, and then returned to Ptolemais. On this occaſion the Syrians were ſo intent upon plunder, that they could not prevail on themſelves to retire in time; but many of them remained behind: and, on the retreat of Ceſtius, the Jews taking courage, fell on theſe plunderers, and deſtroyed near two thouſand of them.

Zabulon plundered and burnt.

Two thouſand Syrians deſtroyed.

Ceſtius proceeded from Ptolemas to Cæſarea, whence he diſpached a diviſion of his army to Joppa, with directions that, if they could get an eaſy poſſeſſion of the place, they ſhould preſerve it; and if the inhabitants made preparation for defence, they ſhould wait for the arrival of the reſt of the army. The place being aſſaulted both by land and ſea, the Romans became maſters of it with little difficulty; and putting all the inhabitants to the ſword, they plundered, and then burnt the city to aſhes. Similar deſtruction was made in the toparchy of Narbatene, where a body of Roman horſe ravaged the country, put great numbers of the people to death, ſeized their effects, and burnt their cities to the ground.

Joppa laid in ruins, and all the inhabitants deſtroyed.

CHAP. XXIII.

The command in Galilee given to Ceſennius Gallus. The Romans take Sepphoris and other places. Lydda burnt. Ceſtius encamps near Jeruſalem. During their Sabbath the Jews make a furious ſally; but are compelled to retreat. The Jews attack the Romans in their retreat.

CESTIUS diſpatched the twelfth legion into Galilee, under the command of Ceſennius Gallus, together with as many other troops as were deemed ſufficient for the reduction of that province. Immediately upon the appearance of Gallus, the people of Sepphoris, the ſtrongeſt place in the country, opened their gates to him; and this example was prudently followed by the inhabitants of other towns. The rebels and other diſaffected people retired to the mountain of Aſamon, which croſſes Galilee, and is directly oppoſite Sepphoris. Gallus marched in purſuit of them; but as long as they were able to maintain their ſtation upon the higher ground, they had the advantage of the Romans, of whom they killed about two hundred. By circular movements the Romans gained the top of the mountain, and put the Jews to the rout, with a ſlaughter of upwards of two thouſand men; only a ſmall number eſcaping by concealing themſelves among the crags of the rocks.

The freeboo ers too har for the Romans.

A ſlaughter of two thou ſand of the mal-content

Gallus now retired with his army to Cæſarea, and Ceſtius led his troops to Antipatris. On his arrival, the latter being informed that a body of Jews had got into the tower of Aphec, he diſpatched an army to diſlodge them. The Jews finding themſelves totally unable to ſuſtain the ſhock, abandoned the place to the Romans, who firſt ſtripped it of every thing of value, then ſet fire to all the villages in its neighbourhood, and departed as ſoon as they were deſtroyed.

From Antipatris, Ceſtius proceeded to Lydda, in which city he found no more than fifty men, all the reſt of them having gone to Jeruſalem, on occaſion of the feaſt of tabernacles. Theſe fifty Ceſtius cauſed to be deſtroyed, ſet fire to the town, and then proceeded, by the way of Bethoron, to a place named Gabaoh, about fifty furlongs from Jeruſalem, where he encamped.

Lydda deſtroyed.

Convinced of the exceſſive dangers of the war, the Jews abandoned their former ſcruples with regard to their ſacred days, and applied themſelves ſtrictly to their arms. Imagining that their force was now ſufficient to cope with the Romans, they made a deſperate ſally on the ſabbath-day, regardleſs of their ancient prejudices, and, with a furious uproar, attacked their enemies. The rage which on this occaſion inflamed them ſo as to induce them to forget their duty, was advantageous to them in the execution of the projected enterprize: for, on the firſt charge, they put the front of the Romans into great diſorder, and penetrated ſo far into the main body of the army, that if a body of foot had not yet remained unbroken, and a party of horſe arrived to their relief in this critical juncture, it is probable that Ceſtius and all his army muſt have been cut to pieces. On this occaſion

The Jews make a furious ſally upo the enemy o their ſabbath caſion four hundred of the Roman cavalry were ſlain, and one hundred and fifteen of the infantry; while of the Jews there fell no more than two and twenty men. Thoſe who were moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed in this action were Monobaſus and Cenedeus, two relations of Monobaſus, king of the Adiabenians: and the valour of theſe chieftains was well ſeconded by Niger of Perea, and Silas, the Babylonian, the laſt of whom had gone over to take part with the Jews, after having been in the ſervice of king Agrippa.

The main body of the Jews now retreating in good order, went back into the city; and in the mean time the Romans retiring towards Bethoron, they were followed by Gioras, the ſon of Simon, who deſtroyed ſeveral of them, and ſeized a number of carriages, and a quantity of baggage, which he found in the courſe of his purſuit, and which he conveyed to Jeruſalem. Ceſtius remained in the field three days after this action, during which time a party of the Jews were ſtationed on the adjacent hills to watch his movements, and it is probable that the Jews would have attacked the Romans, if they had offered to depart during that period.

CHAP. XXIV.

Agrippa ſends Borceus and Phebus to propoſe an alliance with the Romans. Phebus killed and Borceus wounded. Ceſtius advances to Jeruſalem, but is repulſed. The Jews purſue the Romans as far as Antipatris.

Agrippa propoſes an alliance with the Romans.

OBSERVING prodigious numbers of Jews to have aſſembled in the elevated parts of the country, Agrippa deemed the Romans to be inſecure while within the reach of ſo formidable an enemy; and therefore he diſpatched Borceus and Phebus to offer them terms of alliance, the conditions of which were, that upon laying down their arms, and pledging themſelves to a peaceable behaviour, they ſhould receive a full pardon.

Phebus killed and Borceus wounded.

The propoſal being made, the leaders of the oppoſition being apprehenſive that the majority of their adherents might be induced to revolt to Agrippa, they reſolved upon the immediate deſtruction of the ambaſſadors. They accordingly ſeized Phebus by ſurpriſe and put him to death; but Borceus eſcaped after being wounded. This baſe action ſo incenſed the multitude, that they aſſaulted the offenders with clubs and ſtones, and drove them into the town.

This diſturbance affording Ceſtius a fair opportunity for attacking the faction, he advanced againſt them with his whole army, and purſued them to the walls of Jeruſalem. He then encamped at Scopus, about ſeven furlongs from the city, and ſending into the adjacent country for ſupplies of grain, and other neceſſaries, waited three days and nights, in the expectation that the turbulent ſpirit of the enemy would ſubſide.

Ceſtius advances to Jeruſalem.

On the following day, which was the thirtieth of the month Hyperberetæus, Ceſtius advanced with his whole army to the borders of the city, where the people were ſo terrified by the faction, that they were afraid to take any ſtep of conſequence; whilſt the principal promoters of the ſedition were ſo alarmed by the conduct and diſcipline of the Romans on their march, that they retired from the extremities of the city, and took refuge in the temple. Ceſtius proceeded by the way of Bezetha, ~~and~~ as he paſſed forwards burnt Cenopolis, and a place called the wood-market. Hence he advanced to the upper town, and pitched his camp at a ſmall diſtance from the palace. If, at this critical juncture, he had made a vigorous attack, he might, with the greateſt eaſe, have made himſelf maſter of the place, and put a period to the war: but he was diverted from this purpoſe by the mediation of the two generals, Tyrannus and Priſcus, and ſeveral other officers, with the prevailing argument of ſome of Florus's money: and this indiſcretion was the cauſe of great calamities that afterwards befel the Jews.

Ananus, the ſon of Jonathas, and ſeveral other men of diſtinction among the Jews, called aloud to Ceſtius, making an offer to open the gates to him: but either through diffidence or fear, he was ſo long in conſidering whether he ſhould comply with the offer, that the intention was diſcovered, and the people compelled Ananus and his companions to retreat from the walls of the city.

The Romans repulſed.

After this the Jews with a view to defend the walls, repaired to the different turrets, and, for five ſucceſſive days, defended them againſt all the efforts of the Romans, though they urged the attack with the utmoſt impetuoſity. Ceſtius, on the ſixth day, made an aſſault on the north ſide of the temple, with a ſelect force from his troops and bowmen; but he was received with ſuch a violent ſhower of ſhot and ſtones from the porch and galleries, that the Romans were not only repeatedly compelled to retire from the charge, but finally obliged to abandon the enterprize. Being thus repulſed, the Romans had recourſe to the following ſingular invention. Thoſe in front placing their bucklers againſt the wall, and covering their heads and ſhoulders with them, thoſe who ſtood next cloſed their bucklers to the former, till the whole body was covered, and made the appearance of a tortoiſe: the bucklers being thus conjoined, were proof againſt all the darts and arrows of the enemy: ſo that the Romans could now ſap and undermine the walls without being expoſed to danger; and the firſt thing they did was to attempt ſetting fire to the gates of the temple. This amazed and terrified the faction to ſuch a degree, that they conſidered themſelves as ruined; and many of them abſolutely abandoned the town: nor were the honeſt party leſs elevated with joy, than the rebels depreſſed by deſpair. The people now demanded that the gates might be opened to Ceſtius, whom they conſidered in the light of a friend and preſerver. Matters having proceeded thus far, the general had nothing more to have done, but to have maintained the ſiege for a very little time longer, and the town muſt have ſubmitted: but providence would not permit a war ſo unjuſtly commenced to be concluded in that manner. Without conſidering the favourable diſpoſition of the inhabitants of the city in general, or the deſpondency into which the rebels were thrown, Ceſtius abandoned the ſiege, when his proſpect of ſucceſs was more favourable than it had been at any former period. Encouraged by the departure of Ceſtius, the revolters attacked them in the rear, and put a conſiderable number of his troops to the ſword. The Romans were encumbered with heavy arms, while thoſe of the Jews were remarkably light. Among the great number of Romans that fell, were Priſcus, commander of the ſixth legion; Longinus, the tribune; and Emilius Jucundus, a celebrated commander of horſe. After loſing great part of their baggage, the Romans arrived at Gabaoh, where they had before encamped.

Ceſtius raiſes the ſiege.

After deliberating for two days as to what meaſures he ſhould purſue, on the third Ceſtius found the numbers of his enemies ſurpriſingly increaſed; and he therefore ordered the army to be relieved from all unneceſſary incumbrances, that their march might be the more expeditious. He directed ſuch mules and aſſes, and other beaſts of burden as were not abſolutely wanted for carrying implements of war, to be killed, leſt they ſhould fall into the power of the enemy, and be employed to his diſadvantage. He then led his army towards Bethoron. While they were in the open country, they received no annoyance from the Jews; but when they came into hollow ways and defiles, the enemy charged them in front and rear, to ſeparate ſome diviſions from the reſt of the army, and force them farther into the valley: and diſcharged ſhot on their heads from the rocks and craggs. While the infantry were thus diſtreſſed, and in doubt how they ſhould act, the ſituation of the cavalry was ſtill more deplorable; for it was impoſſible for them to advance againſt the Jews in the mountains, or ſecure themſelves in the vallies; nor could the order of the troops be maintained amidſt ſuch a ſhower of arrows as deſcended on them. Many periſhed by falling into precipices, and other accidents; in fact, they were in ſuch a diſtreſſful ſituation, that they could neither fight nor fly. Reduced to this ſhocking extremity, the Romans gave vent to their paſſion by tears, groans, and lamentations; while on the other hand, the Jews made the rocks and valleys reſound with their tranſports of joy, triumph and exultation. In fact, ſuch was the ſituation of affairs, that if day-light had continued ſome time longer, the whole army of Ceſtius muſt have been cut to pieces; but the Romans with difficulty reached Bethoron, under cover of the night; all the paſſes near which place were immediately ſecured by the Jews, to prevent the retreat of their adverſaries.

Ceſtius eſcapes by ſtratagem.

Ceſtius finding himſelf ſurrounded, and that it would be impoſſible to retreat within ſight of the enemy, deviſed a ſcheme to favour his eſcape. Having ſtationed near four hundred of his moſt gallant troops on the tops of the houſes, he ordered that they ſhould act as centinels, calling as loud as they were able to the watches and guards, as if the army was ſtill in its encampment. While this plan was going forward, Ceſtius collected his troops, and, during the night, marched to the diſtance of about thirty furlongs. In the morning, when the Jews came to find that the place had been deſerted by the main body of the army during the night, they were ſo enraged, that they immediately attacked the four hundred Romans who had acted as centinels, ſlew every one of them, and then marched in purſuit of Ceſtius; but his troops having gained a whole night's march on them, and proceeding with the utmoſt rapidity on the following day, it was not poſſible to overtake them. Such were the hurry and confuſion in which the Romans fled, that they dropt in the road all their ſlings, machines, and other inſtruments for battery and attack; and theſe being ſeized by the purſuers, they afterwards made uſe of them againſt the fugitives. The Jew purſued their enemies as far as Antipatris; but finding it in vain to continue the chace, they carefully preſerved the engines, ſtripped the dead, collected all the booty they could, and then returned towards Jeruſalem, ſinging ſongs of triumph for ſo important a victory, obtained with a loſs perfectly inconſiderable. In this conteſt there fell, of the Romans and their auxiliaries, three hundred and eighty cavalry, and four thouſand infantry. This event took place in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, and on the eighth day of the month Dius*.

The Jews purſue them to Antipatri and then gi over the chace.

---

* i. e. November.

CHAP. XXV.

The Jews retire from Jeruſalem. The people of Damaſcus conſpire to deſtroy the Jews, of whom ten thouſand are killed in one hour. Joſeph, governor of the two Galilees, forms a council of ſeventy.

AFTER the diſaſter we have mentioned to have happened to Ceſtius, the principal Jews of Jeruſalem deſerted that city, conſidering it as a place devoted to deſtruction. The brothers, Coſtabarus and Saul, with Philip, the ſon of Jacimus, formerly general to Agrippa, privately withdrew to Ceſtius; but Agrippa, their fellow priſoner in the palace, diſdaining to owe his ſafety to flight, was put to death by the faction. Ceſtius commiſſioned Saul and his aſſociates to repair to Nero, in Achaia, with an account of his late miſfortune, which he attributed to the improper conduct of Florus.

Ceſtius ſends Nero word of the miſcarriage, and lays the fault upon Florus.

A conſpiracy at Damaſcus againſt the Jews.

Intelligence of the defeat no ſooner arrived at Damaſcus than the inhabitants of that place entered into a confederacy for deſtroying all the Jews reſident there; and when thoſe people were aſſembled in a confined place, they carried this barbarous deſign into effect, and actually cut the throats of ten thouſand of them in the ſpace of one hour.

Ten thouſand of their throats cut in one hour.

The Jews who had purſued Ceſtius being returned to Jeruſalem, they exerted their utmoſt endeavours to bring the Romans over to their intereſt. A meeting being held in the temple for the election of officers for conducting the war, Joſeph, the ſon of Gorion, and Ananus, the high-prieſt, were appointed governors in civil affairs, and particularly recommended to rebuild the walls. Eleazar, the ſon of Simon, was poſſeſſed of great wealth, conſiſting of an immenſe booty taken from the Romans, a large ſum of money from Ceſtius, and other treaſure: but the people, knowing his haughty and tyrannical diſpoſition, declined conferring every honour or public employment upon him. However, by bribery, complaiſance, and artful management in other reſpects, he ſo effectually ingratiated the favours of the multitude, that they conſidered him more qualified than any other man for the office of governor.

The people now ſent Jeſus, the ſon of Sapphas, one of the high-prieſts, and Eleazar, the ſon of the new high-prieſt, as commanders into Idumea; directing that their orders ſhould be ſtrictly obeyed by Niger, governor of that province. Niger was likewiſe called Periates, becauſe he came from beyond Jordan.

Similar care was likewiſe taken by the people with regard to the other governments. To Jericho they ſent Joſeph, the ſon of Simon; Manaſſes went beyond the river, and John, the Eſſene, was diſpatched to Thamna. To theſe governments were added Lydda, Joppa, and Emmaus, which were to be held as toparchies. The government of Gophnitis and Acrabatene was given to John, the ſon of Ananias, and that of the two Gallilees to Joſeph*, the ſon of Matthias, to whom was likewiſe ſubmitted the government of Gamala, the ſtrongeſt place in the country.

Joſeph the author of this hiſtory.

Each of theſe governors diſcharged his truſt with great prudence. On his arrival in Galilee, Joſeph ſought to engage the affections of the people, as a means of avoiding the ill conſequences that might otherwiſe enſue from any trivial errors he might commit. He alſo reflected that to admit perſons of rank to ſhare in the government was the ready way to make them his friends; and that the moſt effectual method of obliging the people at large, would be employing ſuch of the natives as were popular, in public buſineſs. The method Joſeph took was as follows: he ſelected a council of ſeventy from among the oldeſt and wiſeſt men of the nation. To this council he deputed the government of Galilee, reſtraining them in a few particulars only. Theſe ſeventy judges were diſtributed, ſeven in each city, and empowered to hear and determine all common affairs, agreeable to a plan which was preſcribed to them; but the deciſion of matters of great conſequence, Joſeph reſerved to himſelf.

His principles and inclinations.

His method and form of government. A council of ſeventy.

The council of ſeventy thus diſpoſed of, and domeſtic affairs regulated, Joſeph began to conſider how moſt effectually to ſecure himſelf from foreign attacks. He had no kind of doubt but that the Romans would make irruptions into Galilee, and therefore immediately cauſed walls to be built round the defenſible cities of Jotapata, Berſabee, Selamis, Pereccho, Japha and Sigoh, Tarichea and Tiberias, and alſo the mountain called Itabyr. In the lower Galilee he fortified the caves near the lake of Genezareth; in the upper Galilee, Petra, of the Achabarians; Seph, Jamnith and Mero; with Seleucir, Soganes and Gamala, in Gaulanitis. But the Sepphorites, who were a rich people, and naturally of a martial turn, were permitted to build their own walls. Giſchala was walled in, by Joſeph's command, by John, the ſon of Levi. All the reſt of the caſtles were fortified by Joſeph's direction.

Several cities walled.

Having engaged upwards of one hundred thouſands men in Galilee, he ſupplied them with old arms which he had collected in various places. He next conſidered the invincible power of the Romans, which

---

* The author of this Hiſtory.

The Roman diſcipline eſtabliſhed.

Joſeph's army.

he was of opinion aroſe from their exact diſcipline. Deeming it prudent to adopt the Roman mode of diſcipline, he appointed officers over tens, hundreds, and thouſands, they being ſubject to the orders of their ſuperiors in command. He cauſed his troops to be inſtructed in the uſe of ſignals; to know the points of war by the ſound of trumpet; diſtinguiſhing an alarm, a charge, and a retreat, by different ſounds; to comprehend the method of fighting, and the form of battle; the mode of attack and retreat; and how to ſecond the diſtreſſed, and relieve thoſe that might be fatigued. He inſtructed them in the virtues of fortitude, and of patiently ſuſtaining mental and bodily diſtreſs, admoniſhing them bravely to reſiſt difficulties and dangers. He cautioned his ſoldiers againſt fraud and robbery, and all unlawful and violent acts, ſaying they were not to expect advantage from any property unjuſtly obtained. His army was compoſed of ſixty thouſand infantry, two hundred and fifty cavalry, and four thouſand five hundred mercenaries, excluſive of ſix hundred ſelect men for his body guard. The maintenance of theſe troops was not attended with conſiderable expence; for, except the mercenaries, they were ſupported by the different cities. While one half the men was engaged in the wars, the other was employed in providing them with neceſſaries.

CHAP. XXVI.

The impoſtures of John of Giſchala. Joſeph involved in great difficulties, but extricates himſelf by ſtratagem. Plots and contrivances againſt Joſeph.

Character of John of Giſchala.

DURING the adminiſtration of Joſeph in Galilee, a moſt extraordinary impoſtor engaged the attention of the public. His name was John; he came from Giſchala, and was the ſon of a man named Levi. He was diſtinguiſhed by his uncommon craft and ſubtilty, but had heretofore been ſo poor as not to be able to carry his wicked deſigns into execution. He was a moſt egregious liar, and equally fond of liſtening to, as of circulating falſe reports. He was ſo abandoned as to deem fraud a virtue, and ſeemed particularly fond of cheating his beſt friends. He made great pretentions to good-nature, but, when his intereſt prompted him, was ſavage and cruel in the higheſt degree. He poſſeſſed the moſt unbounded ambition, yet had no proſpect of diſtinction but what was founded in his crimes. A diſpoſition to defraud ſeemed ſo rooted in his nature, that he wanted no inſtructor in the art of theft; he began by himſelf, and continued increaſing his companions by degrees, till their number amounted to four hundred. Among all theſe there was not one man but of approved courage, and of good ſkill in the uſe of arms; ſo careful was the leader to chuſe men of reſolution and addreſs. The majority of this band were ſelected from among the villages of the Tyrians. With theſe banditti John made incurſions into Galilee, laid the country waſte, and put to the ſword many of thoſe who had retired in the fear of a war. The leader, however, had ſtill greater deſigns in contemplation, and would have put himſelf at the head of an army, had he not been prevented by the want of money.

A monopoly of oil.

Finding that Joſeph had formed a favourable opinion of him as a man capable of the diſpatch of buſineſs, he made ſufficient intereſt with him to prevail on him to commit to his care the rebuilding the walls of Giſchala; and on this occaſion he procured large ſums of money from people of fortune, to carry on the intended work. This device was ſucceeded by another, more extraordinary than all his former contrivances. He procured an injunction from Joſeph to the Jews in Syria, ſtrictly forbidding them to ſend any oil into the adjacent countries but ſuch as was made by their own people. This prohibition being iſſued, John engroſſed the trade in oil, and by ſelling it at eight times its original coſt, amaſſed great riches, which he afterwards employed to the injury of his benefactor. Suppoſing he had a good proſpect of ſucceeding Joſeph, in caſe he ſhould be diſplaced, he gave orders to his adherents for harraſſing and oppreſſing the people, that they might be provoked to acts of deſperation againſt the governor, if he ſhould attempt to controul them, or to accuſe him of miſconduct, if he ſhould not interpoſe his authority. With a view of facilitating the ſucceſs of his ſcheme, he cauſed a rumour to be ſpread, that Joſeph was concerned in a plot for betraying the province to the Romans, and alſo propagated divers other reports equally calculated to inflame the paſſions of the multitude.

At this time a number of young men of Dabarith were ſtationed as a guard in the great plain; and while Ptolemy, ſteward to king Agrippa and queen Berenice, was travelling through that part, they attacked and robbed him of ſix hundred pieces of gold, together with all his boxes and baggage, containing ſilver plate and coſtly robes to a very great amount. This booty was too great for them to hope they ſhould be able to conceal it; and therefore they carried the whole to Tarichea, and delivered it to Joſeph, who ſeverely reprimanded them for the violence they had committed, An inſurrection in Tarichea.

John and Jeſus inflame the tumult.

The populace exaſperated againſt Joſeph.

mitted, and directed, that the property ſhould be delivered to a man of diſtinction named Æneas, to be reſtored whenever demanded. Enraged at being diſappointed of a ſhare of the booty, the plunderers repaired to the neighbouring cities and villages, vehemently exclaiming that they had been betrayed by Joſeph. Hence ſo general an inſurrection was fomented that, by the break of day next morning, an hundred thouſand people were aſſembled at the circus of Tarichea, ſome demanding that Joſeph ſhould be burnt as a traitor, ſome that he ſhould be depoſed, and others that he ſhould be ſtoned to death. This tumult, which was encouraged by John, and Jeſus, the ſon of Sapphas, who were magiſtrates of Tiberias, ſo terrified the guards and friends of Joſeph, that he was deſerted by all except four. At this time he was in a profound ſleep, but was awaked by his four faithful friends, juſt when the inſurgents were about to ſet fire to his houſe. Notwithſtanding this ſudden alarm, and the danger of his ſituation, his preſence of mind did not deſert him. Cloathing himſelf in ſackcloth and aſhes, having his hands confined behind him, and his ſword hanging from his neck, he preſented himſelf to the multitude. This magnanimity had ſo great an effect upon his friends, particularly thoſe of Tarichea, that they ſincerely compaſſionated his ſituation: but the unfeeling rabble curſed and reviled him for having been guilty of oppreſſion and treachery, demanding that he ſhould acknowledge his deliquency, and reſtore their money. They thought, from his preſent behaviour, that he was diſpoſed to confeſs the truth, in conſequence of which he would be at once pardoned and pitied. Thus ſituated, he imagined he could not act a wiſer part than to divide the ſentiments of his enemies, and make them become enemies to each other. Having conceived this idea, he engaged to make a full confeſſion: on which the people very readily liſtened to what he had to ſay, and he ſpoke to the following purpoſe: "It is impoſſible that I ſhould have entertained a thought either of delivering up this treaſure to Agrippa, or retaining it for my own emolument. Be aſſured, moſt generous people, that I ſhould diſdain to ſolicit the friendſhip of any prince who is your enemy; or ſeek to make the leaſt advantage of any thing that might prejudice you. But (addreſſing himſelf to the Taricheans) having conſidered how deſolate your city looks without walls, and that you are not in circumſtances to conſtruct them; and having reflected how anxious the inhabitants of Tiberias and ſeveral other cities are, to poſſeſs this prize, I was the more determined to preſerve it for the purpoſe of building your walls. If your opinion ſhould coincide with mine, you are in honour bound to ratify my proceedings; but if you are of contrary ſentiments, I am content to deliver up the whole treaſure to you, to be diſpoſed of as you may think proper."

This addreſs was extremely grateful to the Taricheans, but quite otherwiſe to the Tiberians. Their rage and envy became more implacable than at any former period: and while they were divided in ſentiment, their general quarrel with Joſeph ſubſided, and their animoſities were ſolely directed againſt each other.

The commiſſioners from the rioters ſcourged.

Finding his cauſe eſpouſed by near forty thouſand Taricheans, Joſeph aſſumed confidence to deliver his ſentiments with freedom; and when he had gently reproved the multitude for their miſconduct, many of the mal-contents retired; but at the ſame inſtant, a body of two thouſand armed men ruſhed towards Joſeph, who retreated into his houſe, and defended the paſſages. He then went to the top of the building, and made ſigns for ſilence; and when the clamour had ſomewhat abated, he ſaid he was unable to comprehend what meaſures they wiſhed him to purſue, requeſting they would ſend to him ſome perſons properly qualified for amicably terminating all diſagreements. Hereupon, ſome of the principal magiſtrates went to Joſeph; and being admitted into his houſe, they were conducted to a remote part, and there ſcourged with rods ſo ſeverely, that their ribs and even their bowels were viſible. In the mean time, the people waited at the gates, thinking the conference very tedious, but imputing the delay to the ſuppoſed difficulties of the caſe. At length, the gates were opened, and the magiſtrates being diſmiſſed, their deplorable condition ſo ſhocked and intimidated the populace, that thoſe who had been moſt vehement in their complaints were now the firſt to throw down their arms, and provide for their ſafety.

John counterfeits ſickneſs.

This diſappointment ſerved to increaſe the envy of John towards Joſeph, whoſe permiſſion he requeſted to go to Tiberias for the purpoſe of making uſe of the hot baths, under pretext that he was in a bad ſtate of health. Not ſuſpecting his treacherous deſigns, Joſeph gave him letters of recommendation to the magiſtrates of the city, who were therein requeſted to afford him every aſſiſtance in their power.

On his arrival at Tiberias, John employed himſelf in corrupting the people by bribes and promiſes to deſert the intereſts of Joſeph. Silas, governor of the city, being informed of the proceedings of John, he communicated the particulars to Joſeph, who receiving his letter late at night, inſtantly ſet out, and arrived early the next morning at Tiberias, where, excepting by John and his adherents, he was received with great reſpect. John ſent a friend to compliment him on his arrival, and to excuſe his perſonal attendance, under the pretence that he was confined to his bed by illneſs. Joſeph aſſembled the people in the great place*, intending to inform them of the intelligence he had received. Being appriſed of this meeting, John employed a party of ruffians to deſtroy Joſeph; but the latter, while the aſſaſſins were drawing their ſwords, leaped from the ſtation he had mounted for the purpoſe of addreſſing the populace, which was ſix cubits † high, and eſcaped in a ſmall boat upon the lake, being attended only by two of his guards. Joſeph's troops immediately prepared to avenge the cauſe of their leader; but ſo apprehenſive was he of the conſequences of a civil war, that he ordered them to act againſt the inſurgents no otherwiſe than was neceſſary towards their own preſervation. This command was punctually obeyed.

Joſeph narrowly eſcapes being deſtroyed.

Joſeph's moderation.

The particulars of this treaſon being rumoured through the country, vaſt numbers of people aſſembled, and marched in ſearch of John; but in the mean time he eſcaped to Giſchala, the place of his nativity. Every city of Galilee declared in favour of Joſeph, and many thouſands of armed men joined in offering their ſervices againſt John, expreſſing a deſire of conſuming him in the flames of the city which afforded him ſhelter. After acknowledging his obligations for their zeal in his behalf, Joſeph recommended the people to proceed with moderation; adding, that he would adviſe a decree to be publiſhed, purporting that ſuch of the abettors of the rebellion as ſhould not return to their allegiance within five days, ſhould be excluded from the benefit of pardon, their houſes burnt, their effects confiſcated, and their families exterminated. A proclamation to this tendency being accordingly iſſued, three thouſand of the rebels ſubmitted to Joſeph; but about a thouſand fugitive Syrians ſtill adhered to John, who employed agents in Jeruſalem to traduce the character of Joſeph, by accuſing him of having made exorbitant levies, and of concerting means for making himſelf maſter of that city. Thoſe who were acquainted with facts paid no regard to theſe inſinuations: but there were a number of malicious people, and ſome even among the magiſtrates, and other principal inhabitants, who ſupplied John with money, to enable him to ſupport a war againſt Joſeph; nay, they even went ſo far as to frame a public act for the removal of him from his government. Nor did even this content them; for they employed two thouſand five hundred warlike men, with four perſons celebrated for their eloquence and knowledge of the law, to impare Joſeph's credit with the people. The names of the perſons thus commiſſioned, were Joazar, Ananias, Simon, and Judas.

The people exaſperated againſt John.

A proclamation iſſued, and three thouſand rebels ſubmit.

The friends of Joſeph gave him information that a body of troops was ſent towards him, but the councils of the enemy were ſo ſecret that they could not acquaint him with particulars. Thus ſituated, Joſeph knew not how to take his meaſures, and the cities of Sepphoris, Gamala, Giſchala, and Tiberias, immediately went over to the enemy; but he ſoon poſſeſſed himſelf of them again without bloodſhed. He ſent to Jeruſalem four of his principal priſoners both in courage and advice; againſt whom the people were ſo violently enraged, that they would utterly have deſtroyed them all, if they had not ſaved themſelves by a timely eſcape.

Four cities join the en my.

CHAP. XXVII.

Tiberias revolts, but is recovered by a notable ſtratagem. Clitus ſentenced to cut off one of his own hands.

BEING apprehenſive of being ſeized by Joſeph, John continued within the walls of Giſchala. In a few days the citizens of Tiberias revolted; and acknowledging Agrippa for their king, invited him to take poſſeſſion of the town; but Agrippa did not attend at the time appointed, when only ſome Roman cavalry appeared. Information of the revolt arriving at Tarrichea when Joſeph's troops were on a foraging expedition, he was at a loſs how to act. He deemed it not ſafe to venture alone among the great number of revolters, and was fearful of remaining in the town, leſt he ſhould be ſeized by the king's troops; and further, no public buſineſs could be tranſacted on the following day, on account of that being the ſabbath.

Thus ſituated, Joſeph concerted a ſtratagem for deceiving the revolters. He ordered the gates of Tarichea to be ſhut and guarded, that the Tiberians might not learn what was going forward; and then cauſed the two hundred and thirty veſſels upon the lake each to be manned with four perſons. Early the next morning they ſailed towards Tiberias, and when they were ſo near the place that the inhabitants could judge of the number of the ſhipping, without diſtinguiſhing how many men were on board, he commanded all the veſſels to be brought to anchor, and to remain in that ſituation. He then, attended by ſeven guards,

A ſucceſsf ſtratagem the recover of Tiberias guards, they being unarmed, rowed nearly up to the town; whereupon the inhabitants imagined all the veſſels to be filled with ſoldiers; and being terrified by that idea, they threw down their arms, and ſupplicated mercy from Joſeph, who, after reproving them for their late rebellious proceedings, ſaid he was ſtill diſpoſed to grant them a pardon, if they would ſend to him ſuch deputies as he approved, to ſolicit the favour.

---

* A ſpacious piece of ground appropriated to wreſtling, horſe and foot races, and other public exerciſe.

† Something more than three yards and a half, Engliſh meaſure.

Hereupon, the citizens commiſſioned ten of their principal people to wait upon Joſeph; and theſe he immediately directed to be put on board a fiſhing-veſſel, and conducted to a little diſtance from the ſhore. In the next place he demanded fifty of the principal ſenators to be delivered to him, as a farther ſecurity for the performance of conditions; and thus proceeded, with one pretence after another, till he had all the ſenate in his hands, and of the inhabitants about ſix thouſand. Theſe were ſent in boats to Tarichea, and there detained priſoners.

The people in general now exclaimed againſt Clitus, ſaid that he was the principal promoter of the tumult, and requeſted that Joſeph would make an example of him, and accept his puniſhment as an atonement for what had happened. Joſeph was unwilling to take away any man's life; but, on the requeſt of the people, directed Levi, one of his guards, to cut off both the hands of Clitus. The ſoldier was afraid to execute this ſentence amidſt ſuch a number of enemies, which ſo enraged Joſeph, that he was on the point of going on ſhore, to be himſelf the executioner. This coming to the knowledge of Clitus, he applied to Joſeph, requeſting that one hand only might ſuffice; which Joſeph complied with, on condition that he ſhould cut off his own hand: whereupon Clitus drawing his ſword, chopped off his left hand with his right. Thus was Tiberias recovered by Joſeph and ſeven ſoldiers only, with a number of boats almoſt unmanned.

Clitus executes juſtice upon himſelf.

A few days after this, Sepphoris and other cities revolted; on which Joſeph gave permiſſion to his ſoldiers to plunder Sepphoris and Giſchala: but, on the petition of the inhabitants, he gave orders that all the property that could be diſcovered ſhould be reſtored; for it was his deſign to puniſh the diſobedience of the people, and regain their affections by conferring benefits upon them.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Jeruſalem prepares for war. Simon commits great outrages and devaſtations.

AT this time perfect tranquility prevailed in Galilee; but the people of Jeruſalem were no ſooner at peace with each other, than they concerted the means of freſh contentions with the Romans. The high-prieſt Ananus, and other men of rank who were enemies to the Romans, hurried the rebuilding the walls, procuring military machines and weapons, with darts, arrows, and other implements of war; while every hand was engaged in martial preparations, and the youth trained to the exerciſe of arms. The melancholy proſpect of public affairs afflicted every one of a peaceable diſpoſition, while the incendiaries, triumphed in the general confuſion. In a word, the city bore a moſt diſmal aſpect, even before the Romans approached it.

Galilee at peace, and Jeruſalem preparing for a war.

At this time, Simon, the ſon of Gioras, headed a band of free-booters, who ſubſiſted on their plunder in the toparchy of Acrabatena, where they not only pillaged the houſes of all the men of eminence; but likewiſe made perſonal attacks on them, aſſaulting them with cudgels, and treating them more ignominouſly than ſlaves; thus exerciſing their tyranny in the moſt open manner. Simon proceeded in this way, till Ananus and the magiſtrates ſent troops; which compelled him and his ſmall party to take refuge among the thieves of Maſſada; and with them he continued till the deſtruction of Ananus and ſome other of his enemies. His ravages in Idumea and its neighbourhood were ſuch, and his bloody oturages ſo enormous, that the government was obliged to garriſon even the villages, for the protection of the country.

The horrible ravages and cruelties of Simon the ſon of Gioras.

THE

WARS

OF THE

JEWS.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

Nero diſſembles his alarm. Veſpaſian and Titus raiſe a powerful army. The Jews defeated with great ſlaughter. A ſecond engagement, wherein eight thouſand are ſlain.

THE defeat of his troops under Ceſtius in Judea was the cauſe of great conſternation to the emperor Nero; but he diſſembled his alarm, oſtentiouſly aſſerting, that it was to the miſconduct of his own general, and not to the valour and military ſkill of the Jews, that thoſe people were indebted for victory. He was of opinion, that to betray a concern on account of the common occurrences of life would be derogatory to the ſovereignty of the Roman empire, and alſo to his ſuperiority to other princes. During this contention between his fear and his pride, he induſtriouſly ſought for a man qualified for the important taſk of chaſtiſing the revolted Jews, and at the ſame time of preſerving the eaſt in tranquillity, and of maintaining the allegiance of ſeveral nations that had indicated a diſpoſition to emancipate themſelves from the power of Rome. After mature deliberation, Nero, at length, deemed Veſpaſian the only man qualified for theſe important undertakings. From an early period of life, Veſpaſian, who was now at an advanced age, had been engaged in an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of military exploits. To him the empire was indebted for the eſtabliſhment of peace in the weſt, where the Germans had revolted; and he compleated the conqueſt of Britain, attributing to the emperor the glory of triumphing over that country, which had not before been entirely ſubdued, or accurately known. The years and experience of Veſpaſian, his approved courage and fidelity, his having ſons for hoſtages of his loyalty, who, being in the vigour of youth, might carry their father's commands into effect, and his appearing to be favoured by the Almighty, were circumſtances that determined the emperor to appoint him to the command of his army in Syria. Upon receiving this commiſſion, Veſpaſian ordered his ſon Titus to lead the fifth and tenth legions to Alexandria, and departing himſelf from Achaia, he croſſed the Helleſpont, and proceeding by land into Syria, aſſembled the Roman troops and the auxiliaries ſupplied by the princes adjacent to that province.

The diſtracted ſtate of the Roman affairs.

Nero gives Veſpaſian the government of Syria.

Veſpaſian a Titus draw together a mighty ar

Elevated by their conqueſt over the Roman army commanded by Ceſtius, the Jews determined to proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour. Having collected their beſt troops, they marched againſt the ancient city of Aſcalon, ſituated about five hundred and twenry furlongs from Jeruſalem, reſolving to attempt the reduction of that place, againſt the inhabitants of which they entertained an implacable enmity. The Jewiſh army was commanded by Niger, of Perea; Silas, a Babylonian; and John an eſſene; they being men celebrated for their valour and ſkill in the art of war.

The Jews a vance to Aſcalon.

Aſcalon was ſurrounded by a wall of ſurpriſing ſtrength: but its garriſon conſiſted only of a troop of cavalry and a company of foot, under the command of Antony. Impatient for battle, the Jews marched with great expedition, intending to attack the Romans by ſurpriſe; but being apprized of their deſign, Antony ſtationed his cavalry without the town, in order to repulſe the enemy. The Roman army was compoſed of veteran troops, compleatly armed, well diſciplined, and perfectly obedient to order. The Jewiſh army conſiſted only of infantry, who were precipitate and ungovernable, indifferently equipped for, and by no means expert in the art of war. Antony received the charge of the enemy with great reſolution; his horſe broke and put to the rout the firſt ranks of the adverſe army, great numbers of them being cruſhed to death by their own people, and others diſperſed over the plain; and wherever they fled they were oppoſed by the Romans. The Jews exerted their utmoſt endeavours to rally their forces: but this the Romans prevented; for during the greateſt part of the day they, without intermiſſion, purſued their advantage, till ten thouſand of the enemy were ſlain; in which number were the two generals, John and Silas: Niger, the ſurviving general, with the reſt of the Jews, moſt of whom were wounded, eſcaped to a town in Idumea, named Salis. In this action the Romans ſuſtained no other injury than that of having an inconſiderable number of men wounded.

The Jews defeated, and ten thouſand of them put to death.

Notwithſtanding this terrible overthrow, the courage of the Jews ſuffered no abatement; but, founding the hopes of ſucceſs on the recollection of former victories, they were animated to a more violent deſire of vengeance. Without allowing time for the wounded men to recover, they collected a much more numerous army than before, and determined to make a ſecond attempt againſt Aſcalon. They were ſurpriſed by an ambuſh which Antony had ſtationed on the way they were to paſs, and entirely routed, without being able to form themſelves into the order of battle: eight thouſand Jews were ſlain upon the ſpot; and the reſt, with Niger, their general, put to flight. On this occaſion, Niger afforded many proofs of his being a courageous and ſkilful ſoldier. Being cloſely purſued, the Jews ſought refuge in a caſtle belonging to the village of Bezedel, which was ſuppoſed to be impregnable; and therefore, as the only effectual means of deſtroying both Niger and the caſtle, the Romans ſet fire to the fort, and after this departed, triumphing in the idea that the leader of the Jews muſt inevitably periſh in the flames. Niger threw himſelf from the top of the caſtle into a vault of conſiderable depth, where, after three days, he was found alive by his friends, who were ſearching for his remains, in order to give them interment. This happy and unexpected event tranſported the Jews from a ſtate of deſpondency into the contrary extreme of joy; and the preſervation of their general, whom they conſidered as an inſtrument eſſentially neceſſary in the proſecution of the war, they attributed to an interpoſition of the Divine providence.

The wonderful preſervation of Niger.

Eight thouſand Jews more ſlain upon a ſecond overthrow.

Upon the arrival of Veſpaſian with his army at Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, which, on account of its extent, beauty, ſituation, and other advantages, was conſidered as one of the three principal cities of the Roman empire, he found king Agrippa, attended by his troops, waiting to receive him. Hence he proceeded to Ptolemais, where the people of Sepphoris, in Galilee, had aſſembled on occaſion of his expected arrival. Theſe were a well-diſpoſed people; and being conſcious of the great power of the Romans, and deſirous of making proviſion for their own ſafety, they acknowledged Ceſtius Gallus as their governor, previous to the arrival of Veſpaſian, binding themſelves to act in perfect obedience to his commands, even againſt their own countrymen, and at the ſame time declaring allegiance to the ſtate of Rome. They received a garriſon from Ceſtius Gallus, and ſolicited Veſpaſian to grant them a number of cavalry and infantry ſufficient for their defence againſt the Jews. This requeſt he complied with; for Sepphoris being the moſt extenſive, and the ſtrongeſt city in Galilee, he deemed it expedient to keep ſo important a place in a ſtate of ſecurity.

CHAP. II.

Account of the two Galilees. Deſcription of Samaria. The diviſion of Judea.

THE upper and lower Galilees are ſurrounded by Phœnicia and Syria; on the weſt they are bounded by the city and territory of Ptolemais and by Mount Carmel, formerly the property of the Galileans, but now in poſſeſſion of the Tyrians; and adjoining to this is Gaba, which received the name of the city of horſemen, on occaſion of Herod, upon the diſmiſſion of ſome of his cavalry, appointing that place for their reſidence. The ſouthern boundaries are formed by Samaria and Scythopolis, extending as far as the river Jordan; thoſe on the eaſt by Hippene, Gadaris, and the borders of the kingdom of Agrippa; and the city of Tyre and the Tyrian frontiers form the limits on the north.

In length, the lower Galilee extends from Tiberias to Zabulon, near Ptolemais on the coaſt, and in breadth from Zaloth on the great plain, to Berſabe; from which place to the village of Baca is the breadth of the upper Galilee; and in length it extends from the village of Thelta, near the Jordan to Meroth. The Galilees are exceedingly populous, and the inhabitants have on many occaſions bravely defended themſelves againſt the ſurrounding nations. They contain a great number of cities and villages, and of the latter, the ſmalleſt is computed to contain fifteen thouſand inhabitants. Thoſe provinces, which are ſurpriſingly fertile, are not ſo extenſive as the country beyond the Jordan, they are greatly ſuperior to it, both in ſtrength and riches. Though great part of the land beyond the Jordan is dry and barren, yet at Perea, and ſome other parts, the ſoil is exceedingly prolific, abounding in vines, olive, and palm-trees, and divers other articles in the higheſt perfection; and theſe places are refreſhed by the waters which fall in torrents from the mountains, and in exceſſive heats they are watered by innumerable ſprings. This country extends in length from Macherus to Pella, and in breadth from Philadelphia to the Jordan; the boundaries being formed by Pella on the north, the river Jordan on the weſt, the country of the Moabites on the ſouth, and Arabia, Philadelphia, and Geraſa on the eaſt.

Samaria is ſituated between Judea and Galilee; it extends from the village of Ginea, upon the plain, to the toparchy of Acrabatane. This country, like that of Judea, is mountainous and rich; the grounds are eaſily cultivated, and they produce abundance of both wild and domeſtic fruits; the land is naturally dry, but that diſadvantage is compenſated by frequent rains; no part of the globe is ſupplied with more excellent water; and the paſtures are ſo remarkably fine, that no other country affords ſo great an abundance of milk: but the moſt important advantage of theſe two provinces is the ſurpriſing number of their inhabitants: they are both terminated by the village of Anuath, otherwiſe called Borceus.

The diſtribution of Judea.

Judea is bounded on the north by the ſame village; the length of this province runs from the ſouth-ſide to a village called Jardan, ſituated upon the borders of Arabia; and the breadth is from the river Jordan to Joppa. Jeruſalem is ſituated in the middle; and it is, therefore, by many not improperly diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the Navel, or the centre of the province. This delightful country is remarkably prolific, and all the way to Ptolemais there is a moſt pleaſing proſpect of the ſea. It is divided into eleven diſtricts, the principal of which is Jeruſalem; the other ten are the toparchies of Gophna, Acrabatane, Tamna, Lydda, Ammaus, Pella, Idumea, Engadi, Herodion, and Jericho. Jamnia and Joppa, which have juriſdiction over the neighbouring counties, are not included in the above account; nor are Gamalitis, Gaulanitis, Batanea, and Trachonitis, which are comprized in the kingdom of Agrippa. This country is inhabited in common by the Syrians and Jews; the breadth is from Mount Libanus, and the ſources of the river Jordan, to the lake of Tiberias; and it ſtretches in length from the village of Arphas to Julias.

CHAP. III.

Placidus leads an army to the relief of Sepphoris. Great devaſtations in Galilee. The boundaries of the Roman territories.

VESPASIAN diſpatched a thouſand cavalry and ſix thouſand infantry, under the command of Placidus, the tribune, in order to afford relief to the people of Sepphoris. After theſe troops had been drawn up on the great plain, the foot, for the ſecurity of the city, were quartered within the walls, and the horſe were ordered into the camp. The Roman troops made daily excurſions into the neighbourhood, whereby, though they committed no actual hoſtilities, they greatly incommoded Joſeph and his friends: not ſatisfied with ravaging the country, they made booty of whatever they could obtain from the towns, and treated the inhabitants with ſo much ſeverity, that they were under the neceſſity of remaining within their walls.

Matters being thus circumſtanced, Joſeph exerted his utmoſt efforts to render himſelf maſter of Sepphoris; but he found that before his deſerting the Galileans he had ſo ſtrongly fortified the city that it now appeared to be impregnable; and deſpairing of ſucceſs, either by ſtratagem or force, he abandoned all further thoughts of the enterprize. This conduct ſo violently irritated the Romans, who have naturally an averſion to every ſpecies of treachery, that they ſubjected the people to the moſt terrible calamities of fire and ſword, putting thoſe who attempted reſiſtance to inſtant death, reducing the reſt to ſlavery, and making booty of all the property they could find. In this deplorable ſituation, the people of Galilee had no ſecurity but the towns which had been fortified by Joſeph.

Veſpaſian
ſends relief
to the Sep-
phorites, u
der the com
mand of Pl
cidus.

In the mean time, Titus repaired to Veſpaſian, his father, at Ptolemais, with much greater expedition than it was ſuppoſed a winter-march would permit; and he there joined the fifteenth, the fifth, and the tenth legions, which were eſteemed to be the beſt diſciplined and moſt courageous of the Roman troops. Theſe were followed by eighteen companies, beſides five companies, and a troop of horſe, from Cæſarea, and a troop of Syrian cavalry. Ten of theſe cohorts were compoſed of a thouſand men each, and the reſt of ſix hundred and thirteen foot, and an hundred and twenty horſe; and the army was ſtrengthened by auxiliaries ſupplied by neighbouring princes; Antiochus, Agrippa, and Sohemus, furniſhed each two thouſand infantry and a thouſand cavalry; Malichus, king of Arabia, ſent five thouſand foot, moſt of whom were provided with bows and arrows, and a thouſand horſe. The army amounted to ſixty thouſand horſe and foot, excluſive of the train of baggage, and a great number of domeſtics, moſt of whom, having been trained to the practice of war, were but little inferior to their maſters in courage and dexterity.

The order and policy of the Roman diſcipline.

We cannot ſufficiently admire the wiſe policy of the Romans in ſo managing their domeſtics, as to make them uſeful in the common offices, and, at the ſame time, capable of rendering very eſſential ſervice in times of war; and if we conſider their admirable military diſcipline, it will appear, that it is not to fortune, but to their natural courage and excellent policy, that they are indebted for the ſovereignty of the world. In peaceable times, the Romans are kept in the continual practice of the art of war, ſo that they are ever expert in the management of their arms, and prepared to engage in hoſtilities. It is the daily and invariable cuſtom for the ſoldiers to go regularly through their exerciſes; and their very trials of ſkill have the appearance of actual combats. Though no blood is ſpilt in theſe exerciſes, they effectually ſerve to preſerve the martial ſpirits of the men, and to enable them to bear fatigue. Thus are they rendered ſo familiar to the art of war, that an undiſciplined enemy cannot withſtand them. Upon entering the territories of an enemy their firſt precaution is to guard againſt ſurprize. They pitch their tents in an advantageous ſituation, level the uneven ground, and form the camp in the figure of a quadrangle. The army is attended by ſmiths, carpenters, and other artificers. The interior part of the camp is divided into quarters for the officers and ſoldiers; and the outſide reſembles the walls of a fortified city, turrets being erected at equal diſtances, and the intermediate ſpaces being ſupplied with machines for caſting ſtones, darts and arrows. Within the camp, which has four doors, ſufficiently large for foot and horſe to paſs with eaſe, there are regular ſtreets, and in the middle of them are lodgements for the principal commanders, and a tent, bearing the appearance of a little temple, for the general; there are alſo ſhops for artificers and traders, and tribunals for determining military and civil cauſes. The orders are given with ſo much preciſion, and executed by great numbers of experienced men with ſuch quickneſs, that the forming a Roman camp affords an idea of a city being erected in the ſpace of a few hours. If any further ſecurity is judged to be neceſſary, the work is compleated by ſurrounding the camp with a line of circumvallation, and a trench of four cubits in depth, and of an equal meaſure in breadth.

The trumpet gives every man his orders.

The Roman way of decamping.

Unanimity and good order prevail among the ſoldiers, who live in a kind of brotherhood: they have their weapons continually at hand; and for ſupplying the camp with forage, wood and water, they go out in detachments; they are not permitted to take refreſhment as they might be promiſcuouſly inclined, but regular hours are eſtabliſhed for their meals; and the times of going to reſt, of riſing, and of ſetting the watch, are ſignified by the ſound of the trumpet: and, in ſhort, rules are eſtabliſhed for regulating the conduct of the ſoldiers in every reſpect, whereby the camp is kept in the moſt perfect order. Every morning the ſoldiers wait upon the captains, and the captains upon the tribunes, and then the captains and the tribunes repair to the general, who gives to them the word or ſignal, and all neceſſary orders, which it is their buſineſs to communicate to their ſubordinates, ſo that all the ſoldiers are inſtructed when they are to attack and when retreat, and in every other part of their duty. The ſignal for decamping is given by the ſound of the trumpet; and when this is heard, they take up their tents, and pack up their baggage convenient for removal; upon the ſecond ſound of the trumpet they take up their baggages, and wait the ſignal for marching with as much attention as it is uſual for people to ſhew when they expect the ſignal for horſes ſtarting at a race; and they now ſet fire to the camp, leſt it ſhould be made advantage of by the enemy. When the trumpet ſounds a third time, the ſoldiers begin their march, and the utmoſt care is obſerved that none are left behind, and that the men preſerve their ranks and proceed with regularity.

The word given for a battle.

The Roman way of marching.

The herald is ſtationed on the right hand of the general, and with an audible voice he proclaims, "Are you prepared for battle?" The ſoldiers reply, "We are prepared for battle." By ſtretching forth their right-hands and other ſigns intimating their impatience to engage, they frequently prevent the queſtion from the herald. The army now advance with manly gravity, reſolution and compoſure. The ſoldiers are provided with helmets and breaſtplates; and each man has two ſwords, that worn on the right ſide being about the ſize of a dagger, and therefore rather deſerving to be called a poinard. Thoſe who are ſelected for the general's guards carry javelins and targets; and the others have pikes and long bucklers, beſides which each man is provided with a baſket, a pick-ax, a hatchet, a ſaw, a rein, a ſcythe, a chain, and a quantity of bread ſufficient for three days; ſo that each ſoldier carries a burthen nearly ſufficient for a horſe. Each of the horſemen bears a lance in his hand, a long ſword on his right-ſide, and acroſs the horſe's ſide hangs a buckler in a ſcarf containing three or more broad-pointed darts, rather ſhorter than the uſual length of a javelin: the breaſt-plates and helmets of the cavalry reſemble thoſe of the infantry. The company attending the perſon of the general is intitled to precedence, but the men are armed in the ſame manner as the other troops.

The Romans carefully avoid all raſh and inconſiderate proceedings; and therefore their miſcarriages are leſs frequent, and thoſe that happen are repaired with greater eaſe than they would otherwiſe be. They are more ſatisfied even with the failure of a well-concerted enterprize than with a caſual advantage; for in the firſt inſtance they have the conſolatory reflection of having done all that prudence required, and in the other they are inſtructed to make proviſion againſt ſimilar misfortunes.

The Roman ſoldiers are rendered more robuſt and athletic in body, and more firm and intrepid in mind, by the conſtant practice of arms; and by the terror of puniſhment they are kept in the moſt exact order; for deſerters and all others who are not ſtrictly obſervant of their duty are conſigned to death by the martial law. Having once formed the reſolution to engage, neither the ſuperiority of an enemy, nor any other obſtacle, can depreſs their ſpirits. They cut paſſes through foreſts, croſs rivers and mountains, and vigorouſly endeavour to ſurmount every impediment to victory.

The extent of the Roman empire.

If the policy of their councils and the ſpirit with which they are carried into effect, be conſidered, it will not appear extraordinary that the Romans have obtained the ſovereignty of the univerſe, and that they have extended their empire to the Euphrates on the eaſt, the ocean on the weſt, Africa on the ſouth, and the Rhine and the Danube on the north. But their vaſt extent of territory is not proportioned to the capacious ſouls of the people. What I have here ſaid is intended as a conſolation to thoſe who have been ſubdued by, and as a means of diverting factious ſpirits from revolting againſt thoſe enterpriſing people.

CHAP. IV.

After making an incurſion into Galilee, Placidus leads his army againſt Jotapata, where he is repulſed.

Placidus breaks into Galilee.

He aſſaults Jotapata.

WHILE Veſpaſian was with his ſon Titus at Ptolemais, he ordered every neceſſary meaſure to be purſued for the regulation and proper ſupply of his army: and in the mean-time Placidus made an incurſion into, and over-ran the whole province of Judea, where he took a great number of priſoners, moſt of whom he put to death: theſe were people deſtitute of courage, and conſequently incapable of making a ſucceſsful reſiſtance: ſuch of the inhabitants as poſſeſſed a greater ſhare of intrepidity took ſhelter in the cities and other places of ſtrength which had been fortified by Joſeph. Placidus determined to direct his arms againſt thoſe places where the Galileans had fled for ſanctuary; and Jotapata being the ſtrongeſt hold they poſſeſſed, he reſolved that his firſt exploit ſhould be to attempt the reduction of that place: and he flattered himſelf in the full confidence of ſucceſs, the expectation of acquiring great fame among the other generals, and of ſpreading terror and conſternation in the reſt of the cities, the conqueſt of which would thereby be rendered leſs difficult. The inhabitants of Jotapata, however, gaining intelligence of the deſign of Placidus, and that he was already upon his march, ſallied from the town, in order to give him battle: they attacked the Romans by ſurpriſe, and as the fate of their country, depended on the iſſue of the conteſt, they fought with aſtoniſhing bravery, and effectually repulſed the enemy. The Romans being well armed, and preſerving a proper diſcipline in their retreat, only ſeven of them were ſlain. The Jews not being ſo well armed as their adverſaries, declined a cloſe combat, but at a diſtance annoyed the Romans with lances and darts: only three of the Jews were ſlain, and a ſmall number were wounded. After this defeat, Placidus drew off his army.

CHAP. V.

Veſpaſian marches an army into Galilee. Joſeph's followers deſert, and he retreats to Tiberias.

The order of the march of Veſpaſian's army.

HAVING formed the reſolution of making an incurſion into Galilee, Veſpaſian iſſued marching orders to his troops, and departed from Ptolemais. The auxiliary forces, being more lightly armed than the reſt of the troops, were ordered to march firſt, in order to reconnoitre the woods and other places where it was ſuppoſed ambuſhes were ſtationed, and prevent ſurpriſes from the enemy; they were followed by a party of infantry and cavalry, to which ſucceeded a detachment of ten men from each company; next came pioneers to level and make good the ways, cut down trees, and remove other obſtructions; and then followed the general's baggage, and that of his principal officers, under convoy of a company of horſe; after theſe came Veſpaſian, attended by a choſen body of cavalry and infantry, a number of troops armed with lances, and an hundred and twenty of his men ſelected from the ſame number of ſquadrons of horſe; then followed the engineers, with their implements and machines of aſſault; and after them came the tribunes and other officers, eſcorted by a ſelect body of troops: then came the imperial eagle; preceded by the reſt of the Roman enſigns. The figure of the eagle was conſidered as an omen of ſucceſs in war, and as an emblem intimating that, as the eagle was the ſovereign of birds, ſo were the Romans ſuperior to the reſt of mankind. The enſigns of the Romans, which were deemed ſacred, were followed by performers on martial inſtruments of muſic; and to them ſucceeded the main body of the army, drawn up ſix in front. The ſervants belonging to the ſeveral legions marched with the infantry, and it was their buſineſs to be careful that the baggage was ſafely conveyed. The proceſſion was cloſed by artificers, purveyors, and other mercenaries, being under the convoy of a party of horſe and foot.

Marching in this order to the frontiers of Galilee, Veſpaſian there encamped, his deſign being to inſpire the enemy with terror by the formidable appearance of his army; and in the mean time he made every neceſſary preparation for a vigorous ſiege.

Joſeph's people deſert.

The approach of Veſpaſian threw the Jews into the moſt terrible conſternation; and many of Joſeph's followers, who were encamped in the neighbourhood of Sepphoris, deſerted their leaded, even before the enemy came in ſight. Being thus abandoned, and finding that the ſpirits of the Jews were entirely depreſſed, that the majority of his people had already joined the enemy, and that the reſt ſeemed diſpoſed to follow their example, he declined all thoughts of proſecuting the war, and retired to Tiberias, accompanied only by a ſmall number of faithful adherents.

Joſeph retires to Tiberias.

CHAP. VI.

Gadara ſubdued, and the inhabitants deſtroyed. Joſeph writes to the council of Jeruſalem.

Veſpaſian takes Gadara by aſſault.

VESPASIAN aſſaulted, and with little difficulty ſubdued Gadara; and after ſetting fire to the conquered city, they utterly deſtroyed the neighbouring ſmall towns and villages, and ſubjected the inhabitants to ſlavery.

The appearance of Joſeph greatly alarmed the people of Tiberias, who were convinced that he would not have fled to them for ſanctuary had not the caſe been deſperate. Joſeph was now convinced that ſubmitting to the power of the Romans, and acknowleding their faults, were the only means by which the Jews could inſure their ſafety. As to himſelf, he was conſcious that if he ſhould ſolicit it, the Romans would readily grant him a pardon: but he would with greater ſatisfaction have ſuffered the moſt terrible death than have violated the confidence repoſed in him, by ſeeking his ſafety among the people againſt whom he was entruſted to proſecute the war. He tranſmitted to the principal people of Jeruſalem a plain narrative of the caſe. Joſeph diſpatched this letter by expreſs to Jeruſalem; requeſting that, if they ſhould reſolve to negociate a treaty, they would ſend him immediate advice thereof; or ſufficient reinforcements to enable him to encounter the enemy, if they ſhould determine to proſecute the war.

Joſeph writes to the council of Jeruſalem.

CHAP. VII.

Joſeph eſcapes to Jotapata, which place is beſieged. The Romans diſappointed by a defenſive ſtratagem ſuggeſted by Joſeph.

VESPASIAN determined that his next expedition ſhould be againſt Jotapata, the ſtrongeſt city in Galilee, and the place where the Jews in their utmoſt diſtreſs fled for refuge. Preparatory to the intended exploit, he diſpatched a company of horſe and foot, and pioneers, to croſs the mountains and form a paſſage, the road being at that time wholly impaſſable for horſe, and extremely difficult for foot. In the ſpace of four days a paſſage was cut ſufficient to admit the whole army to march without inconvenience.

Joſeph eſcaped from Tiberias on the fifth day, being the twenty-firſt of the month Artimiſius, and returned to Jotapata, which proved an encouraging circumſtance to the Jews. Joſeph's retreat was ſoon communicated to Veſpaſian by a deſerter, who adviſed the beſieging Jotapata, urging that if Joſeph could be taken in the ſnare he had fallen into, the war muſt inevitably terminate to the diſadvantage of the Jews. The information of the deſerter ſo rejoiced Verſpaſian that he attributed to the providence of Heaven the circumſtance of delivering into his power the moſt formidable of his enemies: and he diſpatched Placidus with a thouſand cavalry, and Ebutius, one of the moſt celebrated men of the army for bravery and military ſkill, to environ the city with all poſſible expedition, and prevent the eſcape of Joſeph.

Veſpaſian marched the next morning, and arriving at Jotapata in the afternoon, he formed his camp on an eminence about ſeven furlongs to the north of the city. The Romans being greatly fatigued by their march, no exploit was attempted on the following day. Veſpaſian ordered two ſtrong companies to inveſt the city, and ſtationed another troop at ſome diſtance, thereby precluding the inhabitants from all opportunity of communication.

Jotapata beſieged by Veſpaſian.

The next morning the Romans aſſaulted the city, which was defended with great bravery. Veſpaſian having ordered the bow-men and ſlingers to drive the Jews from the walls, and at the head of a body of infantry, having began an aſſault, Joſeph and his followers furiouſly attacked, and compelled him to retreat; the loſs on each ſide being nearly equal. The deſperate ſituation of the Jews animated them to aſtoniſhing acts of bravery, nor were the Romans leſs enraged to find the defence ſo reſolutely maintained. Courage and military ſkill on one ſide, were on the other oppoſed by a ferocious and an ungovernable rage. The battle continued till night, when the combatants were under the neceſſity of ſuſpending the conteſt. The Romans loſt thirteen men, and a great number were wounded. Of the Jews ſeventeen were ſlain, and about ſix hundred were wounded.

The aſſault was renewed the following day, when both parties diſplayed ſtill more extraordinary inſtances of valour than in the preceding encounter; and the conteſt was maintained with unabating vigour for five ſucceſſive days.

Jotapata is ſituated on a rock, and on three ſides are vallies of ſuch depth, that a man cannot look from the precipices without being ſeized with giddineſs. It is inacceſſible, except on the north, where a part of the city ſtands upon the brow of a mountain; but this quarter Joſeph cauſed to be ſtrongly fortified, and taken into the town, thereby precluding the enemy from taking advantage of another mountain, which, with other eminences, commands a view of, and ſo entirely incloſe the places, that it can be ſeen only at a very ſmall diſtance.

Finding the city ſo admirably ſituated for defence, and that he had to contend with an intrepid and determined enemy, Veſpaſian aſſembled a council of his principal officers, to debate on the moſt probable means of obtaining victory. The iſſue of the deliberations was, that a large terras ſhould be raiſed on that ſide of the city which appeared to be the leaſt capable of reſiſtance. Immediately upon this reſolution being taken, Veſpaſian ordered his whole army to employ themſelves in procuring materials for the intended work. Immenſe quantities of timber and ſtone were conveyed from the adjacent mountains: and hurdles were formed to protect the Romans from the darts and other weapons that were thrown from the city. Thus defended, they continued to proſecute their deſign, in defiance of the innumerable darts, arrows, lances, and large ſtones which were thrown without intermiſſion A general engagement taking place, the utmoſt efforts of the Jews to annoy the enemy proved ineffectual.

The Roman army had now ſixty machines employed in throwing lances, excluſive of larger engines for caſting arrows, javelins, ſtones, fire, and other inſtruments of deſtruction; and theſe were managed by Arabian and other ſkilful engineers. The operations were purſued with ſo much vigour, that the ſpace between the city wall and the mount could be no longer occupied. The Jews, however, made frequent ſallies by ſurpriſe, deſtroyed the defences, ſet fire to all the combuſtible materials they could find, and, in ſhort, did all poſſible damage to the works of the enemy. To remedy the inconvenience that he ſuſtained from the repeated ſallies made by the Jews, Veſpaſian cauſed his works to be advanced upon the interval between the walls and the terras, and connected his troops into a cloſe body, which anſwered the deſired end.

The terras being now raiſed nearly to a level with the city-wall, Joſeph conſidered that it would reflect diſhonour upon him, if he ſhould omit to engage in as arduous a taſk for the defence of the place as the enemy had undertaken for its deſtruction; and therefore he ordered the wall to be raiſed in proportion to the advancement of the enemy's works, and to be kept at a ſufficient height above the ſummit of the mount. The workmen declined the undertaking, urging the impoſſibility of purſuing their buſineſs, ſince they ſhould be continually expoſed to the enemy. However, Joſeph ſuggeſted the following invention as a defence againſt fire, ſtones, and other weapons: he cauſed large ſtakes to be fixed into the ground, and the raw hides of beaſts lately killed to be ſtretched upon them: on account of the yielding quality of the ſkins, they ſcarcely received any impreſſion from the lances and ſtones, and their moiſture damped the fire of the enemy. The workmen being perfectly ſecured through Joſeph's contrivance, continued indefatigably induſtrious both by day and night; and they ſoon erected a wall of twenty cubits high, on which were formed towers and ſtrong embattlements. The Romans who had entertained the utmoſt confidence of ſubduing the city, were equally aſtoniſhed and confounded by the depth of policy and invincible reſolution of their adverſaries.

The Roman diſappointed by Joſeph's ſtratagem.

CHAP VIII.

Jotapata being diſtreſſed by a ſcarcity of water, Joſeph contrives a means of ſupply. Joſeph aſſaults the Romans, who are ordered to decline the conteſt.

ENCOURAGED by the ſucceſs of Joſeph's ſtratagem, the Jews ſuffered not a day to eſcape without making incurſions upon the enemy. Veſpaſian abandoned all hope of reducing the place by ſtorm, and therefore blocked it up, expecting that by cutting off all communication, the neceſſities of the inhabitants would perform the buſineſs of the ſword, or, at leaſt, render them incapable of reſiſtance. Water and ſalt were ſcarce, but the town had an ample ſupply of all other neceſſary articles. Joſeph having limited the people to a daily allowance of water, they became outrageous in their complaints, and refuſed to continue their work. To amuſe the enemy, who from an eminence witneſſed all that paſſed in the town, Joſeph cauſed a great number of wet cloths to be hung upon the battlements; in conſequence of which, Veſpaſian imagined there could be no ſcarcity of water, ſince that element appeared to be uſed ſo profuſely; and therefore he had again recourſe to arms. The Jews were now dreadfully diſtreſſed by the apprehenſion of periſhing by famine; a fate to which they infinitely preferred a glorious death in the field.

ſpaſian at-
pts by
ing,
t he could
compaſs
force.

invention
conceal the
nt of wa-

Recollecting that on the weſt ſide of the city there was a hollow in a place ſo little frequented that it was not likely to have been obſerved by the enemy, Joſeph wrote to the Jews without the city, to cauſe water and other neceſſaries to be conveyed through this paſſage, enjoining that the people employed in this buſineſs ſhould be covered with the hides of beaſts, and inſtructed to walk upon their hands and feet, that, in caſe of being obſerved by the watch, they might be miſtaken for dogs or other brutes. By this means an intercourſe was maintained till the Romans diſcovered and blocked up the paſſage.

ſeph finds
a way for
ief.

Joſeph now conceived that it would be fruitleſs to attempt a longer defence of the city, and therefore he joined with ſeveral of the principal men in ſuggeſting the means of eſcape. Suſpecting on what ſubject they had met to deliberate, the people repaired in great multitudes to Joſeph, earneſtly ſupplicating that, as he was the only man from whom they could expect relief, he would not deſert them in their extremity; urging that while he was ſecure they could not deſpair of ſucceſs, and declaring that they could not die more honourably than while acting in obedience to his commands.

Unwilling to have it believed that his intention was engroſſed on the means of providing for his own ſafety, Joſeph, in a public addreſs, repreſented, that if they were compelled to ſurrender, his remaining could not poſſibly operate in their favour: whereas, if he obtained his liberty, he might be able to draw an army out of Galilee ſufficiently early to raiſe the ſiege; and that his continuing in the city would be productive of unfortunate, inſtead of happy conſequences, ſince the expectation of making him a priſoner would induce the Romans to continue a vigorous proſecution of the ſiege, which they might probably decline, if he could effect an eſcape.

Inſtead of reconciling the multitude to the meaſure he had propoſed, Joſeph's diſcourſe rendered them ſtill more importunate: people of all ages and both ſexes threw themſelves at his feet, and with the moſt bitter lamentations urgently ſupplicated that he would ſtill continue his protection to them. Impreſſed with tenderneſs and gratitude towards the people, Joſeph conſidered, that if he remained in the town they would attribute his compliance with their requeſt to the influence they had over him, and that if he perſiſted in a refuſal, they might probably detain him by force; and therefore, reſolving to ſhare the common danger, he thus addreſſed the multitude: "My dear friends and faithful countrymen, the period is arrived when we are required to exert our utmoſt bravery, ſince in that alone we can place our hopes of ſafety. If we loſe our lives, our rewards will be a large ſhare of honour, and our names will be endeared to the lateſt poſterity." Immediately after this addreſs, Joſeph, at the head of the moſt courageous of the Jews, aſſaulted the enemy's guards, whom he compelled to deſert their trenches, and retreat to the camp; he then deſtroyed the ſkins put up for defending their works, to which he ſet fire; the ſame conduct was purſued with invincible bravery and indefatigable labour for three or four ſucceſſive days and nights.

Joſeph aſſaults the enemy's guards.

When the Jews gained advantage, the Romans had too high a ſpirit to retreat, and the weight of their arms prevented them from purſuing when their adverſaries retired. Obſerving the great diſadvantages under which his army laboured, Veſpaſian commanded them to decline a conteſt with an enemy driven to deſperation, and wholly regardleſs of life, whoſe rage, like flames wanting a ſupply of fuel, muſt of neceſſity, ſoon ſubſide.

Veſpaſian bids his men give over the aſſault.

CHAP. IX.

A battering ram employed againſt the walls of Jotapata. The works of the Romans deſtroyed. Veſpaſian wounded. A terrible ſlaughter.

THE works of the Romans being raiſed nearly to a level with the city walls, Veſpaſian determined to make uſe of the battering ram. This is an engine of immenſe ſize, reſembling the maſt of a ſhip, with an iron head, like that of a ram; and when uſed, its motion is ſomewhat ſimilar to the butting of the animal whoſe name it bears. It is ſuſpended by large cables fixed to croſs-timbers cramped together and ſtrongly ſupported; it bears on the middle, and hangs on a balance like a ſcale-beam, and when put into a ſwinging motion, it ſtrikes with ſuch ſurpriſing violence, that the ſtrongeſt wall muſt inevitably yield to its repeated attacks.

Deſcription of the battering ram.

Perſuaded that the longer the ſiege was delayed, the greater would be the difficulty of conqueſt, ſince the enemy would have time to increaſe their preparations for defence, the Roman general ordered his men to advance nearer the town with their ſeveral machines, in order to beat off the Jews who defended the walls; which being done, the ram was brought forward, being covered with hurdles and the hides of beaſts, for preſerving the machine from injury, and defending the men appointed to conduct its operations. The firſt ſtroke of the engine threw the Jews into terrible conſternation: and knowing the wall could not long withſtand repeated batterings in the ſame place, Joſeph ordered a number of ſacks filled with chaff to be lowered by means of ropes, ſo that though the aſſailants frequently changed the direction of the machine, its effects were as conſtantly defeated by the chaff-ſacks, which interpoſed to defend the wall. At length, the Romans fixed ſharp curving irons to the ends of long poles, and therewith cut the ropes ſuſpending the ſacks. The wall being newly repaired, had not yet acquired a conſiſtence ſufficient to reſiſt the ram, which now performed its office without impediment. The Jews now collected a quantity of pitch, ſulphur, and other combuſtibles, which they ſet fire to in three ſeveral parts of the enemy's works, and the flames inſtantly cummunicating to the machines and implements of war of the Romans, they were conſumed in a ſhort time.

A contrivance to defeat the force of the ram.

The bravery of Eleazar.

An heroic exploit performed by Eleazar, a native of Paab in Galilee, and the ſon of Sameas, deſerves to be tranſmitted to poſterity. He caſt down a ſtone of great bulk with ſuch ſurpriſing force as to break off the head of a ram, and then leaping into the midſt of his enemies, he ſeized the head of the machine, which he carried to the foot of the wall, where he remained till five arrows were fixed in his body; in this condition he remounted the wall, and without betraying the leaſt abatement of conſtancy or courage, remained ſome time an object of public admiration, till at length he fell, ſtill graſping the trophy he had ſo heroically acquired.

Of two other heroes.

Netiras * and his brother Philip, of Ruma, in Galilee, diſplayed a degree of intrepidity that could not poſſibly be exceeded. They attacked the tenth legion, and fought with moſt irreſiſtable fury, diſperſing all who oppoſed them. At the ſame time Joſeph, with a numerous company of men provided with firebands, burnt the works and engines of the tenth and fifth legions.

The Romans having repaired the ram, towards the evening of the ſame day employed it againſt that part of the wall which had already received damage; and at this time Veſpaſian was ſtruck on the ancle by an arrow diſcharged from the town. The force of the arrow being nearly exhauſted before it reached the general, his wound proved but ſlight: the officers, however, quitted their ſtations, and repaired to the head-quarters, to learn whether the rumour of the general's being wounded was founded in truth; and among the firſt of theſe was Titus, who was greatly apprehenſive for his father's ſafety. The diſorder among the multitude ſubſided upon Veſpaſian's convincing them that the injury he had received was of little conſequence. Veſpaſian expoſed his wound to the ſoldiers, who were thereby inflamed with additional courage, each man conſidering it his particular duty to avenge his general, in deſpite of all oppoſition and danger.

Veſpaſian ſlightly wounded.

Great numbers of the Jews fell by the arrows and ſtones thrown by the enemy; but they ſtill continued to defend the walls with undaunted bravery. But they fought under great diſadvantages; for the town being illuminated by the fire which they uſed to annoy the enemy, they were expoſed to view, while they could not diſcern even the engines from which the Roman weapons were diſcharged. The ſtones thrown by the machines, at length made breaches in the battlements and the corners of the towers, and committed great ſlaughter among the Jews. A judgment may be formed of the dreadful effect of the engines by conſidering the havoc that was made on this occaſion. A ſtone thrown by one of the machines ſtruck off the head of one of Joſeph's friends, as he was fighting upon the wall, and carried it to the diſtance of three furlongs with as much velocity as if it had been caſt by a ſling. Another ſtone ſtruck a woman, and carried the infant with which ſhe was pregnant to the diſtance of a furlong from the mother. The noiſe occaſioned by the engines, the ſound of the dead falling from the walls, and the cries and lamentations of the people, both within and without the town, were rendered ſtill

Dreadful havoc among the Jews.

---

* Or Neritas.

more dreadful by the echo of the mountains.

The town ditch flowed with human blood, and was heaped with carcaſſes high enough for an enemy to have mounted to an aſſault. Notwithſtanding a vaſt number of the Jews were killed and wounded, the ſurvivors ſuſtained a defence during the whole night with aſtoniſhing bravery, in defiance of the enemy's machines, which were kept conſtantly at work. At day-break next morning the wall fell: but even in this dreadful extremity, the Jews relinquiſhed not their patriotic endeavours to preſerve the liberties of their country; for they oppoſed themſelves in the breach, to prevent the enemy croſſing the ditch, and purſuing the advantage they had gained.

They ſtill preſerve their courage.

CHAP. X.

Preparations for renewing the aſſault. A terrible engagement. The Jews pour ſcalding oil upon the Romans. Veſpaſian raiſes platforms and turrets thereon. The Jews quit the breach, but ſtill make a vigorous reſiſtance.

AFTER the extreme fatigue of the night, the Romans received ſome little refreſhment; and the next day the general iſſued orders for preparations for a renewal of the aſſault, and for means to be adopted for deterring the Jews from appearing in the breach. He cauſed a party of the moſt outrageous of his cavalry to diſmount, and drew them up in three diviſions; and theſe men being compleatly armed, and carrying pikes in their hands, were firſt to enter the town, and to be ſeconded by a choſen body of foot. The reſt of the horſe were ordered to inveſt the mountainous parts of the city, to prevent the eſcape of the Jews after the victory. The next that advanced were the archers and ſlingers. A body of men provided with ladders were commanded to attempt ſcaling the parts of the wall that had not been injured, with a view, by making a diverſion, to weaken the force by which the breach was defended.

Veſpaſian makes ready to renew the aſſault.

Knowing that no danger was to be apprehended from the Romans employed with the ſcaling-ladders, Joſeph oppoſed to them only ſuch men as were enfeebled by age, and ſuch as had not recovered from the fatigue of the preceding night: but in places where the wall had ſuffered even the ſlighteſt injury, he ſtationed men capable of ſuſtaining an obſtinate reſiſtance, putting himſelf and five of his moſt intrepid followers at their head, to receive the firſt aſſault. He enjoined his people to diſregard the ſhouts of the enemy, and either to defend themſelves from the arrows ſhot by the Romans, by means of their ſhields, or to retire a little till their quivers were exhauſted. He informed them, that if the Romans ſhould advance their bridges, every other conſideration muſt give way to that of wreaking vengeance upon a ſucceſſful enemy, to whoſe cruelty the wives, children, and deareſt friends of his people muſt be expected to fall miſerable victims.

The common people, women and children, obſerving the adjacent mountains glittering with arms, the town ſurrounded by three armies, the enemy marching with drawn ſwords to the weakeſt part of the wall, and the archers preparing to diſcharge their arrows, joined in lamentations that could not have been exceeded had the place been actually ſubdued. The outcries of theſe people greatly affected Joſeph: and leſt they ſhould diſpirit the ſoldiers, he ordered them to their reſpective habitations, under a ſtrict injunction of ſilence. He then repaired to the ſtation he had choſen, totally regardleſs of the ſcaling-ladders, his attention being engroſſed on the manner of the enemy's aſſault.

Upon the trumpet being ſounded, the Roman troops united in martial ſhouts, and no ſooner was the ſignal given than ſuch an immenſe number of arrows was diſcharged as to obſcure the ſky. In obedience to their inſtructions, the Jews gave no attention to the clamours of the enemy, and defended themſelves with their ſhields. When the enemy brought their bridges forward, the Jews attacked them with ſurpriſing fury, with equal ſkill and intrepidity, throwing them off as faſt as they mounted, and they became more undaunted in proportion as the danger increaſed.

A dreadful encounter.

They were under a great diſadvantage by being kept to hard duty without any intervals of relief; while the Romans had conſtant reinforcements to take the places of thoſe who were either fatigued or repulſed. The Romans collected themſelves as cloſe as poſſible together, and throwing their long bucklers over them, they proceeded to the wall of the town, appearing to be an entire and impenetrable body.

The Romans advance up to the wall, under covert of their bucklers.

The extremity to which he was now reduced, ſuggeſted to Joſeph a new means of defence. He cauſed a large quantity of oil, of which there was a plentiful ſupply in the town, to be boiled, and, with the veſſels in which it was heated, caſt from the walls upon the Roman ſoldiers beneath. The ſcalding fluid paſſing through the interſtices of their armour occaſioned the Romans moſt exquiſite torture, it having the quality of long retaining heat, and threw them into the greateſt diſorder. Their armour being buckled and braced, and the oil flowing from head to foot, they were unable to relieve themſelves. Many fell from the walls, and thoſe who were were able to attempt an eſcape, were eaſily overpowered by the Jews. They alſo poured boiling fenugreek upon the bridge, which

The Jews pour down ſcalding oil among them.

which rendered the boards ſo ſlippery, that the Romans could neither ſtand to their arms, nor retreat. Numbers fell upon the planks, and were trampled to death by their own people, and others falling ſtill lower, were expoſed to the ſhot diſcharged by the Jews. A great number of his people being ſlain and wounded, towards evening Veſpaſian ſounded a retreat. In this action which took place on the twentieth day of the month Deſius, only ſix of the Jews were killed; but the wounded were upwards of three hundred.

Veſpaſian orders the platforms to be raiſed.

Inſtead of their ſpirits being depreſſed by their ill ſucceſs, as might have been reaſonably expected, the Roman ſoldiers expreſſed the utmoſt impatience for proceeding again to battle: whereupon the general ordered the platforms to be raiſed ſtill higher, and towers fifty feet in height to be erected thereon, and entirely covered with iron, for the double purpoſe of keeping them ſteady by their weight, and defending them againſt the fire of the enemy. Expert markſmen and engineers being ſtationed in the turrets, they greatly annoyed the enemy, who were clearly expoſed to view, and who, equally incapable of avoiding the weapons, and of diſcerning the people by whom they were diſcharged, were under the neceſſity of quitting the breach: but ſtill they continued to maintain a moſt reſolute defence, notwithſtanding the loſs they daily ſuſtained conſiderably exceeded that of the Romans.

The Jews quit the breach.

CHAP. XI.

Japtha beſieged. A terrible ſlaughter.

Trajan diſpatched to reduce Japtha.

THE reſolute defence of Jotapata encouraged the inhabitants of the neighbouring city of Japtha, to reſiſt the Romans; whereupon Veſpaſian diſpatched Trajan, the commander of the tenth legion, with a thouſand cavalry and two thouſand foot, to aſſault the place. Japtha was ſtrongly fortified, ſurrounded with a double wall, and ſo advantageouſly ſituated, that it appeared to be wholly impregnable. The citizens quitted the town, in order to give battle to Trajan, who after they had made a ſlight reſiſtance, put them to flight, and purſued them into the firſt encloſure. The people of the town now cloſed the gates of the inward wall, leſt the Romans, as well as their own people, ſhould gain admittance. Thus were the Galileans, as if by the providence of Heaven, delivered into the power of the Romans. The Romans kept one gate and the people in the city the other; and the Jews confined in the encloſure, earneſtly, but in vain, ſupplicated to be admitted into the town; but being refuſed, many deſtroyed themſelves, and great numbers fell by the hands of the enemy, without having power to offer the leaſt reſiſtance, ſo aſtoniſhed were they at being deſerted by their friends. On this occaſion twelve thouſand periſhed, venting imprecations againſt their cruel and treacherous countrymen.

A horrid ſlaughter

Trajan imagining that the majority of the military people were deſtroyed, and that thoſe who remained would not venture to make a reſiſtance, ſent to Veſpaſian, requeſting that Titus might be diſpatched to reap the honour of finally conquering Japtha. Suppoſing that ſome important exploit was yet to be performed, Veſpaſian ſent a force of five hundred cavalry and a thouſand infantry under the command of his ſon. Upon his arrival, Titus divided his army into two wings, giving that on the left-hand to Trajan, himſelf retaining the command of that on the right. The Romans, by means of ſcaling-ladders, mounted the walls on all parts, and, after a ſlight reſiſtance, deſcended into the town, where a deſperate ſtreet-battle enſued. The moſt reſolute and powerful of the Galileans attacked the Romans from ambuſhes and in the narrow paſſes, and even the women annoyed them from the tops of the buildings. The conteſt was maintained for the ſpace of ſix hours: but, at length, the moſt courageous of the Galileans being cut off, a terrible ſlaughter enſued, all the male inhabitants who were able to bear arms being put to death, either in their houſes or in the ſtreets, the women and infants being only ſpared, and they were carried away captives, being in number two thouſand one hundred and thirty. The ſlain in the firſt encounter added to thoſe who fell by the Romans when they entered Japtha, on the twenty-fifth of the month Decius *, amounted to fifteen thouſand.

The Romans ente the town, and a terrib ſtreet-fight enſues.

CHAP. XII.

The Samaritans of Mount Garizim put to death.

THE calamities of the war were extended to the Samaritans, who aſſembled upon Mount Garizim, which they held in high veneration, eſteeming it to be a holy mountain, and meditated a revolt againſt the Romans. Without reflecting on their inferiority to the great and increaſing power of the Romans, they were haſtening to a rebellion; and Veſpaſian judged it neceſſary to oppoſe their proceedings at an early period; for though great numbers of garriſons were eſtabliſhed in Samaria, he conſidered that there was reaſon to apprehend danger from ſo numerous a body of diſaffected people; and therefore he diſpatched Cerealis, a tribune of the fifth legion, with ſix hundred cavalry and three thouſand infantry in order to prevent a revolt.

---

* June.

On his arrival at the mountain, Cerealis found a vaſt body of the people aſſembled, and judging it not prudent to attack them in their preſent ſituation, he ſurrounded them with his troops. Through the ſcarcity of water ſeveral of the Samaritans daily periſhed, and others deſerted to the Romans, who exhorted the reſt to return to their allegiance: but upon their rejecting the propoſed terms of accommodation, Cerealis attacked them on the twenty-ſeventh day of the month Decius, and put them all to the ſword; the number of the ſlain being eleven thouſand and ſix hundred.

hey are all ut to death.

CHAP. XIII.

The Romans enter Jotapata, and commit great ſlaughter. Antony murdered. Forty thouſand people ſlain.

THE Romans having raiſed their platforms above the level of the city walls, on the fortieth day of the ſiege, a deſerter informed Veſpaſian, that in conſequence of the great loſs of men, and the ſevere duty the ſurvivors were obliged to perform, the city muſt of neceſſity ſurrender to a vigorous aſſault, which he adviſed to be made about the break of day, when the people would not be apprehenſive of danger.

The Roman army began a ſilent march at the appointed hour, and proceeded to the town, being led by Titus, accompanied by Domitius Sabinas, and ſome choſen men from the fifteenth legion. They put the centinels to death, cut the throats of the guards, and entered the city: they were followed by the tribune Sextus Cerealis, and Placidus, with the troops under their command. Notwithſtanding it was open day when the Romans gained poſſeſſion of the fort, and made themſelves maſter of the town, the garriſon was ſo exhauſted and fatigued by inceſſant labour and watching, that they entertained no idea of their danger till the enemy had actually gained their point; and even thoſe who were awake were almoſt equally ſtrangers to the misfortune; for they could not clearly diſtinguiſh objects on account of a thick fog, which then prevailed, and continued till the whole Roman army had gained admittance to the city. The recollection of their ſufferings in the ſiege ſuppreſſed every ſentiment of humanity and compaſſion in the breaſts of the conquerors, who threw many of the Jews from the top of the fort; others who had courage to offer reſiſtance were either preſſed to death by the immenſe croud of the enemy, or forced down precipices, and killed by the ruins that fell from above. Many of Joſeph's particular friends being unwilling that the Romans ſhould acquire the reputation of taking away their lives, retired to a remote part of the city, where they died by the hands of each other.

he Romans in poſſeſſion f the town.

Such of the guards who firſt obſerved the city to be taken, fled to a turret towards the north, where they were attacked by the enemy, againſt whom they for ſome time made a good defence; but being oppreſſed by numbers, they offered to capitulate: their propoſals, however, were rejected, and they died with great reſolution. The Romans might have valued themſelves on gaining the victory without the loſs of blood on their ſide, had it not been for the fate of Antony, a centurion, who was treacherouſly murdered in the following manner: a number of Jews having fled for refuge to the caves, one of them called to Antony for quarter; the centurion immediately ſtretched forth his right hand, thereby indicating his compliance, when the Jew baſely ſtabbed him in the groin with a dagger, and cauſed his death.

Antony murdered.

Every Jew who was met by the Romans on that day was put to death; and during ſome following days they carefully ſearched the ſubterraneous and other ſecret places for the ſurvivors, all of whom, excepting women and children, they deſtroyed. The whole number of Jews ſlain amounted to forty thouſand, and the priſoners were twelve hundred. In obedience to the order of Veſpaſian the caſtles were burnt, and the city was entirely laid in ruins. The Romans became maſters of Jotapata on the firſt day of the month Panemus *, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero.

Forty thouſand Jews ſlain.

CHAP. XIV.

Joſeph diſcovered in a cavern. He ſurrenders, and expoſtulates with his companions on the guilt of ſuicide. They draw lots for their lives. Joſeph ordered into cloſe confinement. He has a private interview with Veſpaſian. He predicts the ſucceſſion of Veſpaſian and Titus. A prophecy confirmed.

PARTLY induced by perſonal enmity, and partly by an officious zeal to ingratiate themſelves into the favour of their general, the Romans aſſiduouſly employed themſelves in ſearching every part of the country, where it ſeemed probable that a man might be concealed, and among the carcaſſes of the ſlain, in order to find Joſeph, either dead or living. It was Joſeph's fortune to eſcape through the midſt of his enemies, and to find a deep pit, having a paſſage leading to a ſpacious cavern, wherein he found forty diſtinguiſhed Jews had taken ſanctuary, having a ſupply of the neceſſaries of life ſufficient for ſeveral days. The enemy being in poſſeſſion of the whole

---

* July.

Joſeph betrayed by a woman.

adjacent country, Joſeph judged it unſafe to venture abroad by day, and therefore he left his retreat only by night, with a view to diſcover if there remained a probability of effecting an eſcape: but finding the guard extremely vigilant, he returned to the cavern, deſpairing of ſucceſs. Upon the third day, he was betrayed by a woman; immediately upon which Veſpaſian diſpatched Paulinus and Gallanicus, two tribunes, authoriſing them to aſſure Joſeph, that, on condition of his leaving his retreat, he ſhould experience a kind and honourable reception. Conſcious that the injuries the Romans had ſuſtained at his hands entitled him to puniſhment rather than reward, Joſeph deemed it unſafe to rely on Veſpaſian's word of honour, and therefore declined the propoſal. Hereupon, Veſpaſian ſent another tribune, named Nicanor, the ancient friend and acquaintance of Joſeph. Nicanor expoſtulated with Joſeph, repreſenting the generoſity and benevolence of the Romans towards thoſe they conquered; that ſo far from entertaining an enmity towards him, they highly eſteemed him as being a man of ſingular intrepidity and other eminent virtues; that the Roman general muſt indiſputably have favourable views, ſince he condeſcended to propoſe terms to a man who was already ſubject to his power. "Can you imagine, ſaid Nicanor, that Veſpaſian would employ a friend in an office of treachery; or that I would accept from him ſo diſhonourable a commiſſion." Joſeph ſtill declined a compliance; which ſo enraged the Roman ſoldiers that they would have ſet fire to the cave, but Veſpaſian prevented them by repreſenting that he was determined to take Joſeph alive. Nicanor continued his endeavours to prevail upon Joſeph, and the rage and menaces of the ſoldiers became more violent in proportion to the increaſe of their numbers. Certain dreams now occurred to the recollection of Joſeph, wherein the Almighty had communicated the ſucceſs and grandeur which the Romans ſhould experience, and the miſeries which ſhould oppreſs the Jews. Joſeph poſſeſſed a remarkable faculty of interpreting dreams, and of explaining many things which the Lord had been pleaſed to ſignify under the veil of myſtery. Being himſelf a prieſt, and of the ſacerdotal line, he was conſequently verſed in the writings of the holy prophets. At this inſtant, as if poſſeſſed with the divine ſpirit, he perfectly recollected, in due order, the ſeveral viſions he had ſeen: and he thus rapturouſly addreſſed himſelf to Heaven: "Bleſſed and Almighty God! Since it is thy pleaſure to terminate the proſperity of the Jews, and exalt the people of Rome, I, humbly reſigning myſelf to thy providence, conſent to live, and ſurrender my perſon to the Romans; but, before thy ſacred throne, I pronounce, that I act not as a traitor to my country, but as the miniſter of thy gracious pleaſure."

Joſeph reſig himſelf to t Romans.

The deſperate reſolution of the Jews.

Joſeph's determination to ſurrender, ſo exaſperated his companions, that, after diſcharging the moſt bitter execrations againſt him, they unſheathed their ſwords, telling him inſtantly to fall upon his own weapon, and die in a manner worthy the general of the Jews, or they would put him to death. Apprehending that they might carry their threats into execution, and finding his aſſociates reſolutely determined to deſtroy themſelves, rather than become ſubject to the Romans, Joſeph addreſſed to them a diſcourſe, wherein he copiouſly expatiated on the horrid guilt of ſuicide: but, inſtead of appeaſing, his arguments provoked them to a greater extravagance of rage. Thus ſituated, Joſeph addreſſed his companions in a ſtile of authority, called one by his name, took another by his hand, and endeavoured to engage the attention of the reſt by argument and ſuch other means as he conceived to be beſt adapted for obtaining the end he had in view. Thus, by a ſingular addreſs in applying to the various humours and diſpoſitions of his companions, did Joſeph avert the danger that threatened him. Notwithſtanding the rage to which the Jews were tranſported, when they attempted to put their threats in execution, their eſteem and veneration of their general revived, and their weapons dropt from their uplifted hands.

Joſeph conducted himſelf with great temper and judgment, and, reſting his hopes on the providence of Heaven, he thus addreſſed his companions: "Since you are determined to die, let it be decided by caſting lots, who ſhall firſt loſe his life; and by this method let every man's fortune be known; ſo ſhall we avoid ſelf-murder, and die by the hands of each other." This propoſal was joyfully accepted, and preſently carried into execution; Joſeph's companions derived great ſatisfaction from the conſideration of dying in company with their general; to ſhare a common fate with him being an event that of all others they moſt anxiouſly deſired.

They draw lots for their lives.

The perſons to whom the lots had fallen being ſucceſſively put to death, it happened, either through accident, or the care of Providence, that Joſeph was one of the only two ſurviving men: he expoſtulated with his companion, and, at length, prevailed on him to decline the reſolution of dying, engaging himſelf to provide for his ſafety.

Joſeph and another ſurvive.

Being relieved from the extremity to which he was reduced by the Romans on one hand, and by his own countrymen on the other, Joſeph ſurrendered to Nicanor, who conducted him to Veſpaſian. Great numbers of people aſſembled to behold the priſoner appear before the Roman general. Some rejoiced in his captivity, ſome reproached him with the utmoſt ſeverity, and others called for public juſtice to be executed upon the enemy to the ſtate of Rome. Notwithſtanding the inveterate hatred which the Roman generals had harboured againſt Joſeph, they now tenderly compaſſionated him in his captivity: but Titus was moſt particularly affected; for on account of his advanced age, and the unconquerable dignity of his mind, he entertained a great veneration for Joſeph; whoſe former elevated ſtation, and great exploits, and the humiliating ſituation to which he was now reduced, he maturely conſidered, and then proceeded to reflect on the chance of war, and the mutability of human affairs. Thoſe who heard Titus, approved and adopted his ſentiments, which materially contributed to the preſervation of Joſeph, by influencing Veſpaſian in his favour.

tus holds
ſeph in
eem.

Veſpaſian intimated a deſign of ſending Joſeph to Nero, and ordered him into cloſe confinement; whereupon he requeſted a private audience with the Roman general, who ordered all perſons preſent, except the captive, Titus, and two friends, to quit the apartment. Joſeph now addreſſed the general to the following effect: "You behold me, Sir, your priſoner, and perhaps conſider me in no other character; but be aſſured that I am authoriſed by the Almighty to impart to you a matter of the higheſt importance. Had I not been thus commiſſioned, I ſhould have acted conſiſtently with the character of a Jewiſh general, and have died, rather than have ſubmitted to be made a priſoner. Since Veſpaſian is ſo near ſucceeding to the imperial dignity, which, upon his deceaſe, will devolve to his ſon Titus, it is not neceſſary to ſend me to Nero. Let me be kept a priſoner, and guarded with unremitting circumſpection: and if it ſhall appear, that I have made uſe of the ſacred name of the Almighty with any views to impoſition, you will perform an act of juſtice in ſubjecting me to the utmoſt ſeverity of puniſhment."

ſeph fore-
the ſuc-
ſion of
ſpaſian and
itus to the
pire.

At firſt, Veſpaſian looked upon what Joſeph had ſaid as a mere fiction; but upon experiencing certain impulſes, and conſidering other indications correſponding with what he had heard, his doubts gradually ſubſided, and he gave full confidence to the prediction. One of the perſons permitted to be preſent at the interview, ſaid to Joſeph, that ſince he pretended to a knowledge of future events, he requeſted to be informed how it had happened that he was ignorant of the approaching deſtruction of Jotapata, and of his own captivity. To this Joſeph replied, that he had predicted to the inhabitants that the town would be conquered and deſtroyed on the forty-ſeventh day of the ſiege, and himſelf would be made a priſoner. Hereupon, Veſpaſian cauſed ſecret enquiry to be made amongſt the Jewiſh priſoners, and they fully confirmed every particular that Joſeph had aſſerted, which induced him to judge more favourable of what had been foretold reſpecting himſelf.

A prediction made by Joſeph confirmed.

Joſeph continued to be guarded with the greateſt circumſpection: but the irkſomeneſs of confinement was in ſome degree relieved by his being allowed every accommodation and convenience, and the particular reſpect and kindneſs that he received from Titus.

Veſpaſian returned to Ptolemais on the fourth of the month Panemus, and thence proceeded to Cæſarea, on the ſea-coaſt, which is the moſt conſiderable city of Judea. The majority of the inhabitants being Greeks, Veſpaſian's army met with a chearful reception; for they held the Romans in high eſtimation, and were ſuch inveterate enemies to the Jews, that Veſpaſian was ſolicited in the moſt importunate manner to ſacrifice the life of Joſeph to their deſire of vengeance. Veſpaſian diſmiſſed the petition without an anſwer, deeming it the act of an inconſiderate and outrageous multitude.

Cæſarea is extremely hot in ſummer, but being temperate in the winter, and ſituated upon a plain adjacent to the ſea, Veſpaſian judged it to be a convenient place for winter-quarters, and therefore appointed two legions to remain there; and, that he might not overburthen the city, he ſent the fifth and tenth legions to Scythopolis.

CHAP. XV.

Veſpaſian takes Joppa. A violent tempeſt. The conquered city fortified. The Jews loudly exclaim againſt Joſeph.

A Great concourſe of people, compoſed of revolters from the Romans, and fugitives from the conquered cities of the Jews, had now aſſembled, and were employed in rebuilding Joppa, which had been deſtroyed by Ceſtius. The banditti being unable to procure the means of ſubſiſtence, on account of the deſolate ſtate in which Ceſtius had left the country, conſtructed a number of veſſels for the purpoſe of perpetrating robberies on the ſea; and by their practices they proved a great obſtruction to commerce on the Syrian, Phœnician, and Egyptian coaſts. Being appriſed of their proceedings, Veſpaſian diſpatched a body of cavalry and infantry to Joppa, where they found but little difficulty in gaining admittance by night

Joppa taken.

night. Being thrown into a general conſternation by this ſurpriſe, the inhabitants fled to their veſſels, and remained that night at ſea, beyond the reach of the enemy's weapons.

Deſcription of that city.

Though Joppa is a ſea-coaſt town, it has no port; the ſhore is exceedingly craggy and ſteep; a pointed rock ſtands on each ſide of the town, projecting a conſiderable ſpace into the ſea; theſe rocks forming a kind of creſcent, occaſion ſo violent an agitation of the ſea, when the wind prevails, that a more dangerous ſituation for ſhipping cannot be imagined. Here is the impreſſion of Andromeda's chain; which is ſuppoſed to have been cut in the rock, with a view of giving credibility to the ancient fable.

A furious tempeſt.

At break of day, the wind called by the people of the country the black north, aroſe, and cauſed the moſt terrible tempeſt that had been known. The veſſels of thoſe that had eſcaped from Joppa, by being thrown againſt the rocks, or daſhed againſt each other, were broken to pieces. Some, who by dint of rowing endeavoured to eſcape being foundered, by keeping the open ſea, were toſſed upon the mountainous billows, and then precipitated into the profound abyſs of waters, and a great number of the veſſels ſunk. During this violent contention of the elements, the noiſe occaſioned by the daſhing of the veſſels, and the lamentations and out-cries of the miſerable ſufferers, were terrifying beyond deſcription. Many of the people were waſhed over-board by the waves, and either drowned or daſhed to pieces againſt the rocks; others fell upon their ſwords; and numbers otherwiſe periſhed on board the wrecks. The water was coloured with the blood of the deceaſed, whoſe carcaſſes were diſperſed upon the coaſt. During this ſhocking ſcene, the Roman ſoldiers waited to deſtroy thoſe who ſhould be driven on ſhore alive. It is computed that the number of bodies driven on ſhore was four thouſand two hundred.

The country laid in waſte.

The caſtle fortified.

Having gained an eaſy poſſeſſion of Joppa, the Romans ſoon reduced the place entirely to ruins. It was the fate of this city to be twice ſubjected to the Roman power in a ſhort ſpace of time. Leſt Joppa ſhould again become a receptacle for pirates, Veſpaſian fortified the caſtle, and eſtabliſhed a garriſon therein ſufficient for its defence: he alſo left a ſtrong body of horſe, with orders to ſet fire to and deſtroy the towns and villages, and lay waſte the adjacent country; and theſe orders were punctually executed.

A report prevailed in Jeruſalem reſpecting the fate of Joſeph: but it was deemed too improbable to be founded in facts, not being ſupported by authority ſufficient to give it credibility: for the maſſacre was ſo general, that not a man of Jotapata remained to convey to Jeruſalem intelligence of the important loſs the Jewiſh nation had ſuſtained. However, in a ſhort time the news was not only credited, but aggravated by a rumour that Joſeph was among the number of the ſlain, which proved the ſource of infinite affliction to the people of Jeruſalem. Private individuals were lamented by their reſpective friends and relations; but the mourning for Joſeph was univerſal, his ſuppoſed death being conſidered as a public and irreparable loſs. The funeral ſolemnities in honour of Joſeph were continued without intermiſſion for the ſpace of forty days, and no expence was ſpared on the occaſion.

Joſeph ſaid to be ſlain, and univerſally lamen ed.

When the report of Joſeph's death was found to be premature, and that he was in high eſteem among the Romans, and ſo far from being treated as a ſlave, honoured by Veſpaſian, with every poſſible mark of reſpect and diſtinction, the moſt inveterate hatred took place of the regret and veneration they had expreſſed while under the ſuppoſition of his being deceaſed. The public indignation was ſo general and violent, that there was not a man in Jeruſalem who did not vent the moſt bitter execrations againſt Joſeph, upbraiding him as a traitor and a coward, who had infamouſly deſerted the cauſe of his country.

Joſeph has much hatre when they found him living, and credit with the Roman

A prudent and wiſe man will derive advantage from a preſent misfortune, by making it a precaution whereby he may be enabled to guard againſt ſimilar events: but when theſe people are in the wrong, it is their diſpoſition to perſevere in error, and conſequently increaſe their afflictions.

CHAP. XVI.

King Agrippa entertains Veſpaſian and his army. Upon the revolt of Tarichea and Tiberias, Titus leads forth an army, and encamps within ſight of the inſurgents. Through the mediation of King Agrippa, Veſpaſian pardons the people of Tiberias.

IN conſequence of an invitation from king Agrippa, Veſpaſian departed from Cæſarea upon the ſea-coaſt for Cæſarea Philippi, where, with his whole army, he was entertained for the ſpace of twenty days; during which time, by feaſtings and rejoicings, he gave thanks to the Almighty for his victories and various other bleſſings.

Agrippa had invited Veſpaſian into his country partly from motives of generoſity and affection, and partly from the hope that through his means the mal-contents of his kingdom would be compelled to return to their allegiance. Upon learning that Tarichea had actually revolted, and that Tiberias was diſpoſed to a like conduct Veſpaſian

News of T berias and Tarichea, that the on is wavering and the ot revolted.

ſian judged that a more favourable opportunity would ſcarcely occur for manifeſting the great eſteem he entertained towards the king; and therefore he determined to lead an army againſt the refractory cities, both of which were dependencies on the kingdom of Agrippa. He diſpatched his ſon Titus to Cæſarea, with orders to lead the troops quartered in that city to Scythopolis, the moſt conſiderable town in the canton of Decapolis, and ſituated in the neighbourhood of Tiberias. Veſpaſian haſtened to Scythopolis, and upon the arrival of Titus in that city, he advanced about thirty furlongs from Tiberias, and encamped, within ſight of the enemy, at a place called Ennabris.

Veſpaſian orders ſome troops to Scythopolis. And encamps at Enabris, within ſight of the rebels.

The general now diſpatched a captain, named Valerian, attended by a company of fifty horſe, to expoſtulate with the inſurgents, and endeavour to reſtore them to obedience. When he had nearly reached the town, Valerian diſmounted his horſe, and ordered his followers to do the ſame, thereby intimating, that he came not with a hoſtile deſign. The rebels, who were headed by the chief of a band of robbers, named Jeſus, the ſon of Tobias, without permitting him to ſpeak, furiouſly attacked Valerian, who, with five of his people eſcaped on foot, and their horſes being ſeized by Jeſus and his aſſociates, they were led into the town with as much parade as if they had been trophies obtained in a fair and honourable war.

The faction falls upon Valerian by ſurprize.

The conduct of Jeſus and his aſſociates proved highly offenſive to all the conſiderate people of the town, who apprehending the enemy would ſeek revenge, under the countenance and conduct of king Agrippa, they repaired to the Roman camp, and humbling themſelves before the general, ſupplicated his forgiveneſs; that he would not aſcribe the offences of certain individuals to the people at large; and concluding with urging, that puniſhment might be inflicted upon the guilty. Though greatly offended by the inſult offered to Valerian, and the ſeizure of the horſes, through the mediation of Agrippa, Veſpaſian granted the requeſt of the petitioners. Deeming it unſafe to remain longer in Tiberias, Jeſus and his aſſociates eſcaped to Tarichea.

Veſpaſian, at the inſtance of Agrippa, pardons the affront.

The following day, Trajan, with a company of cavalry, was diſpatched to take poſſeſſion of the caſtle, and diſcover whether the inhabitants of Tiberias ſeemed diſpoſed to revolt. Upon learning that the people were likely to adhere to their allegiance, Veſpaſian marched his whole army towards the city, and being met on the way by the inhabitants, they teſtified their approbation by loud plaudits, hailing him as their benefactor and protector, and accompanying him to the town, the gates of which were thrown open to give his troops admittance. The gates not being wide enough to admit the army with convenience, the general ordered a part of the ſouth wall to be beaten down; and he enjoined his ſoldiers not to offer the leaſt injury or inſult to the people of the town, on the penalty of very ſevere puniſhment. Veſpaſian's regard for Agrippa induced him to be thus favourable to the inhabitants, and to do no farther injury to the wall of the city.

Trajan takes poſſeſſion of the caſtle. Veſpaſian marches up to the city, and is received with acclamations.

CHAP. XVII.

Account of Tarichea. Jeſus and his companions aſſault the pioneers, and greatly damage the Roman works. The Romans purſue the Jews, who take ſhipping. Titus diſperſes the Jews, and orders veſſels to be conſtructed for purſuing them.

HAVING departed from Tiberias, Veſpaſian encamped his army between that city and Tarichea; and conceiving that the intended ſiege would occupy a conſiderable time, he fortified the camp by erecting a wall. Tarichea, like Tiberias, is ſituated upon a mountain, and Joſeph had conſtructed a wall encompaſſing it on every ſide, except on that where it is fortified by the lake of Genneſareth; and the circuit of this wall was nearly equal to that of Tiberias. Nature and art had contributed to render the place exceedingly ſtrong; and it was inhabited by the moſt deſperate of the revolters. At the commencement of the inſurrection, the people collected great quantities of proviſions, and being ſufficiently provided with men and money, they were under little apprehenſion of being ſubdued. They had a numerous fleet of armed veſſels on the lake, in which they meant to embark, in caſe of being repulſed on ſhore.

The ſtrength and ſituation of Tarichea.

Jeſus and his aſſociates, regardleſs of the force and diſcipline of the enemy, made a violent aſſault upon them, while they were employed in forming intrenchments and other fortifications, and diſperſed the pioneers, and did conſiderable injury to the Roman works. The Romans purſued them to the lake, where they took ſhipping, and having proceeded beyond the reach of the Roman darts and arrows, they caſt anchor, and ranged their veſſels in order of battle.

In the interim, Veſpaſian received intelligence that a great number of the Jews had aſſembled on a plain adjacent to the city; in conſequence whereof he diſpatched a body of ſix hundred choſen cavalry, under the command of his ſon, to make diſcoveries. Titus marched to reconnoitre the ſituation of the Jews, and finding them to be much more numerous than the troops under his command, he ſent intelligence thereof to Veſpaſian. Though many of the troops under Titus were greatly alarmed by the ſuperior force of the Jews, the majority of them ſtill preſerved an undaunted reſolution; and this being obſerved by Titus, he repaired to an eminence, that he might be more diſtinctly heard, and addreſſed to his ſoldiers a diſcourſe, calculated to animate them with courage, and he concluded with obſerving, that they would find their advantage in fighting cloſe, inſtead of maintaining the encounter at a diſtance. The ardour of heroiſm with which the Jews were inſpired by the addreſs from Titus, received ſome abatement upon the arrival of Trajan with a reinforcement of four hundred cavalry.

Antonius Silo was at the ſame time diſpatched by Veſpaſian with orders to lead a body of two thouſand archers to occupy a mountain facing the town, and aſſault the Jews who were appointed to defend the walls; and this order was punctually obſerved. Being deſirous of rendering his army more formidable in appearance than it was in reality, Titus arranged his men in a line anſwering the front of the enemy's forces; and he himſelf made the firſt aſſault, being followed by his people with loud exultations and military ſhouts. The Jews, who were aſtoniſhed at the intrepid manner of the charge, made a faint reſiſtance; but being ſoon thrown into diſorder, many were beaten down and trampled to death by the cavalry, and others fled towards the city. The fugitives were cloſely purſued by the Romans, who, through the ſwiftneſs of their horſes, being enabled to attack them again in front, drove back many who were endeavouring to take refuge within the walls. Great numbers were ſlain, and but few, if any, eſcaped, excepting thoſe who were ſo fortunate as to get into the city.

A violent faction in the city.

At this period a violent inſurrection took place between the natives of Tarichea, and the ſtrangers who inhabited the city. The natives urged that they had ever been averſe to engaging in the war: but the advantage gained by the Romans was the principal cauſe of their diſcontent. The ſtrangers, of whom there were great numbers, oppoſed the citizens in the moſt outrageous manner. Titus being near the wall, ſoon underſtood that outrage and diſſention prevailed in the town, and determining to take advantage of ſo favourable an opportunity, he addreſſed himſelf to them to the following effect; "Let us not delay, my friends and fellow-ſoldiers, to purſue the advantage that Providence has given us over our enemies. The clamours which now prevail in the city, plainly indicate a domeſtic war, and that thoſe who eſcaped our vengeance are now diſpoſed to effect the deſtruction of each other. Victory muſt infallibly be ours if we are quick in determination and reſolute in action. Let us attempt the enterprize before the deſperate ſituation of the Jews reſtores them to unanimity. Let us not wait for the arrival of reinforcements, but rather perform the exploit ourſelves than admit ſharers in the honour and profit of the victory."

Titus enter the town by the lake, an the people ſurrender.

Having thus ſpoken, Titus mounted his horſe, and being followed by his troops, rode with great ſpeed to that quarter of the town which is towards the lake; and he was the firſt man who entered the city. So aſtoniſhed were the Jews at the intrepid behaviour of Titus, that they had not power to offer the leaſt obſtruction to his progreſs. Jeſus and his aſſociates eſcaped into the fields; ſome of the people fled towards the lake, and fell into the power of the Romans, others were ſlain while endeavouring to get into their veſſels, and many were drowned in the attempt to ſave themſelves by ſwimming. Some reſiſtance was made by the ſtrangers who were not able to eſcape with Jeſus, but the natives of the town readily yielded to the Romans, from whom they expected favour, from the conſideration that they had diſapproved of engaging in the war, and been compelled to take up arms.

The faction being ſubdued, Titus granted quarter to the natives of Tarichea. The inſurgents who had embarked on the lake, proceeded to as great a diſtance as they poſſibly could from the enemy. Titus diſpatched intelligence of the enterprize to Veſpaſian, to whom it afforded great ſatisfaction; for the reduction of Tarichea was conſidered as a moſt material point towards the termination of the war in favour of the Romans. Titus now ordered a guard to inveſt the city, leſt any of the Jews ſhould effect an eſcape: and he went to the lake of Genneſareth on the following day, and commanded a number of veſſels to be conſtructed for the purpoſe of purſuing thoſe who had made a retreat by water. There being a great number of workmen and a plentiful ſupply of materials, the veſſels were completed in a few days.

CHAP. XVIII.

The lake of Genneſareth deſcribed. The ſpring and courſe of the Jordan. The lands adjacent to Genneſareth. Account of the fountain of Capernaum.

The lake of Genneſareth.

THE length of the lake of Genneſareth is an hundred furlongs, and it is forty furlongs in breadth. It lies upon a fine gravel, and there is no river, or even fountain water more conſtantly tranquil, or more conveniently to be drawn. The nature of the water is ſo cold, that it will not receive warmth by being expoſed to the ſun, even in the moſt intenſe heat of ſummer. It is remarkably agreeable to the palate, and in no degree partakes of the quality of mooriſh waters, either in reſpect of the colour or taſte. The lake derives its name from the country by which it is environed. It abounds in a great variety of fiſh, differing materially, both in formation and taſte, from what are to be found in any other waters.

The head of the Jordan.

The river Jordan interſects the middle of the lake of Genneſareth. The Jordan * has been ſuppoſed to take its riſe at Panion; but the fact is that it is conveyed to Panion by a ſubterraneous paſſage, and that the ſource of it is Phiala, ſo called from its figure being round; and it is ſituated an hundred and twenty furlongs from Cæſarea, a little towards the right-hand, and at no great diſtance from the road to Trachonitis. The waters of the Phiala are ſo conſtantly on a level with the margin, that they are never to be obſerved either to decreaſe or overflow. The head of the Jordan was unknown till the time of Philip, the tetrarch of Trachonitis, who found that ſtraws, which he had caſt into Phiala, were conveyed to Panion, which had before been univerſally deemed the ſource of the Jordan. Panion is delightfully ſituated; and its natural beauties have been improved in a moſt magnificent manner by the bounty of king Agrippa. The river croſſes the fens of the lake of Semechonitis, and after running an hundred and twenty furlongs, paſſes under the city of Julias, interſects the lake of Genneſareth, and directing its courſe a conſiderable way into the deſert, is received by the lake of Aſphaltitis.

The lands ſurrounding the lake of Genneſareth are ſo ſurpriſingly fertile, and ſituated in ſo favourable a climate, that palms, nuts, figs, olive-trees, and many other articles, ſeeming to require a very different temperature of air, flouriſh there in the higheſt perfection. The natural advantages of the country receive every poſſible improvement from the inhabitants, who cultivate the grounds with remarkable ſkill and induſtry. This place ſeems to be the ſpot where nature moſt delights in reconciling contradictions, and where the ſeaſons contend which ſhall be productive of the greateſt bounties. For ten ſucceſſive months, grapes and figs abound in the higheſt perfection, as does a ſtrange variety of other moſt excellent fruits during the whole year. In this country flows a delightful cryſtalline fountain, called Capernaum by the inhabitants of the country, which many believe to be a ſmall branch of the river Nile, on account of its producing a certain ſpecies of fiſh, which is found in no other part of the globe, excepting in Alexandria. We ſhall conclude our account of this country with ſaying, that its length extends along the lake thirty ſtadia, and that it is twenty ſtadia in breadth.

The fountain of Capernaum.

CHAP XIX.

Veſpaſian embarks upon the lake, and conquers the fugitive Jews. He condemns a number of priſoners to death, and others to ſlavery.

THE veſſels being prepared, Veſpaſian embarked in purſuit of the Jews who had eſcaped on the lake of Genneſareth. The fugitives had now no probable view of eſcaping the vengeance of the enemy; for the ſhore being wholly occupied by the Romans, they could not diſembark without meeting inevitable deſtruction, and beſides being too ſmall, their boats were ſo ſlightly built and manned that they could not expect to prove victorious in a naval engagement. The Jews endeavoured to annoy their adverſaries by caſting ſtones, and by other means, which proved equally ineffectual; for the weapons they diſcharged ſerved only to cauſe a noiſe by meeting the veſſels or arms of the Romans, who were well defended againſt every aſſault they could make: when they attempted a cloſe encounter, they were either put to death by the ſword, or their veſſels overſet, and the men drowned. Some of the Romans fought at a diſtance, and made great havoc with their darts and arrows; others boarded the veſſels of the Jews, and cut the men to pieces with their ſwords. Several of the Jewiſh boats were conquered by being encloſed within the two diviſions of the Roman fleet. Such as attempted to ſave themſelves by ſwimming were put to death by lances and darts, or ſunk by being over-run by the Roman veſſels: and thoſe who were urged by deſpair to attempt ſaving themſelves by getting on board the enemy's fleet, had their hands or heads inſtantly ſevered from their bodies.

The miſerable ſituation of the Jews.

At length, the Jews were driven to ſuch extremity that they preſſed into the middle of the Roman fleet, in order to get on ſhore: horror and deſtruction now prevailed in the greateſt variety of forms: great numbers of Jews were killed on the water, but the carnage was much more terrible on ſhore: the lake was diſcoloured with blood, and the banks were covered with the bodies of the ſlain. In a few days the carcaſſes putrified, and infected the air to ſuch a degree as to tender life almoſt inſupportable; and even the Romans lamented the barbarity which had produced ſo terrible a calamity. The Jews who were ſlain when the Romans aſſaulted the city, and thoſe who periſhed in the naval encounter, amounted to ſix thouſand and five hundred. The

---

* Many aſſert that the Jordan has two ſources, one called Jor, and the other Dan. *Vide* Notus upon Steph. Byz. by Berkelius.

Veſpaſian convends a council.

The engagement being concluded, Veſpaſian ſummoned a council of all his principal officers to aſſemble in the city of Tarichea; and placing himſelf upon the tribunal, he entered upon deliberations as to what meaſures were moſt adviſeable to be purſued in regard to the ſtrangers. The council oppoſed ſhewing mercy to the ſtrangers, urging that they would be dangerous to the princes into whoſe dominions they might retire, ſince they would indiſputably avail themſelves of every opportunity for promoting troubles and inſurrections. Veſpaſian was convinced that they were unworthy of mercy, and ſo ſenſible of their abandoned diſpoſitions, that he entertained not the leaſt doubt of their attempting the deſtruction even of the very people to whom they might be indebted for the preſervation of their lives: but what means to adopt he was at a loſs to determine; for he knew that if he put the ſtrangers to death in the city, it would prove a circumſtance productive of infinite affliction to the natives, who having ſurrendered to him, had received his promiſe of ſhewing favour to his priſoners. The council argued that, from the nature of circumſtances, he was under no abſolute obligation to obſerve a rigid conformity to the condition, and that in matters where political neceſſity is oppoſed to obligations of honour, the queſtion ſhould be decided by a regard to the public welfare. Veſpaſian coincided in opinion with his friends, but ſtill determined to proceed in a manner that ſhould not irritate the natives of Tarichea. He permitted the ſtrangers to depart, under an injunction of purſuing no other road than that leading to Tiberias. Without entertaining the leaſt apprehenſion that any violence would be offered to their perſons or property, they ſet out for Tiberias; and a great number of Romans were ſtationed on the road, leſt any of them ſhould eſcape. When they had got within reach of the town, the Romans made them priſoners; and on the arrival of Veſpaſian, he ordered them to be confined in the amphitheatre, and there cauſed ſuch as were ſuperannuated, and thoſe who were too young to bear arms, to be put to death. The number that periſhed on this occaſion by the general's order, was twelve hundred. He ſent ſix thouſand of the moſt robuſt men to Nero, to work upon the Iſtmus; three thouſand four hundred were ſold into ſlavery; a great number of priſoners were ſent to Agrippa, to be diſpoſed of at his diſcretion, and they were ſold by that king.

Sentence paſſed upon the priſoners.

THE

WARS

OF THE

JEWS.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

The ſiege of Gamala. The Romans repelled. A ſecond attempt upon Gamala.

AFTER the reduction of Jotapata, ſeveral cities and towns revolted from the Romans; but upon the conqueſt of Tarichea, they returned to their allegiance; ſo that, excepting Giſchala, and the mountain of Itabyr *, all the fortified places were now in poſſeſſion of the Romans. Gamala joined other places in the rebellion. This city ſtands on the lake, oppoſite Tarichea, and belongs to the government of Agrippa.

This revolt was followed by that of Sogane and Seleucia, they being alſo in the province of Gaulanitis. Sogane is, in its upper diſtrict, named Gaulana; Gamala in its lower; and Seleucia is on the lake Semechonitis, the mooriſh lands on the border of which extend to Daphne, the length of the lake being ſixty, and its breadth thirty furlongs. It is a fine country, but particularly remarkable for its ſprings, which feed the leſſer, and continue their courſe to the greater Jordan, at the foot of the golden temple of Jupiter.

Soon after the commencement of the revolt, king Agrippa made an alliance with the inhabitants of Sogane and Seleucia; but the people of Gamala refuſed to accede to the treaty, relying on the ſtrength of the place, which even exceeded that of Jotapata. Gamala is built on the cliff of a rock riſing from the midſt of a high mountain: it has craggs in the front and back part of it, and took its name from that of a camel, to which it bears a reſemblance; but the ſpelling has been corrupted by time and habit. There are deep and inacceſſible vallies on its front, and two of its ſides: but that ſide next the mountain would be tolerable eaſy of acceſs, only that the inhabitants have dug trenches, and thrown up fortifications, ſo that it is there little leſs acceſſible than on the other ſides. On the brow of the hill to the ſouth, the houſes are ſo numerous, and hang in ſuch a manner, as if they would fall into the precipice. There is likewiſe a hill of ſo extraordinary a height, that it has the appearance of a citadel to the valley beneath. Within the compaſs of the city there is alſo a fountain; and this comprehends a full deſcription of the place.

Deſcription of Gamala.

Yet notwithſtanding the place was thus fortified by nature, Joſeph thought it a point of prudence to build a wall round it, and alſo to throw up artificial works, with variety of trenches and fortifications, for its farther defence. The inhabitants, though neither ſo numerous, nor of ſuch a warlike diſpoſitions, as thoſe of Jotapata, were more ſanguine, from the inacceſſible ſituation of their city; conceiving that the difficulties of the attack would make amends for the deficiency of their numbers; not that the place was very ill ſupplied in that reſpect; for it had been a kind of refuge for all ſorts of revolters. King Agrippa obtained no advantage over this place after a ſiege of ſeven months.

At this period Veſpaſian removed his

---

* Or Tabor.

Veſpaſian advances to Gamala.

camp from Ammaus, near Tiberias, a place which received its name from a fountain of hot water, deemed a ſpecific in many diſorders. Having advanced to Gamala, he found that he could not regularly ſurround it; but he placed guards at all the avenues which he could reach, and took poſſeſſion of the mountain above the city. Agreeable to their uſual cuſtom, the Romans fortified their camp by building a wall, and then entrenched themſelves. The tenth legion was employed in levelling the ditches and other hollow places, the fifth was ſtationed towards the middle of the town, and the fifteenth was poſted oppoſite a tower on the eaſt ſide.

During this ſituation of affairs, king Agrippa advanced cloſe to the wall, with a view to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to argue the people into a right notion of their duty, and prevail on them to ſurrender the place: but at this juncture he received a violent blow on his right elbow by a ſtone from a ſling.

King Agrippa hurt with a ſtone from a ſling.

His friends inſtantly crouded round him, with a view of affording him relief; while the Romans were highly enraged at the barbarity of a people who could act thus ſeverely by their prince and countryman, and a friend who adviſed them for their own welfare; imagining that they would act with ſtill greater ſeverity towards ſtrangers and enemies; and being animated by theſe ſentiments, the ſiege was urged with all poſſible vigour.

Chares and Joſeph, two of the moſt conſiderable men of the town, conducted the defence, and encouraged the people on the wall to acts of bravery: but the latter, on account of the ſcarcity of water and other neceſſaries, were averſe to the contention, which they thought could not be maintained for any conſiderable time. The Roman machines being brought forward, the Jews made a ſlight reſiſtance: but when the ſtones and arrows were diſcharged among them, they retired into the town. The Romans made three aſſaults upon the walls with their battering rams. The firſt ſhock was bravely ſuſtained by the citizens; but being overpowered by numbers, they ſought refuge in the higher parts of the town, where they were purſued by the enemy. Driven to deſperation, the Jews turned upon their purſuers, and forcing them down precipices, and into narrow defiles, put great numbers to death. Finding that the enemy had ſo great an advantage in the ſituation of the ground they occupied, that it would be impoſſible to contend with them with any proſpect of ſucceſs, the Romans retreated to the lower houſes, which ſoon became ſo crouded, that many of them fell under their weight, and a great number of the Romans were buried in the ruins. But a very ſmall number of the aſſailants had the good fortune to eſcape.

The Romans take Gamala by aſſault.

and are forced out of it again with a terrible loſs.

Veſpaſian' bravery an preſence of mind.

Mortified in the higheſt degree at beholding his troops deſtroyed by the ruins of a city of which he had, in a manner, taken poſſeſſion, Veſpaſian privately repaired to a ſtation at the upper part of the city; and here, in company only with a few men of reſolution, he remained in the moſt diſtreſſed ſituation: his ſon Titus being at this time on a commiſſion to Mutianus in Syria. His ſituation was now ſuch that he could not fly, with any regard either to his honour or ſafety: wherefore, recollecting how magnanimous his paſt conduct had been, and determining not to diſgrace it by his future actions, he was ſtruck with a thought how he might obviate the preſent difficulty; a thought that ſeemed rather the effect of inſpiration, than the conſequence of common reſolution. He ſtationed himſelf, and the few people who remained with him, as cloſe to each other as they could poſſibly ſtand; and in this ſituation, covering themſelves with their arms, they were ſecure from all the aſſaults of the enemy from above. This ſingular reſolution had ſuch an effect on the Jews, that they could not help conſidering it as impelled by Providence; and immediately became leſs vigorous in their attack, from the fear leſt they ſhould oppoſe a Divine power. Veſpaſian obſerving that the rage of the enemy was abated, he and his companions retired by degrees, nor turned their backs till they had got without the walls of the city. On this occaſion great numbers of the Roman officers, as well as of the common ſoldiers, were ſlain; and among the reſt, Ebutius, a Decadarch, whoſe conduct in life and death was noble, and of whoſe courage the Jews had repeated proofs.

The braver of Gallus, th centurion.

In the above-mentioned conteſt, Gallus, a centurion, and ten Syrian ſoldiers, lay concealed in a houſe, and while the people of the family were at ſupper, and in converſation how they ſhould act with regard to the Romans, Gallus and his Syrian companions overheard and underſtood all they ſaid: in conſequence of which they made an attack on them in the night, deſtroyed them all, and retreated to the Romans in perfect ſafety.

The Romans had never received a ſeverer blow than that in the action above recorded: and Veſpaſian, finding the ſpirits of his ſoldiers much depreſſed, endeavoured to reanimate their courage, obſerving to them, that their late diſcomfiture was to be imputed to the diſadvantageous ſituation of the ground on which they fought; and telling them, that if they were in any reſpect deſerving cenſure, it was for their eagerneſs in purſuing the enemy up the town. In ſhort the generals ſpeech revived the martial ſpirit of the Roman ſoldiers.

The people of Gamala exerted themſelves in repairing the breaches, and in purſuing every other neceſſary meaſure for the defence of the town; and the Roman platforms were repaired, and made ready for a ſecond attack. In the mean time, many of the citizens, fearful of being made priſoners, eſcaped through paſſages ſo intricate, that it had been deemed unneceſſary to ſtation guards over them; and others concealed themſelves in vaults and caverns, where they remained in a ſtarving condition, no proviſions being diſtributed but to thoſe who bore arms.

CHAP. II.

Placidus diſperſes the inſurgents aſſembled upon Mount Itabyr.

NOtwithſtanding his other important engagements, Veſpaſian diſpatched ſix hundred cavalry, under the command of Placidus, to diſperſe a tumultuous aſſemblage of people upon Mount Itabyr.

This mountain is ſituated between Scythopolis and the great plain, and the aſcent of it is about thirty ſtadia. It is inacceſſible on the north ſide, and on its ſummit is a plain of twenty furlongs in diameter. It is ſurrounded by a wall, which, notwithſtanding its extraordinary ſize, Joſeph was only forty days in building. He cauſed water and other neceſſaries to be brought to it from the valley.

Finding an aſcent of the mountain not practicable, Placidus propoſed terms of accommodation to the revolters. Hereupon a number of them came down, pretending a willingneſs to accept his offers; but their real motive was to enſnare, and conquer him by ſurpriſe; and it was with the ſame view towards them that Placidus endeavoured to allure them into the plain. At length an attack was begun by the Jews, while the forces of Placidus retreated, as if intimidated: the Jews purſued them, and in the chace diſperſed themſelves all over the plain. At this juncture, Placidus turning ſuddenly on them, killed ſeveral, and diſperſed the reſt; but not one of them got back to the mountain. Some of the inhabitants of Itabyr fled to Jeruſalem; after which the natives being deficient of water, ſurrendered the place to Placidus, and gave ſecurity for their peaceable conduct.

Placidus diſperſes the faction upon Mount Itabyr.

CHAP III.

The deſtruction of Gamala. Titus enters the town. A dreadful ſlaughter.

OF the boldeſt of the Gamalites, great numbers were now glad to conceal themſelves. Thoſe who were incapable of bearing arms were nearly on the point of periſhing through want of food. The troops, however, continued obſtinately to defend the place till the twenty-ſecond day of the month Hyperbereteus, when three ſoldiers of the fifteenth legion ſecretly repaired to the foot of the higheſt tower, near the quarter of the town, where the party to which they belonged were ſtationed, and in the middle of the night undermined it unobſerved. Having removed five ſtones of immenſe ſize from the foundation, they haſtily retreated; and the tower fell to the ground with a horrid noiſe, burying the guards and all who were in it under the ruins. Alarmed by this circumſtance, the ſoldiers at the adjacent poſts deſerted their ſtations, and ſome of them fell into the power of the Romans, among whom was a man named Joſeph, who was killed by a dart diſcharged from a broken wall. The city was thrown into as much conſternation as could have enſued if the enemy had actually taken poſſeſſion of the place. Chares being at this time in a bad ſtate of health, the above event ſo effected him as in all probability to haſten his death.

The fall of a tower ſtrikes the people with a panic terror.

The Romans now entertained the deſign of entering the town; but they had ſo greatly ſuffered in their late attempt, that they could not immediately determine how to act. In the mean time, Titus arrived, being greatly diſtreſſed on account of the diſaſter the army had experienced in his abſence. Having ſelected two hundred of his prime cavalry, and a body of infantry, he marched into the town without oppoſition. Upon this proceeding, the citizens, taking their wives and children with them, fled to the caſtle in the utmoſt conſternation. Thoſe who could not get into the caſtle were put to the ſword by the Roman ſoldiers. The ſtreets flowed with blood; nothing was to be heard but the groans of the wounded, and nothing to be ſeen but death in its moſt horrid forms.

Titus enters the city.

Veſpaſian now drew up his army, in order to attack the caſtle, which was ſituated upon the point of a high and ſteep rock, and being ſurrounded with crags and precipices, it was almoſt inacceſſible. The Romans were equally unable to annoy the Jews from below, and to avoid the ſtones and other weapons diſcharged from the caſtle. But Providence, at length, ſeemed to incline in favour of the Romans; for a ſtrong wind ariſing, their arrows were thereby driven directly upon the Jews, and from the ſame cauſe the ſhot of the defendants took a direction wide of the enemy. This guſt of wind was ſo powerful, that the beſieged were not able to perceive the people with whom they had to contend.

A cruel execution.

The Romans ſoon made themſelves maſters of the mountain, which they immediately ſurrounded, and in reſentment of their former unſucceſsful attack, put to the ſword all the Jews that fell in their way, denying quarter even to thoſe that attempted no reſiſtance. Driven to deſpair by the horror of their ſituation, numbers of the citizens caſt themſelves with their wives and children down the precipice from the caſtle; and in this manner about five thouſand periſhed. The numbers ſlain by the Romans was four thouſand. So furiouſly enraged were the Romans, that they even caſt the infants down the rocks; nor did they ſhew mercy to a ſingle perſon that fell into their power, except the two daughters of the ſiſter of Philip, the friend of Joakim, a man of diſtinction, and formerly one of Agrippa's generals. But theſe ſiſters owed their ſafety not to the clemency of the Romans, but to the good fortune of remaining concealed till the carnage had ceaſed. The rebellion of Gamala commenced on the twenty-fourth of the month Gorpieus, and on the twenty-third of Hyperberetus, the conqueſt of that place was effected.

CHAP. IV.

Titus takes Giſchala, and offers terms of peace. The conqueſt of Galilee completed.

The people of Giſchala ſeduced by an impoſtor.

GISCHALA alone, of the whole province of Gamala, now remained unſubdued. The people in general were diſpoſed to peace; moſt of them being huſbandmen, and depending on their plantations: yet there were ſome among them of an abandoned diſpoſition, who ſubſiſted principally by theft; and even of the citizens of the beſt rank there were ſome of a libertine turn of mind. The principal of thoſe, who chiefly perverted the people, was an impoſtor, named John, the ſon of Levi, a man of equal wickedneſs and ſubtilty; of an unſteady, yet ambitious diſpoſition; ſkilful in the promotion of his artful ſchemes, devoid of all honour, and fond of promoting diſturbances for the advancement of his own intereſt. But for his artifices, it is probable that the people would have ſent deputies to treat of an alliance.

At this period Veſpaſian ſent Titus to Giſchala with a thouſand cavalry: the tenth legion he diſpatched to Scythopolis, and returned himſelf to Cæſarea with the other two legions, propoſing there to reſt and refreſh them, that they might be enabled to undertake ſome future enterpriſe. Veſpaſian was aware that the city of Jeruſalem would afford him ample employment, not only as it was the capital, and equally populous and powerful, but as it was a cuſtomary place of refuge for diſcontented fugitives from other places; a nurſery for bold and deſperate men; ſtrong from the nature of its ſituation, and ſurrounded by mighty walls; ſo that, on the whole, it ſeemed to be almoſt impregnable. Reflecting on theſe circumſtances, Veſpaſian continued regularly to exerciſe his troops in all the military manœuvres, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours for keeping them in ſpirits for executing ſome great achievement.

Titus took a ſurvey of Giſchala, and finding it ill calculated to withſtand an aſſault, he reflected that if it ſhould be taken by ſtorm, the ſoldiers would in all probability treat the inhabitants as they had done thoſe of Gamala, confouding the innocent with the guilty. Abhorring the cruelties that had been practiſed, he revolved in his mind, the means of obtaining poſſeſſion of the place by treaty. The walls of the town were at this time covered with ſoldiers, to whom Titus expreſſed himſelf to be aſtoniſhed, that they ſhould be ſo raſh as to think of reſiſtance, after all their other towns, though more ſtrongly defended, had been ſubdued with little difficulty, and many of them by a ſingle aſſault. On condition of their ſurrendering, he promiſed them a full pardon, and that he would impute all their improper proceedings to a too zealous attachment to liberty; adding, that if they perſiſted in attempting to conquer impoſſibilities, they muſt expect to feel the whole force of the Roman power, and to be reduced to a more abject ſtate of ſlavery than the reſt of the Galileans.

John pretends to accept the offer of Titus.

No reply was made from the town, nor were any of the inhabitants permitted to quit the wall; and being by far the ſtrongeſt party, the faction ſtationed centinels at all the gates to prevent any correſpondence being carried on, or a pacific treaty being negociated. At length, John addreſſed Titus, in the name of the people, intimating that he was willing to accept the offer, and that, if they ſhould refuſe, he would enforce compliance from the inhabitants. He requeſted that the treaty might be poſtponed from a reſpect to the law, which prohibited the Jews both from fighting, and treating of peace on their Sabbath; obſerving, that no danger could ariſe from the delay, ſince guards might be ſtationed at the avenues to prevent the eſcape of any of the inhabitants. He further ſaid, that by ſhewing a reſpect to the laws of the Jews, and proving that he had a conſideration for their conſciences, as well as their perſons, he would acquire much reputation among the people. John was not influenced by a veneration for the Sabbath, but a regard to his perſonal ſafety. Upon the ſurrender of the town, he expected to be given up, and all his hopes of ſafety were in an eſcape by night. However,

ever, it appeared, that the preſervation of John was an act of providence towards the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; for it not only gave occaſion for a truce, but likewiſe cauſed Titus to encamp at a greater diſtance from the city, at Cydeſa, a populous and ſtrong place, the inhabitants whereof were inveterate enemies to the Galileans.

John and his adherents eſcape by night.

No guards being ſtationed round the town, in the night, John, attended by his military train, and accompanied by a number of people of credit with their families, effected an eſcape. Many of thoſe who departed were terrified at this reſolution. The old men, women and children, with difficulty kept pace with their leader for the ſpace of twenty furlongs; but being then ſo fatigued as to be unable to continue the journey, they burſt into tears and lamentations; ſtill, however, ſtriving to reach thoſe who had gone forward; and the farther their friends advanced, the more they dreaded being made priſoners. Thus terrified, they fell over each other, and the road was ſtrewed with the bodies of women and children, who were preſſed to death in the attempt to get forward. Many unhappy wretches were now perpetually calling out to their huſbands and friends to wait for them. On the contrary, John called to them to ſave themſelves by flight, and to ſeek refuge in ſome place where they might oppoſe the power of the Romans, in caſe farther attempts ſhould be made. John's advice having great weight, the people ſhifted for themſelves in the beſt manner they were able.

In the morning, Titus advanced to the walls of the town, with a view to ratiſy the intended treaty. He found the gates thrown open, and the men and women of the place ready to receive and acknowledge him as their preſerver. They informed him that John had made his eſcape; beſought him to have mercy on the innocent, and to execute the moſt rigid juſtice on the promoters of the revolt.

At their requeſt, he diſpatched a party of horſe in ſearch of John: but he had taken refuge in Jeruſalem. Theſe troops ſlew about two thouſand of John's adherents, and brought back near three thouſand women and children, whom they found diſperſed in different parts of the road.

Titus enters Giſchala, and the conqueſt of Galilee is compleated.

The eſcape of the impoſtor cauſed much vexation to Titus, who regretted that the people of the town had neglected to puniſh him, while he was in their power. Titus now entered the city with a peaceable diſpoſition towards the inhabitants; and his ſoldiers broke off a piece of the wall, as a ceremony whereby he took formal poſſeſſion of the place. Titus menaced the revolters, but declined inflicting puniſhment upon them; for knowing that paſſion and prejudice prevailed among the inhabitants, he was apprehenſive that, if ſevere meaſures were purſued, the innocent might be involved with the guilty. Titus ſtationed a garriſon in the town, for keeping the turbulent inhabitants in order, and ſecuring thoſe of a peaceable diſpoſition. The above exploit compleated the conqueſt of Galilee.

CHAP. V.

John of Giſchala arrives in Jeruſalem, and cauſes great diſſentions. Outrages committed by robbers. Proceedings of the people calling themſelves Zelotes. An encounter in the temple. Particulars of John of Giſchala.

John impoſes upon the multitude.

UPON the arrival of John and his followers in Jeruſalem, they pretended that they had not fled from the Romans, but had voluntarily retired with a view of occupying a ſituation where they might maintain a conteſt with them on more equal terms; adding, that it would have been abſurd in the extreme to have perſevered in the defence of Giſchala, or any other place ſo inſignificant, when the metropolis itſelf, which every man was bound to protect, was in danger. Notwithſtanding the artifices of John and his adherents, the people diſcovered, that what they deſcribed as an honourable retreat, was in reality a diſgraceful flight. This diſcovery, and the report of the priſoners taken by the Romans, much depreſſed the ſpirits of the inhabitants, who conſidered the conqueſt of Giſchala as a prelude to that of Jeruſalem. Regardleſs of the fate of the miſerable people he had abandoned on the road, John exerted every means in his power in encouraging the populace to proſecute the war; ſaying, that ſince the Romans had found ſuch extreme difficulty in reducing two or three inconſiderable towns in Galilee, it was not reaſonable to ſuppoſe they would ever be able to make a conqueſt of Jeruſalem. This had a great effect upon the young and inconſiderate; but the people of experience and diſcernment believed the deſtruction of the city inevitable.

The conſiderate people alarmed.

Titus had departed from Giſchala to Cæſarea; and Veſpaſian having marched from Cæſarea, and obtained a conqueſt over Jamnia and Azotus, wherein he ſtationed garriſons, he returned with an immenſe number of people, who had entered into an alliance with the Romans. Inteſtine broils and diviſions now prevailed in all the cities. Private families that had long been at variance on account of hereditary diſagreements, revived their former animoſities, which they diſſeminated among the people at large, till a rebellion was produced.

The riſe and progreſs of the quarrel.

In conſequence of this general confuſion, the people began to rob each other, regardleſs of conſcientious or legal obligations. They then divided themſelves into diſtinct bodies, and robbed in the moſt open manner through the country; and in this proceeding the Jews behaved in as cruel a manner to each other as the Romans had ever treated them; a circumſtance aggravated by the conſideration that injuries from friends are leſs tolerable than from enemies.

The outrages of the robbers.

The garriſons gave themſelves no concern for the ſufferings of the people, whom they hated; and at length ſome of the leading men of the faction repaired to Jeruſalem with a large body of people whom they had collected in different places. At this time there was no regular government in the city, ſo that no oppoſition was made to the inſurgents: beſides, it had been an ancient cuſtom that the gates ſhould be open to all Jews indiſcriminately; and this rule was obſerved at preſent, when all who entered were ſuppoſed to be friends. This general liberty proved the ruin of the city; for ſuch amazing numbers of the idle and uſeleſs devoured thoſe proviſions that had been kept in ſtore for the uſe of the ſoldiers that guarded the places; ſo that, in fact, to the calamities of war were ſuper-added thoſe of ſedition and famine.

Another band of thieves worſe than the former.

At this period another body of thieves arrived from the country, who were worſe than the former; and theſe uniting with thoſe whom they found in the town, behaved in the moſt barbarous manner. They robbed and plundered in open day, and committed murder, not ſecretly by night, and on the perſons of the obſcure; but in the face of the ſun, and on the moſt eminent of the citizens. One of their firſt exploits was to impriſon Antipas, a man related to the royal family, whoſe credit and authority were ſuch, that the treaſury was committed to his care. They afterwards treated in the ſame manner Levias, Sophas, the ſon of Raguel, and ſuch other perſons of diſtinction as they could get into their power. This conduct made every one conſult his own ſafety, while the city appeared as if in the hands of a common enemy.

Nor did theſe abandoned people ſtop when they had proceeded thus far; but finding their priſoners were men of authority, rank, and influence, they thought that danger might attend the detaining them in cuſtody; ſince, thus provoked, their friends, or the people in general, might ſeek to reſcue them: and hereupon they proceeded to paſs a formal ſentence of death upon them. They commiſſioned a man named John, the ſon of Dorcas, an abandoned miſcreant of their own party, to carry their barbarous determination into effect, which was accordingly done. With a view to palliate this horrid act of iniquity, they cauſed arumour to be circulated, that the unfortunate victims had conſpired to deliver the city to the Romans; aſſuming to themſelves the credit of having performed an act of public juſtice, in puniſhing the enemies to the liberties of their country.

A cruel execution.

The faction diſpoſe of the pontificate.

The moderate people being wholly diſpirited, the inſolence of the faction became ſtill more intolerable; and claiming the right to diſpoſe of the office of high-prieſt, they removed that dignity from the lineal ſucceſſion, and gave it to one of their aſſociates, who, by the profligacy of his manners, and the obſcurity of his birth, was equally unqualified for ſo exalted a ſtation.

Ananus, the high-prieſt, oppoſes the inſurgents.

The groſſeſt calumnies were propagated for the purpoſe of creating diſſentions among thoſe who might otherwiſe have oppoſed their deſigns. Having gratified themſelves, even to ſatiety, in offering inſults to their fellow creatures, they impiouſly affronted the Almighty, by treating his holy law with contempt, and profaning the ſanctuary. But in theſe iniquitous proceedings they were oppoſed by Ananus, the high-prieſt, a man greatly eſteemed on account of his advanced age, his experience, his wiſdom and piety. Ananus would in all probability have preſerved the city, had he been fortunate enough to have eſcaped a conſpiracy formed for his deſtruction.

The faction take poſſeſſion of the temple.

Phanes gains the high-prieſt's office by lot.

The faction having taken poſſeſſion of the temple, they made uſe of it as the ſeat of their tyranny and uſurpation, and as a means of defending themſelves againſt the oppreſſed citizens. They now determined to diſpoſe of the pontifical dignity by lot, pretending that to have been the practice of former ages: but, in fact, no ſuch precedent has been eſtabliſhed; for being originally veſted in a particular family, the pontificate had deſcended in a regular line of ſucceſſion. In order to make the propoſed choice, they ſummoned one of the holy tribes, named Eniacim; and the lot fell upon a man whoſe incapacity proved the abſurdity of that mode of election. This was Phanes, the ſon of Samuel, a native of the village of Aphthas. He was totally unacquainted with the duties of the prieſthood, bore no relation to the ſacerdotal family, and was ignorant in the higheſt degree. But notwithſtanding theſe manifeſt diſqualifications, he was taken, contrary to his own inclination, from his ruſtic employment, cloathed in the pontifical veſtments, and inſtructed how to conduct himſelf. Grieved and aſtoniſhed at this procedure, the prieſts expreſſed their feelings by tears and reiterated groans: but the people were ſo enraged at this inſult, that they aroſe as one man, with a reſolution to counteract their oppreſſors.

Among the moſt eager to promote this public ſpirit, were Gorion, the ſon of Joſeph, and Simeon, the ſon of Gamaliel, who went among the people, ſeparately encouraging them to revenge the affront, and aſſert their liberties; and zealouſly unite to vindicate their religion, laws, and freedom, againſt enemies who had conducted themſelves in ſo ſacrilegious and profane a manner.

Ananus, the ſon of Ananus, and Jeſus, the ſon of Gamala, two prieſts of diſtinguiſhed virtue and piety, were likewiſe very zealous in their diſcourſes to the people, reproaching them with cowardice and ſloth, exhorting them to vigilance, and inflaming their minds againſt the Zelotes. Theſe people I diſtinguiſh by this name, becauſe they afterwards appropriated it to themſelves, on pretence of their ſuperior ſanctity; though, in fact, of all men, they lived the moſt lewd and abandoned lives. By this time the people were aſſembled together, and inflamed with the utmoſt rage to behold the devaſtation that the inſurgents had made in the ſacred places; and that they ſtill continued in the uncontrouled practice of plundering and murder.

Ananus animates the people to oppoſe the Zelotes.

But notwithſtanding this juſt indignation, no attack was made; for the people were ſenſible that they were not yet in a condition to encounter the force of the Zelotes. At this time Ananus, the high-prieſt, being in the midſt of the croud, caſt his weeping eyes towards the temple with looks of inexpreſſible concern, and then addreſſed himſelf to the multitude; ſaying, that their preſent miſerable ſituation was the conſequence of their own puſillanimity in neglecting to oppoſe their iniquitous oppreſſors. He exhorted them to unite their moſt zealous efforts for diſlodging the inſurgents from the temple, ſaying, that a more honourable death could not be wiſhed for than that of falling before the gates of the holy edifice, while fighting in defence of the honour of the Almighty.

Ananus, perceiving that the people were unanimous in a deſire that ſome perſon would lead them on to an attack, ſelected ſuch men as appeared to be beſt qualified for undertaking the exploit, and arranged them in as good order as the time would admit. Being informed by their ſpies of the intentions of Ananus, the Zelotes advanced againſt him, ſometimes in larger and ſometimes in ſmaller bodies, refuſing quarter to all who fell into their hands. The followers of Ananus were more numerous than the Zelotes: but the latter were beſt ſupplied with arms. Knowing that their ſafety muſt wholly depend on compelling the enemy to quit the city, the inhabitants reſolved either to conquer or die; and the adverſe party was animated by an equally determined ſpirit. A ſkirmiſh taking place near the temple, many fell on both ſides. The wounded citizens were taken to their habitations by their reſpective friends; and thoſe of the oppoſite party that had received hurt, were conveyed into the temple, where their blood polluted the holy place. In theſe deſultory encounters the advantage was on the ſide of the Zelotes.

A ſkirmiſh near the temple.

The adherents to Ananus, who were now greatly increaſed in number, being exaſperated againſt ſuch of their party as refuſed to ſtand to their arms, ſtationed guards at the paſſages by which they attempted to eſcape, ſo that every man was under the neceſſity of taking an active part in the contention. Unable to ſuſtain the general ſhock from the citizens, the Zelotes retreated towards the temple, whither Ananus and his people preſſed furiouſly upon them. Being driven through the firſt court, the fugitives entered the ſecond, and ſhut the gates againſt their purſuers. Such was the veneration in which Ananus held this place, that he would not attempt to force a paſſage, though greatly irritated by a continual diſcharge of darts and arrows from the top of the building. Averſe to polluting the ſacred temple by the admiſſion of an indiſcriminate and unpurified multitude, the high-prieſt contented himſelf with ſtationing a guard of ſix thouſand ſelect men on the porches of the temple, who were relieved by other choſen troops at ſtated times; the only exemption in favour of the principal citizens being, that they were allowed to appoint deputies to officiate for them in the diſcharge of this duty.

An encounter in the temple.

The treachery of John of Giſchala.

At this time every thing went in favour of the popular party: but John of Giſchala threw all into confuſion. He ſought popularity by affecting to be a patriot. He was the moſt conſtant daily attendant of Ananus in council, and aſſiduouſly careful of the watch and guards in the night. In the mean time, he was a ſpy for the Zelotes; and, as he came to the knowledge of all that paſſed, informed them of the particulars. He pretended the utmoſt reſpect for the high-prieſt, and the men of rank who attended him: but in this he ſo far over-acted his part, that they began to ſuſpect him; for his flatteries were too groſs, and his conduct ſeemed to exceed the bounds of reaſon. Their ſuſpicions were increaſed by his ſtill intruding himſelf, uninvited, into their councils. Ananus diſcovered that his ſecrets were developed, and he ſuppoſed that John was the betrayer: but ſo artfully did this villain conduct himſelf; and ſo far had he obtained the good opinion of ſeveral men of eminence, that it was in vain to think of removing him from his ſtation: wherefore, the readieſt method that could be deviſed, was to adminiſter to him an oath of ſecrecy and fidelity, purporting that he ſhould keep the counſels of the people, and on their behalf oppoſe the rebels to his utmoſt power. John did not heſitate to take this oath; and Ananus and his friends crediting what he ſwore, they admitted him into their councils, and ſoon afterwards ſent him to the Zelotes, to offer terms of peace. Their greateſt fear was that the temple would be defiled with the blood of the Jews, and the blame thereof attributed to them.

This treacherous impoſtor related to the Zelotes a ſtory very different from the inſtructions he had received, informing them, that the oath he had taken was wholly in their favour; that Ananus and his aſſociates had determined to apply to Veſpaſian for ſuccour; that he was commiſſioned to propoſe to them terms of peace, which, however, they were to underſtand as a ſtratagem for alluring them, ſo that they might be attacked by ſurpriſe; that they would do right to conſider the cruelties they were to expect from the relations of the people they had ſlain, and from the populace, who were furiouſly enraged on account of the abolition of their laws and cuſtoms. He then took ſome of the principal people aſide, informing them that Ananus had committed numberleſs acts of barbarity, and that he had ſelected them as the peculiar objects of his future vengeance.

CHAP. VI.

The Zelotes reinforced by twenty thouſand Idumeans. A ſiege determined upon.

THE moſt able men in the council of the Zelotes, were Eleazar, the ſon of Simon, and Zachariah, the ſon of Amphicalus, they being of the line of the prieſthood. Theſe men gave credit to the aſſertion of John, purporting that Ananus and his friends had applied for the aſſiſtance of the Romans, and further believed that their own lives were particularly threatened. Though they did not expect they ſhould be able to obtain foreign aſſiſtance ſufficiently early to obviate the danger with which they were threatened, they wrote to the Idumeans, ſaying they were beſieged in the temple, and requeſting ſuccours againſt Ananus, who, they ſaid, had formed the deſign of betraying Jeruſalem to the Romans. Two ambaſſadors were appointed to execute this commiſſion, both their names being Ananias.

The Zelotes apply to the Idumeans for ſuccour, which is granted

In a ſhort time after, an army of twenty thouſand Idumeans was raiſed for the relief of Jeruſalem, the command of this force being given to Phineas, the ſon of Cluſoth; Simon, the ſon of Cathlas,; and John and James, the ſons of Soſas.

Upon receiving intelligence of the Idumean expedition, Ananus directed the gates of the city to be made faſt, and the walls to be guarded, but reſtricted his people from purſuing any offenſive meaſures till it ſhould be known whether the diſpute could not be amicably adjuſted. Jeſus, the prieſt next in rank to Ananus, aſcended a tower oppoſite the Idumeans; and, addreſſing thoſe people, contradicted the aſſertions that ſuccours had been demanded from the Romans, and that the city was intended to be ſurrendered to them. After mentioning that the Zelotes had been guilty of prophanations, murders, robberies, and other atrocious crimes, Jeſus requeſted the Idumeans to lay down their arms, and enter the city in a friendly manner, that they might be convinced of the truth of what he had ſaid, and then either aſſiſt the inhabitants in extirpating the wicked incendiaries, or remain neuter, and depart from before the town. The ſpeech of Jeſus was but little regarded: but he had no ſooner concluded, than an Idumean officer, named Simon, the ſon of Chalcas, addreſſed himſelf to the high-prieſt, declaring that the ſiege ſhould be maintained with all poſſible vigour.

The Idumeans reſol to maintain the ſiege of Jeruſalem.

CHAP VII.

A violent tempeſt. The Idumeans enter Jeruſalem, and join the Zelotes. A barbarous maſſacre. Ananus and Jeſus murdered.

THE Idumeans having encamped under the walls of the city, on the following night there happened ſuch a ſhocking tempeſt of thunder, lightning, wind and rain, and ſuch a dreadful earthquake, that every one was aſtoniſhed, and dreaded the iſſue of thoſe portentous prodigies. The Idumeans were equally apprehenſive with the inhabitants, that the vengeance of Heaven was awake to puniſh a war ſo pernicious to the parent city. In the mean time, Ananus and his aſſociates took it for granted that it was a declaration of Heaven in their favour, and that a victory would enſue, even without a battle. But the iſſue proved that their conjectures were ill founded; for what they had foreboded of their enemies fell to their own lot.

The Idumeans ſtation themſelves under the walls of Jeruſalem. A furious tempeſt.

The ſtorm continued to ſuch a degree, that the Idumeans were compelled to preſs as cloſe as poſſible to each other, and cover themſelves with their bucklers; by which they experienced a temporary relief from its fury. The Zelotes, who were under more concern for the Idumeans than themſelves, took counſel together how they might preſerve

The Idumeans cover themſelves with their bucklers againſt the ſtorm.

ſerve their friends. Thoſe who were inſtigated by paſſion, recommended ſeizing the city guards; and when they ſhould have ſucceeded, to force the gates for the entrance of the Idumeans; repreſenting that ill-armed and inexperienced ſoldiers would be ſo alarmed, that they would not eaſily re-aſſemble; and that moſt of the troops had taken ſhelter from the ſtorm. They urged, that though the danger might be great, it would not become them to deſert their allies.

he Zelotes council w to ſecure eir friends.

Thoſe of moderate ſentiments urged, that, at ſo dangerous a period, the place would be doubly guarded, and the Idumeans more ſtrictly watched from the walls; beſides, it was known that Ananus kept the ſoldiers ſtrictly to their duty, by conſtantly walking his rounds. This had, till now, been the practice of Ananus; but this night he retired to refreſh himſelf. It appeared as if Providence had directed the deſtruction of himſelf and people; for the tempeſt now encreaſed, and the guards were aſleep in the gates of the temple.

The Zelotes thinking their buſineſs would be accompliſhed, if they could deſtroy the bolts and bars of the gates, they furniſhed themſelves with ſaws and other inſtruments appropriated to the uſe of the temple, and unfaſtened them: the thunder roaring, and the wind blowing, the noiſe could not be heard by the beſiegers. They then opened the gates neareſt the Idumeans, who betook themſelves to their arms, thinking Ananus meant to ſally out: but finding their error, they made an ingreſs into the city, filled with ſuch wrath, that if they had put their reſolutions in force, every one of the citizens might probably have been ſacrificed; but the Zelotes entreated them to conſider their friends in the temple, and endeavour to give them relief; repreſenting, that it would be better to begin with the guards than the inhabitants; for if the latter were alarmed, they would riſe in immenſe multitudes. The Idumeans went to the relief of their friends in the temple, when the Zelotes quitted the interior part, and united in an attack on the guards; numbers of whom were killed while ſleeping; but others were alarmed by their exclamations; and the people, though in great confuſion, had recourſe to their arms. At firſt they imagined it was only a party of the Zelotes, and hoped to ſuppreſs them by ſuperior numbers: but when they found that multitudes of ſtrangers had poured in, and that the Idumeans had joined the Zelotes, many were ſo diſcouraged as to quit their arms. A few gallant youths had courage to attack the Idumeans; while the majority lamented their miſerable ſituation.

The Idumeans enter the city by night.

Fruitleſs exclamations and wailings prevailed in every ſtreet; while the women ſhrieked aloud for the loſs of their protectors: and the violence of the thunder and winds, and the ſhouts of the Zelotes and Idumeans, rendered theſe complainings ſtill more horrible. The ferocity of the Idumeans increaſed to ſuch a degree, that they ſpared no one, whether armed, or kneeling to beg for life. The pleas of conſanguinity and religion were equally vain; and ſuch was their ſituation, that they could neither fight nor fly. They preſſed on each other with ſuch vehemence that it was impoſſible for them to retire. The temple was ſurrounded with blood; and was judged that eight thouſand five hundred perſons lay dead on the ſpot. Still the rage of the Idumeans ſuffered no abatement; but they were leſs intent on the deſtruction of the common people, than on wreaking vengeance on the high-prieſts, whom they beheaded, and afterwards trampled upon their bodies. They inſulted the bodies of Jeſus and Ananus, on account of the ſpeech delivered by the former from the walls, and the influence of the latter over the populace. It is provided by the Jewiſh law, that even crucified criminals ſhall be taken down, and their remains interred before the ſetting of the ſun.

A horrid maſſacre.

Ananus and Jeſus murdered.

Were I to repreſent the deſtruction of Jeruſalem and the death of Ananus to have happened on the ſame day, I ſhould not commit a great error in chronology; for by his untimely fate, the government loſt its beſt ſupport, and all proſpect of ſecurity. Ananus was held in high eſtimation for his ſtrict regard to juſtice, and other virtues. Without regard to private intereſt, he was ever attentive to the ſervice of the public; and on all proper occaſions was a promoter of peace, being conſcious that the ſafety of the Jews would materially depend on living upon terms of amity with the Romans. He was admirably ſkilled in the art of oratory: and under ſo able a leader, the Jews might even have ſucceſsfully reſiſted the power of the Romans. He was happy in having ſo excellent an aſſociate as Jeſus, who excelled other men in the ſame propoſition as he fell ſhort of Ananus.

Character of thoſe exemplary perſons.

THE
WARS
OF THE
JEWS.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

The barbarity of the Idumeans and the Zelotes. Twelve thouſand people deſtroyed. Gorion and Niger murdered.

AFTER the murder of Ananus and Jeſus, the Idumeans and Zelotes exerciſed the moſt ſavage barbarity upon the common people, great numbers of whom they put to death. Perſons of diſtinction, and others in full health and vigour, were detained in priſon, it being expected that they would purchaſe their lives by joining the inſurgents: but in this they were diſappointed; for they ſubmitted to death, rather than combine with the traitors. Their death, however, was made additionally dreadful by aggravated torments. When they had been whipped till their bodies were ulcerated, the period of their exiſtence was finiſhed by the ſword. Thoſe who were apprehended during the day-time, were crouded into priſons at night; as faſt as they died their bodies were thrown out, to make room for other wretched tenants, who were treated with ſimilar barbarity. The people were ſo terrified by theſe horrid proceedings, that they did not even dare to ſhed a tear, or heave a ſigh, for the loſs of their friends, not even to bury their neareſt relations. Nay, they were afraid even to weep or complain in their own houſes or chambers, without firſt making a diligent ſearch, leſt there ſhould be any liſteners: ſince any mark of compaſſion for the deceaſed would have been puniſhed with death, ſo criminal was it deemed to poſſeſs the feelings of humanity. Sometimes, indeed, they would throw a handful of earth on a dead body during the night; and a few perſons were bold enough to do this during the day-time. No leſs than twelve thouſand perſons of rank fell a ſacrifice to this rage for perſecution.

Twelve thouſand perſons of rank put to death.

At length the murderers themſelves began to bluſh at the abandoned manner in which their crimes had been perpetrated: wherefore they erected a kind of mock court of juſtice, to give their murderers the apparent ſanction of law. Zachariah, the ſon of Baruch, was at this time diſtinguiſhed for his wealth, rank, authority and virtue; for his ſteady ſupport of, and friendſhip to, all good men, and his determined enmity to the wicked. Now the Zelotes conſidered the popularity of this man as a circumſtance of ſo dangerous a kind, that their own ſafety would depend on his deſtruction; wherefore they came to a reſolution to deprive him of life. Hereupon they cauſed ſeventy perſons of ſome diſtinction to be aſſemhled together, under the denomination of judges, though they had no authority to erect ſuch a tribunal. On the meeting of this pretended court, a formal complaint was made againſt Zachariah by the Zelotes, who urged that he had been engaged in a treaty with Veſpaſian, to betray Jeruſalem to the Romans. Though there was not even the ſhadow of a proof to confirm this inſiuuation, yet the Zelotes inſiſted that it was founded in fact; and that was ſufficient.

Zachariah faſlely accuſed of treaſon.

Though Zachariah knew himſelf perfectly innocent of the whole charge, and was ſo well apprized of the contrivance as to conſider his life as already ſacrificed; yet, notwithſtanding his deplorable ſituation, he conducted himſelf with a freedom of ſpirit, and a ſerenity of mind, perfectly conſiſtent with his character. In the firſt place he ſeverely reflected on the ſhameleſs conduct of his accuſers; mentioned the inconſiſtencies of their calumnious ſuggeſtions; briefly expoſed the futility of all their objections to his behaviour; and turned their arguments againſt themſelves: expoſing, in a regular manner, the progreſs of their iniquitous proceedings, and occaſionally hinting at the unſettled ſtate of public affairs. The Zelotes were ſo enraged by this magnanimous and intrepid behaviour of Zachariah, that they would undoubtedly have murdered him on the ſpot, if they had not been reſtrained by the idea of keeping up the dignity of their court, and their wiſh to ſee if the new judges would hazard their own ſafety, by a determination in favour of the accuſed party.

achariah clared innocent.

At length, the ſeventy judges unanimouſly pronounced the priſoner innocent; honourably expoſing themſelves to the ungovernable rage and malice of the Zelotes, rather than conſign a man of ſuch exemplary virtues to a premature death. The acquittal of Zachariah greatly exaſperated the Zelotes; and, ſoon after, two of the moſt deſperate of the faction attacked and murdered Zachariah in the middle of the temple; one of them inſultingly ſaying to the dying man, "We have now given you a full diſcharge, of which you are more certain than you were of the other." The ruffians then caſt the body of the deceaſed down the precipice under the temple. The lives of the ſeventy judges were ſpared; but the Zelotes beat them out of the temple with the flats of their ſwords.

e is murred in the mple.

Diſguſted at the above proceedings, the Idumeans regretted having engaged in the expedition; and, while they were in conference on this ſubject, one of the Zelotes informed them, that the report of the high-prieſt's being in treaty with the Romans for betraying the city, was wholly deſtitute of foundation; adding, that the people, in conjunction with whom he had acted, were the betrayers, inſtead of the aſſerters of public liberty, as they artfully pretended. He concluded with adviſing them to return to the place from whence they came, and to make every atonement in their power for the miſconduct into which they had been involuntarily drawn.

The Idumeans releaſe their priſoners, and quit the city.

So affected were the Idumeans by this addreſs, that they immediately reſtored near two thouſand of their priſoners to liberty. They then quitted the city, and repaired to Simon, of whom further will be ſaid hereafter; and thence proceeded to their place of habitation.

The inhabitants of the city, and the Zelotes, appeared to be equally ſurprized by the ſudden departure of the Idumeans: but the motives of their ſurprize were different. The populace aſſumed freſh courage, in the idea of ſo happy a deliverance; while the Zelotes prided themſelves in the aſſurance of their ſuperior ſtrength, and thought they might proceed without reſtraint. They executed all their meaſures in the moſt haſty manner, and compleated their projects almoſt in the moment they conceived them.

Gorion and Niger put to death.

Their fury was chiefly directed againſt the men of honour and courage; for they imagined that while any of that deſcription ſurvived, their own perſons would be in danger. Among the conſiderable people who fell victims to their cruelty was Gorion; a man celebrated for his courage, his attachment to liberty, and his zeal in promoting the welfare of the public. A ſimilar fate attended Niger of Perea, who had ſignalized himſelf by his martial exploits againſt the Romans. When he was dragged about the ſtreets, he diſplayed and triumphed in the wounds he had received in the defence of his country. Being conveyed without the gates, and finding himſelf expiring, he requeſted that his remains might be buried: but he was told, that this would not be granted. He died while imprecating the vengeance of Heaven upon his barbarous perſecutors.

He wiſhed that the Romans might arrive and avenge his murder; that peſtilence, famine, and ſword, might be the portion of his enemies; and that their enormous crimes might be puniſhed by inteſtine diviſions.

And in a ſhort time after this, the righteous decrees of Providence inflicted all the above-mentioned puniſhments, of which their inteſtine broils were but the prelude. They began to be at eaſe, with regard to the people of rank, on the death of Niger: but yet there was not a ſingle man of common credit with whom they did not ſeek an occaſion of diſpute. They put ſome of them to death on charges of long ſtanding, and which had been almoſt forgotten. In other inſtances, where there was no kind of proof againſt a man, they put him to death from circumſtances of mere ſuſpicion. If the accuſed parties made application to the faction, they were cenſured as ſpies; if they did not, their conduct was interpreted into contempt: but whatever the imputed crime, the puniſhment was the ſame; and thoſe poſſeſſed of either honour or riches were certain not to eſcape.

CHAP. II.

Diſcontents prevail among the Jews. Veſpaſian recommends temperate meaſures. Daily deſertions of the Zelotes to the Romans.

mans. Horrid perſecutions. An ancient prophecy reſpecting the deſtruction of Jeruſalem.

Great diviſions among the Jews.

CONSIDERING the reduction of Jeruſalem as an object of the greateſt importance, the Roman officers ſuppoſed that a more favourable opportunity for that exploit would ſcarcely occur than was afforded by the preſent diſtracted ſtate of the affairs of thoſe people. They applied to Veſpaſian, their general, requeſting that this opportunity might be improved, ſince it appeared to be the effect of Divine interpoſition. In reply, Veſpaſian ſaid, that the officers ſeemed to poſſeſs a greater portion of martial ardour than of ſound policy; for a precipitate attack on the city would in all probability reconcile the contending inhabitants, who were then ſacrificing each other amidſt all the fury of a civil war.

The officers coincided with the ſentiments of Veſpaſian, to whom great numbers of the Zelotes daily deſerted, notwithſtanding the paſſes were guarded with great circumſpection. Thoſe who were taken in the attempt to eſcape, were put to the ſword, unleſs they had money for the purchaſe of their lives. So terrible was the maſſacre, that the bodies of the ſlain lay in numberleſs heaps upon the public roads.

At length, the barbarity of theſe monſters was carried to ſuch a height, that they denied the rites of ſepulture equally to thoſe within and without the city; and, as if profeſſed enemies to every ſentiment of humanity and religion, they permitted the bodies to lie rotting above ground, thereby offending the Creator, as well as his creatures. The crime of deſerting to the enemy was not deemed greater than that of attempting to bury a friend: and he who had recently interred another, became, almoſt immediately, in want of ſome conſiderate perſon, to execute the ſame kind office for himſelf. Compaſſion, the moſt amiable of all our affections, appeared to be totally eſtranged from the hearts of theſe abandoned people; and inſtead of commiſerating thoſe who were ſunk in diſtreſs, that diſtreſs ſerved only as a freſh incitement to their rage.

An ancient prediction of the ruin of Jeruſalem.

In fact, the appearance of things was ſo gloomy, that the living ſeemed only to envy the dead; and the repoſe of the grave was deemed preferable to the horrors of a priſon. The tyrants not only deſpiſed all that was held ſacred among men, but even derided the Almighty himſelf, by accounting the oracles of his prophets no other than as a collection of fables or dreams. Yet, notwithſtanding this contempt of the laws and precepts of their progenitors, they found, in the end, the predictions that had been denounced againſt themſelves and their country were accompliſhed: for a prophetical tradition had been tranſmitted to them from remote antiquity, predicting that, in future time, a ſeditious tumult would ariſe in Jeruſalem, during which the holy temple would be profaned by the hands of the Jews; that the city would aferwards be taken, and its moſt ſacred poſſeſſions deſtroyed by fire. The Zelotes did not diſpute the authority of this prediction; and, by their own officious zeal, ſeemed to contribute to its execution.

CHAP III.

John claims a right to ſovereign power. The faction divided into Zelotes and Anti-Zelotes; and the latter headed by John. The Jews viſited by dreadful judgments. Engaddi taken by ſtorm. The Jews requeſt ſuccour from Veſpaſian. He is admitted into Gadara. Placidus rifles Bethennabris, and lays the place in ruins. The Jews defeated with great loſs.

SO extravagantly ambitious was John of Giſchala, that he now aſpired to the exerciſe of ſovereign power. Gradually withdrawing himſelf from his old aſſociates, he engaged in an intercourſe with another company of abandoned miſcreants. Some of his new adherents joined him through a principle of fear, and others from motives of regard: for he was ſkilled in the art of moving the paſſions. Some of his followers, perceiving his motive, were uneaſy, leſt he ſhould attain to independant power, which, when once in poſſeſſion, could not without extreme difficulty be reclaimed. Hence contentions aroſe, and the faction was divided into Zelotes and Anti-Zelotes; John putting himſelf at the head of the latter.

The factio divided int Zelotes an Anti-Zelot John ſides with the la ter.

At this time Jeruſalem was at once viſited by the dreadful calamities of war, tyranny and rebellion; and thoſe were followed by a fourth misfortune, not leſs deſtructive than the others. Near Jeruſalem was ſituated the caſtle of Maſſadas, a place celebrated for its antiquity, ſtrength and magnificence. It had been erected by our ancient kings, who conſidered it as a royal treaſury, a magazine for all kinds of martial implements and warlike ſtores, and a retreat which might be ſafely reſorted to in times of danger. The caſtle was at this time in poſſeſſion of the numerous band of ruffians called Sacarii, who, on the night of the feaſt of unleavened-bread, undertook a more deſperate exploit than they had ventured to attempt before. Having gained admittance into the town of Engaddi by ſurpriſe, they drove out the inhabitants; and in the purſuit killed upwards of ſeven hundred, moſt of them being women and children; after which they plundered all the

The Sacarii take Engadd and lay the neighbouring country waſte.

the houſes, and carried away all the fruits of the earth that were ripe. On their return to Maſſada, they depopulated and pillaged all the adjacent towns, villages, and caſtles, and laid the country waſte. Theſe depredators being daily joined by great numbers of abandoned people, Judea became a ſcene of violence, deſolation, and diſorder.

eſpaſian ad- ances to ſuc- our Jeruſa- em.

Though the faction guarded the avenues of the cities with great vigilance, ſome of the inhabitants contrived to eſcape to Veſpaſian, to whom they repreſented the unfortunate ſituation of their aſſociates, ſupplicating that he would yield them relief. Compaſſionating the diſtreſſes of the people, Veſpaſian commanded his army to advance nearer the city; not with a deſign, as was imagined, to aſſault the place, but to prevent it being beſieged, and to reduce all the neighbouring fortreſſes, as a means of obviating all obſtruction to his future projects.

he Roman eneral re- eived into adara.

On the arrival of Veſpaſian at Gadara, the moſt wealthy and beſt defended town beyond the Jordan, the inhabitants ſent commiſſioners to invite him to take the place under his protection; which he accordingly did on the fourth of the month Dyſtrus *.

The inſurgents were now totally at a loſs how to act. They found it impracticable for the town to ſuſtain itſelf againſt ſo many internal and external enemies: for the Roman army was at hand, and the majority of the citizens were their determined enemies. Therefore they thought to truſt in flight for their ſafety: but they conceived, that they could not honourably adopt this plan till they had firſt revenged themſelves on the authors of their deſtruction. Having deliberated on this matter, they apprehended Doleſus, a perſon equally diſtinguiſhed by his merit and his extraction, and an object of envy for having adviſed the embaſſy above-mentioned. Having taken him into cuſtody, they gave orders that he ſhould be put to death, and then that his dead body ſhould be whipped: and they privately left the town as ſoon as theſe orders were carried into execution.

oleſus put o death.

No ſooner had the Romans approached nearer towards the city, than the inhabitants went out to meet Veſpaſian, whom they conducted into the place with every teſtimony of congratulation; and after having taken the oaths of fidelity, cuſtomary on ſuch occaſions, they deſtroyed the walls of the city, in order to give a ſtriking proof of their fidelity and peaceable intentions, by putting it out of their power to do any injury, even if they were ſo diſpoſed. This being done, Veſpaſian beſtowed on them a garriſon of horſe and foot for their protection, and then diſpatched Placidus after the enemy with five hundred cavalry and three thouſand infantry; after which he retired to Cæſarea with the remainder of his forces.

Veſpaſian retires to Cæſarea.

The fugitives finding, that they were purſued, and that a party of horſe gained ground upon them, turned aſide to the village of Bethannabris, and thereby eluded the vengeance of the enemy.

In this place was a conſiderable number of ſtout young men; ſome of whom they perſuaded, and others they compelled, to enter in their ſervice: and being thus reinforced, they made a deſperate attack on Placidus, who at the firſt receded a little, with a view to get the enemy farther from the town; and this plan having anſwered to his expectation, Placidus attacked and totally routed them. The Roman cavalry intercepted thoſe who conſulted their ſafety by flight; while thoſe who ſtood to their arms were deſtroyed by the infantry. Their attacking the Romans was indeed a bold attempt: they might have encountered a wall or a rock with equal hope of ſucceſs; for the Romans ſtood ſo cloſe and firm, that it was not poſſible to break their main body, and were ſo guarded by their arms, that the darts and lances could not affect them. On the contrary, the Jews were ſo ill protected, that they were injured by every kind of aſſault, and reached by any kind of weapons; till, at length, being irritated to the utmoſt violent degree of rage, they ſeemed abandoned to deſpair, and threw themſelves on the ſwords of their enemies, by which many of them periſhed; ſome were cut in pieces, others were trampled under foot by the horſe, and others again put to flight. Placidus exerted his utmoſt influence that none of the fugitives ſhould get again to the town; and as often as this was attempted by any of them, the horſe under his command intercepted their deſign, and put great numbers of them to ſlaughter. Some, poſſeſſing greater ſtrength and ſwiftneſs than their companions, reached the walls, being purſued by the Romans, when the gates were with great difficulty cloſed, and their admiſſion into the town prevented. Placidus now made a vigorous aſſault upon the place; and in the afternoon of the ſame day gained poſſeſſion of the walls. The common people, who had no means of defending themſelves, were put to the ſword, and the reſt had recourſe to flight. In the mean time, the victors plundered the houſes; and then ſetting fire to them, the town was ſoon reduced to aſhes. This event was in itſelf ſufficiently calamitous; but it was greatly aggravated by the report circulated

The Jews defeated.

Placidus aſſaults Bethannabris.

---

* According to Toinard's correction of the text, it ſhould be, on the fourth of the ſecond month. See his notes upon Lactantius, p. 360.

circulated by the fugitives, who aſſerted that the whole Roman army was in purſuit of them.

Placidus purſues the Jews.

This rumour was ſo alarming to the inhabitants of the country, that almoſt the whole number of them abandoned their houſes, and retreated towards Jericho, where they hoped to find ſhelter, on account of the place being extremely populous, and ſtrongly fortified both by nature and art. Being purſued by Placidus as far as the Jordan, they found a paſſage impracticable, on account of the waters being ſwelled by a great fall of rain. Driven to this extremity, they were under the neceſſity of abiding the iſſue of a battle; and ranging themſelves along the banks of the river, for ſome time they maintained their ground: but their ranks being at length broken, fifteen thouſand are eſtimated to have fallen by the ſword, and two thouſand to have been made priſoners; and, excluſive of this loſs, a vaſt number was drowned in the river.

This was the moſt fatal overthrow the Jews had ever experienced. So dreadful was the havoc, that the public roads, and the paſſage over the river Jordan, were ſo encumbered by the bodies of the deceaſed, as to be rendered impaſſable; and great numbers floated down the ſeveral ſtreams leading to the lake Aſphaltitis.

Beſemoth, Julias, and Abila, reduced.

Purſuing his good fortune, Placidus reduced Beſemoth, Julias, Abila, and other places, even down to the lake; and having ſtationed in them garriſons compoſed of ſuch of the deſerters from the enemy as he could place confidence in, he drove from the lake thoſe of the enemy who had ſought refuge there, and then embarked with his troops. Thus every place beyond the Jordan, as far down as Macheras, was brought under the dominion of the Romans.

CHAP. IV.

A revolt in Gaul. Veſpaſian's arrival at Jericho. That place deſcribed. Account of the lakes Aſphaltitis and Tiberias, and of the fountain of Eliſha.

Gaul revolts.

DURING theſe tranſactions in Judea, news arrived from Nero that a revolt had happened in Gaul, promoted by Vindex, and ſeveral others: but of this we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. Veſpaſian, on this, urged the preſent war with unuſual vigour; fearing that other revolts might follow; and he thought that Italy would have much leſs to dread, if the inſurrection in the eaſt was once perfectly quelled: but winter being an improper time for ſuch a buſineſs, he garriſoned and repaired the cities and towns already taken.

Veſpaſian's motions.

After this, he led his army from Cæſarea to Antipatris; where having regulated all things in two days, on the third he ravaged the country to the borders of the toparchy of Thamna; and from thence to Lydda and Jamnia. The two laſt places yielding to his authority, he placed in them ſuch of the inhabitants of the other towns as he could beſt rely on. He then proceeded to Ammaus; and having ſecured the paſſage leading to the principal part of the city, he pitched his camp, and erected a wall round it: he left there the fifth legion, and advanced with the reſt of his forces into the toparchy of Bethlepton; which he burnt, and then ravaged the adjacent country to the borders of Idumea; ſave a few ſtrong caſtles, which he garriſoned.

Bethabri and Caphartoba, in the centre of Idumea, fell next into his hands; where he killed upwards of ten thouſand men, and made ſlaves of almoſt one thouſand; the reſt ſought their ſafety in flight. Here he left ſome of his troops, to ſally forth occaſionally to the mountains.

With the reſt of his army he returned to Ammaus; from whence proceeding by Samaria and Neapolis, he arrived at Corea on the ſecond of the month Deſius, where he encamped, and appeared before Jericho the next day. Here he was joined by Trajan, one of his principal officers, with the forces under his command, who had previouſly reduced all the places beyond Jordan; putting many of the inhabitants to the ſword: but the greater part of them had retired to the mountains oppoſite Jeruſalem, before the Romans arrived.

The ſituatio of Jericho.

Jericho, however, was found a deſolate and forſaken place. This city ſtands on a plain; above which is a barren mountain, of ſo great an extent as to reach, on the north ſide, to the diſtrict of Scythopolis, and, on the ſouth, to Sodom, on the confines of the lake Aſphaltitis. This country is extremely poor.

The lakes Aſphaltitis and Tiberias.

The lakes Aſphaltitis and Tiberias are both remarkable; but their qualities are oppoſite. The waters of the former are ſalt, and produce no fiſh; thoſe of the latter are freſh, and of a moſt prolific nature. The heats of ſummer are almoſt inſupportable; and the air is hot and unwholeſome, except on the borders of the river Jordan, where the palm trees thrive to a great degree.

Eliſha's fountain.

Near Jericho is a large fountain; which, in former time, was ſaid to be poſſeſſed of very pernicious qualities: but the people of Jericho having treated the prophet Eliſha with uncommon reſpect, he thought, that to purify theſe waters would beſt ſhew the magnitude of his eſteem. He therefore went to the ſpot; and, having cauſed a pitcher of ſalt to be ſunk to the bottom, he ſupplicated God to remove the fatal poiſon from this ſtream. Henceforward theſe waters conferred plenty wherever they reached; a bleſſing the more deſirable, as they cover a larger tract of ground than any other river in the neighbourhood.

This country, which is twenty furlongs in breadth, and ſeventy in length, is famous for the production, cultivation, and variety of its fruits; owing probably to the particular ſalubrity of the air, and the ſingular nature of the water. In fact, ſuch is the happy temperature of the climate, that when froſt and ſnow prevail in other parts of Judea, the natives of this place dreſs only in ſlight linen. It is ſixty ſtadia from the river Jordan, and one hundred and fifty from Jeruſalem; the road to which is a mere rocky deſert.

Deſcription of the country.

CHAP V.

Properties of the lake Aſphaltitis. Account of a beautiful fruit, which, on being touched, diſſolves to ſmoke and aſhes.

NO fiſh can live in the lake Aſphaltitis, the water of which is ſtrongly impregnated with ſaline particles: even the moſt weighty things thrown into it will hardly ſink. Veſpaſian, being told of theſe circumſtances, undertook a journey to the place; and, to be aſſured of the fact, he cauſed a number of perſons, unable to ſwim, to have their hands tied behind, and thrown into it: but ſuch was the buoyant power of the water, that they were inſtantly borne on its ſurface.

Singularities of the lake Aſphaltitis.

This lake is famous for another remarkable ſingularity; which is, that three times in a day, according to the refractions of the ſun-beams which play on it, its colour has a different appearance. On ſeveral parts of it there are alſo to be ſeen large quantities of a dark bituminous matter, floating about, which bears a reſemblance to the bodies of oxen without heads. The country people take up theſe lumps; which are of ſo glutinous a nature, that they are obliged to diſſolve them with urine before they can ſeparate the part within the boat from that in the water. This matter ſerves for medicinal purpoſes, and the uſe of navigators; for it is a ſpecific in many diſorders, and of admirable ſervice in ſtopping leaks in ſhips.

The lake Aſphaltitis is one hundred and fifty furlongs in breadth, and five hundred and eighty in length, extending to Zoar in Arabia. It is ſituated near the land of Sodom, once a wealthy and fruitful country; but now totally uninhabited and deſolate, the wickedneſs of its former reſidents having called down fire from Heaven as the reward of their crimes. There are yet to be ſeen the remains of five adjacent cities, equally infamous, which were burnt with Sodom.

Some things appearing like fruits, that ſprung out of the aſhes, are yet viſible: theſe are very tempting to the ſight; but, on being touched, they become ſmoke and aſhes. The credit of this account, therefore, is not only confirmed by tradition, but by occular proof.

CHAP. VI.

Jeruſalem inveſted by Veſpaſian. Geraſa taken by ſtorm. The death of Nero. The fate of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius. Veſpaſian defers his expedition againſt Jeruſalem.

Veſpaſian inveſts Jeruſalem.

EFFECTUALLY to encompaſs Jeruſalem, Veſpaſian erected a fort at Jericho, and one at Adida, in each of which he placed garriſons of Romans and auxiliary forces. He diſpatched Lucius Annius to Geraſa, with a party of cavalry and infantry, who, on the firſt attack, reduced that place by ſtorm. A thouſand young men, being intercepted in their flight, fell by the ſword; and great numbers of families were made priſoners; after which the place was burnt. Perſons of property fled; but many were killed in the attempt to eſcape: in ſhort, the ravage was univerſal. Thoſe who were in Jeruſalem could not quit it; for thoſe who were friends to the Romans were ſtrictly eyed by the Zelotes; nor did the Zelotes themſelves dare to venture out, leſt they ſhould fall into the hands of the enemy.

Geraſa taken.

Veſpaſian, who had returned to Cæſarea, was making preparation for the main body of his army to advance to the attack of Jeruſalem, when he received an account of the death of the emperor Nero, after a reign of thirteen years and eight days.

Nero's death.

On this he ſuſpended his deſigns againſt Jeruſalem; for, finding that Galba was to ſucceed to the empire, he would not take ſo important a ſtep without expreſs orders: he therefore diſpatched his ſon Titus to wait on him, to congratulate him on his ſucceſſion to the ſupreme command, and to take his directions how to act in the preſent ſtate of affairs. King Agrippa, who was deſirous to embark with Titus on this occaſion, ſet ſail in the ſame veſſel: but on their voyage to Achaia, they heard that Galba was ſlain, having governed only ſeven months and one week; and that Otho had ſucceeded him, who reigned only three months. This did not, however, prevent Agrippa from continuing his journey to Rome: but Titus ſailed from Achaia to Syria, and thence retired to his father in Cæſarea.

The Jewiſh war laid aſide.

This revolution cauſed ſuch an amazing change in public affairs, that the Roman empire appeared to be ſhaken to its foundation. The Jewiſh war was now no longer thought of; for how could the Romans regard the extenſion of empire, when their whole attention was engaged by inteſtine broils !

CHAP VII.

A new war in Jeruſalem. A terrible battle betwixt Simon and the Zelotes. Eleazar delivers a ſummons to the governor of Herodian. The officers drawing their ſwords on him, he leaps from the wall. Idumea taken without bloodſhed. The Zelotes make Simon's wife priſoner.

A new war in Jeruſalem.

A Freſh war broke out in Jeruſalem in conſequence of this revolution. At this time there was a man named Simon, born at Geraſa, who had taken poſſeſſion of the city. He was in the prime of life; but leſs artful and contriving than John of Giſchala. He was, however, deemed ſo dangerous a perſon, that the high-prieſt, Ananus, drove him from his government in the toparchy of Acrabetana, and compelled him to take refuge among the Sicarii at Maſſada. Theſe abandoned people were at firſt ſo ſuſpicious of him, that, for a time, they compelled him to remain, with the women he had brought with him, on the firſt floor of the fortreſs, while the reſt of the people remained above. But when they found that his principles were ſomewhat congenial to their own, they deputed him to command the parties they ſent out to rifle the diſtrict of Maſſada. Simon, in the mean time, endeavoured to inſpire them with more ambitious views, his own thoughts being bent on the ſovereign authority: but this was in vain till Ananus's death. This obſtacle being removed, he repaired to the woods, where he iſſued proclamations, offering bounties to all freemen, and freedom to all ſlaves, who would enliſt under his banners. Great numbers of abandoned and deſperate people joined him on this occaſion; with whoſe aſſiſtance he pillaged the villages on the hills, and ſpread terror through all the cities within his reach. Numbers of men of power and rank now came over to his intereſt; and he no longer appeared the commander of ſlaves and vagabonds. Theſe ſucceſſes induced him to make ſeveral incurſions into the toparchy of Acrabetana and the greater Idumea; and at length he fixed his retreat in Nain, which he had before walled and fortified. In the valley of Pharan he found a number of caverns admirably adapted to his purpoſe; and he enlarged others, and converted them into magazines, ſtores, and granaries, for the reception of ſuch articles as he plundered. Thus provided with forces and proviſions, it ſeemed to be the prevailing opinion that the principal view of Simon was to make an attack on Jeruſalem. The Zelotes coincided in this opinion; who, thinking that ill conſequences might ariſe from permitting him thus daily to increaſe in numbers and power, determined to make a vigorous effort to ſuppreſs him. With this view they advanced in a body to attack him at the head of his forces: he, however, routed them with great ſlaughter.

Simon reinforced.

He aſſaults Idumea.

Simon, who did not yet think his force equal to the attack of Jeruſalem, began with an aſſault on Idumea; towards the borders of which country he immediately marched an army of twenty thouſand men. The Idumeans hereupon aſſembled nearly twenty-five thouſand ſelect troops, but left a ſufficient number to protect the country againſt the depredations of the banditti of Maſſada. Thus provided, the Idumeans waited for Simon on the borders of their country; and, on his approach, a battle enſued, which continued from the morning till evening; and the deſtruction on both ſides being nearly equal, it was impoſſible to determine which party had the advantage. Both were ſufficiently weary of the conteſt; for Simon withdrew his forces to Nain, and the Idumeans retreated to their reſpective habitations.

Simon, having received conſiderable reinforcements, ſoon took the field again; and, having encamped near the village of Thecue, he diſpatched Eleazar, one of his aſſociates, with a meſſage to the commander of Herodion, demanding a delivery of the caſtle of that name. At firſt he was received by the officers with great teſtimonies of military honour and reſpect; but when they became acquainted with the nature of his commiſſion, they all drew their ſwords on him in a moment; upon which, finding that it would be impoſſible to eſcape, he threw himſelf from the precipice of the wall, and was killed on the ſpot.

Eleazar's death.

The ſucceſs of Simon had now ſtruck the Idumeans in ſo forcible a manner, that they were not diſpoſed to engage him, till they were firſt well acquainted with the ſtrength of his army: for which purpoſe, James, one of their commanders, voluntarily undertook the office of a ſpy, with a generous appearance of public ſpirit; but, in reality, with the moſt treacherous intentions. At this time the Idumean army was encamped at Olurus; whither James repaired with his commiſſion. When ſome converſation had paſſed between him and Simon, he made a ſolemn compact to give up the whole country, on the conſideration that, in return, he ſhould be conſidered as his firſt miniſter and favourite, and that he ſhould alſo poſſeſs the whole country of Idumea. This being agreed to, James returned to the Idumeans; to whom he magnified the numbers and ſtrength of Simon greatly beyond the truth. This had great influence on the minds of the people in general; and the officers of the army, liſtening to the

The treachery of James of Idumea.

the intelligence, determined on a ſurrender to Simon, leſt worſe conſequences ſhould enſue. At this juncture James ſent repeated meſſengers, requeſting Simon to advance without loſs of time, and take poſſeſſion of Idumea, which he would pledge himſelf ſhould ſubmit to him without bloodſhed or oppoſition, if he would not loſe ſo favourable an opportunity. This was accordingly verified; for Simon advancing, James immediately mounted his horſe, and fled with the utmoſt rapidity, followed by his adherents. This had ſuch influence on the people in general, that they alſo fled in the utmoſt confuſion, each conſulting his own ſafety.

Simon takes Chebron.

An extraordinary turpentine tree.

Idumea being ſubjected to Simon without bloodſhed, he advanced to the city of Chebron, which he took by ſurpriſe; and found in it corn and other treaſure to a great amount. This city is celebrated for its great antiquity. It is confeſſed to be the oldeſt in the whole province; and, if the accounts of the inhabitants may be credited, its age is not leſs than two thouſand three hundred years, being greater than that of the famous city of Memphis in Egypt. A traditional report prevails, that Abraham, the great father and founder of the Jewiſh nation, took up his reſidence at this place, when he left the country of Meſopotamia; and that from this town his deſcendants moved into Egypt, in which kingdom there are yet viſible a number of elegant inſcriptions on marble, corroborative of the tradition I have mentioned. About ſix furlongs from Chebron there is ſtill to be ſeen a moſt extraordinary turpentine-tree, which is yet ſound and healthy; though, if tradition may be credited, it had its origin at the time of the creation of the world.

Simon makes great havoc in Idumea.

Simon advanced from Chebron through the whole country of Idumea, followed by above forty thouſand people, excluſive of his regular forces. He deſtroyed towns and villages, and depopulated the whole country in the courſe of his progreſs. It was not poſſible that the neceſſaries of life ſhould be furniſhed for ſuch an immenſe multitude; and the misfortunes of want were ſtill aggravated by the natural violence of Simon's temper, and his peculiar animoſity againſt the people of Idumea. In ſhort, in a country which had been heretofore fruitful and well cultivated, not a trace was left of its former happy ſituation.

His wife taken by the Zelotes.

The Zelotes were exceedingly ſhocked at the inhumanity of theſe proceedings; but they were yet afraid to engage in an open war; contenting themſelves with ſuch advantages as they could gain by occaſional ſurpriſes. At length they obtained a prize which they deemed of the utmoſt importance; happening to take priſoner the wife of Simon, with a number of his domeſtics, they hurried her away to Jeruſalem, with as many tokens of triumphant joy, as if Simon himſelf had been their captive: for they did not entertain the leaſt doubt but that he would willingly lay down his arms on his wife's being reſtored to him. The effect was, however, contrary to their expectation; for the violence offered to the wife tranſported the huſband to the moſt extravagant degree of rage.

Simon's rage.

His wife reſtored.

He advanced, without loſs of time, to the gates of Jeruſalem, where his behaviour was furious. He ſought vengeance on every thing that fell in his way; men, women, and children, were equally the objects of his fury. Thoſe who went from the city only to pick herbs, or gather ſticks, were by his order apprehended, and whipped to death; the ancient ſuffering equally with the young: and it was remarked, as ſomething extraordinary, that he did not eat the fleſh of thoſe he cauſed to be deſtroyed. The hands of many of theſe unoffending people were cut off, as a terror to his enemies, and to prevent other perſons adhering to their party. Thus maimed, he ſent them into the city, inſtructing them to ſay, that "Simon made an oath in the name of that God who governs the world, that if his wife was not immediately reſtored to him, he would make an aſſault on their walls, and treat all the inhabitants, old or young, guilty or innocent, with the ſame ſeverity that the meſſengers had experienced." The people in general were terrified by theſe threatenings, which had likewiſe ſuch an effect on the Zelotes, that they ſent Simon's wife back; on which his anger was ſo far appeaſed, that the cruelties which he had hitherto committed began in ſome degree to ſubſide.

CHAP VIII.

The Roman empire diſtracted by civil broils: Otho and Vitellius fight two battles. Galba puts an end to his life. The compleat conqueſt of Judea intended by Veſpaſian. Capharis ſubmits to Cerealis.

Vitellius elected emperor by the German legions.

THE civil war now became more extenſive, not being confined merely to the diſtrict of Judea; its baneful influence having ſpread into Italy. Otho ſucceeding to the empire, Vitellius was elected in oppoſition to him by the German legions; and in conſequence of this election he diſputed the title with Otho. Two battles were fought between the contending parties, near Bebriacum in Lombardy. On the firſt day the advantage was evidently on the ſide of Otho; but, on the ſecond, fortune declared in favour of Vitellius, whoſe army, on this occaſion, was commanded by the generals Valens and Cæcina. The number of ſlain in this battle was very conſiderable; and intelligence of it being brought to Galba, who was at that time at Brixellum, he ſtabbed himſelf with a dagger, after he had reigned only three months and two days. This revolution occaſioned the ſoldiers under the command of Otho to take part with Vitellius, who hereupon proceeded to Rome with his army.

Galba ſtabs himſelf.

Veſpaſian, in the interim, formed a deſign of making a compleat conqueſt of Judea, by reducing ſuch parts of it as yet refuſed to ſubmit to the Roman authority; he quitted Cæſarea on the fifth day of the month Decius; and having begun his operations on the mountains, he made a conqueſt of the toparchies of Gophnis and Acrabetana; and afterwards took poſſeſſion of the cities of Ephraim and Bethel, placing garriſons in each: he afterwards removed towards Jeruſalem, on his way to which he ſlew great numbers of the Jews, and made many priſoners.

Veſpaſian conquers Gophnis and Acrabetana, &c.

During theſe tranſactions, Cerealis, one of the chief commanders, ravaged the country of upper Idumea; with a body of cavalry and infantry took the caſtle of Caphetra, and burnt it to the ground; and beſieged the well-fortified town of Capharis, which it was thought would have been able to make a vigorous defence. Ceralis, thus ſucceſsful advanced to Chebron, an ancient town on the mountains, near Jeruſalem, of which mention hath heretofore been made. This place ſurrendered without making any defence; on which he pillaged and burnt the city, putting all its inhabitants to the ſword. Maſſada, Machærus, and Herodion, were now the only caſtles which remained in the hands of the faction: and, after thoſe, the capture of Jeruſalem by Veſpaſian ſeemed to be the only circumſtance neceſſary to the putting a total end to this deſtructive war.

CHAP. IX.

Simon wreaks his vengeance on the Idumeans. The brutal behaviour of the Zelotes. The Zelotes routed in conſequence of a revolt of the Idumeans. John voted out of the government, and Simon invited to ſupply his place. The temple aſſaulted by the partizans of Simon.

THE wife of Simon having been reſtored by the Zelotes, the reſt of the Idumeans were expoſed to his revenge, whom he perſecuted with ſuch a ſavage ferocity, and harraſſed and drove them from place to place with ſuch unremitting cruelty, that many fled for refuge to Jeruſalem. To the very walls of this city they were purſued; ſo that, without the walls, Simon became even a worſe enemy than the Romans; and within, the Zelotes were ſtill worſe than either. At this time the Zelotes received inſtructions from the Galileans, who incited them to the practice of every iniquity. John, who conſidered himſelf as the creature of the Zelotes, made not the leaſt ſcruple of employing the power they had conferred on him to the gratification of his patrons; and therefore left them at full liberty to indulge their luſts without controul. With regard to plunder and rapine, their avarice was not to be ſatisfied: they conſidered the murder of men, and a violation of the chaſtity of women, as circumſtances of mere diverſion. The men dreſſed themſelves in the apparel of women; they courted each other to, and practiſed unnatural luſts; defiling the whole city by acts of impurity. Yet they ſtill poſſeſſed the hearts of murderers; they never failed carrying offenſive weapons about them, and were ready to draw their ſwords to diſpatch a man, always without provocation. Thoſe who thought themſelves happy in eſcaping John, were certain to be deſtroyed by Simon: all the paſſages were ſo effectually blocked up, that thoſe who were diſpoſed to have ſought the protection of the Romans, had not an opportunity.

The Idume-ans revolt from John.

At length, the Idumeans, envying the power, and deteſting the ſavage inhumanities which were practiſed by John, revolted at once from their obedience, and determined to oppoſe him. A battle enſued, in which great numbers of Zelotes were killed on the ſpot, and the remainder retreated to the royal palace, which had been originally built by a woman named Grapte, who was a relation to Izates, ſovereign of the Adiabenians. The Zelotes were driven into the temple by a number of Idumeans, who puſhed in at the ſame time, and made a prize of the whole of John's riches, which he had carefully accumulated, and depoſited under the roof of his own dwelling. Hereupon the Zelotes, who were diſperſed in various parts of the city, aſſociated together, and joined thoſe of their companions who had retreated to the temple; and John immediately diſpoſed himſelf to ſally forth on the Idumeans and the citizens.

No idea of fear was formed reſpecting the number of the Zelotes, the oppoſite party being too numerous for them: but it was thought that they might attempt to retire in the night, murdering ſuch as they could ſeize, and then ſetting fire to the city. On this occaſion they ſummoned a council, and concerted with the high-prieſt what meaſures were proper to be taken: but the providence of Heaven prevailed to the deſtruction of their politics, and rendered the diſeaſe

eaſe they complained of leſs obnoxious than the remedy they ſought; for they came to a reſolution to abandon John, and advance Simon in his ſtead; by which they ſubjected themſelves to one tyrant, while they ſought to get rid of another. However, the vote paſſed; and Simon, of whom they had ſtood ſo much in dread, was ſent for to take on him the government, Matthias, the high-prieſt, being deputed to wait on him on this occaſion. Many other perſons, who had been compelled to leave Jeruſalem, and wiſhed to return to their former habitations, joined with Matthias in the requeſt to Simon. The latter anſwered them with an air of authority, that he condeſcended to grant their requeſt: and entered the city in the character of their protector; while the people received and congratulated him in that character, with the loudeſt acclamations. Simon had no ſooner entered Jeruſalem with his troops, than he began to conſider how he ſhould moſt effectually maintain his poſt; for he looked on thoſe againſt whom he was invited, and thoſe who requeſted his preſence, to be equally his enemies. This event took place in the month called Xanthius.

imon enters Jeruſalem.

John, now finding himſelf and the Zelotes, his aſſociates, cloſe priſoners in the temple, looked upon his deſtruction as inevitable. In the interim, Simon led the common people to an attack on the temple: but the beſieged, who had taken poſſeſſion of the galleries and battlements above, aſſailed them in ſo furious a manner with darts, arrows, and ſtones, that they were compelled to make a retreat, with conſiderable loſs in killed and wounded. Excluſive of the advantage of ſituation, the Zelotes had erected four large towers, for the purpoſe of annoying the enemy, where they placed their archers, ſlingers, and engineers. One of theſe towers was ſituated on a place named Paſtophoria, where the prieſt, in ancient times, uſed to ſtand, to make proclamation to the people, by the ſound of the trumpet, of the commencement of the ſabbath, and alſo when it ended. From this place, likewiſe, notice was given to the people of the time proper to keep holiday, and when they ſhould renew their accuſtomed labour.

John maintains his ground in the temple.

Simon, who had aſſured himſelf of an eaſy victory, was much ſurprized at the obſtinate reſiſtance made by the Zelotes.

CHAP. X.

A civil war breaks out in Rome. Veſpaſian much hurt on Vitellius's being choſen emperor. The military, determined on a change, urge Veſpaſian to take the command of the army.

DURING theſe tranſactions, a civil war broke out in Rome. Vitellius was returned from his German expedition, attended by a great number of foreign troops; who were ſo ſtruck by the appearance of the gold and ſilver which they ſaw among the Romans, (ſights with which they had hitherto been unacquainted) that they were with great difficulty reſtrained from forcibly ſeizing theſe riches, and murdering the poſſeſſors. Such was the preſent unhappy ſituation of affairs.

Veſpaſian, after ravaging all the country in the vicinity of Jeruſalem, returned to Cæſarea; where he received intelligence that Vitellius had been elected emperor. Veſpaſian was extremely chagrined at this circumſtance, knowing that the empire was ſeized as plunder. This aſtoniſhing change affected him ſo much, that he could no longer proſecute foreign wars, while his own country was diſtracted by inteſtine broils. But though his indignation urged him to a ſpeedy revenge, he was deterred from putting his ſchemes in execution, from the difficulties and hazards that would attend ſo long a journey in the midſt of winter.

Vitellius declared emperor.

While Veſpaſian was debating this ſubject, the officers and ſoldiers aſſociated, in ſeparate ſocieties, and diſcourſed with the utmoſt freedom on the affairs of the ſtate and government. Many declared that a change was neceſſary. They ſpoke violently againſt the German ſoldiers, ridiculing them as a band of effeminate creatures, who could not combat the terrors of war. By their means Vitellius had reached the dignity of emperor: but Veſpaſian commanded brave veterans, who inſiſted that the licentiouſneſs and debaucheries of Vitellius ought not to be put in competition with the unaſſuming intrepidity of their general, whoſe virtues the ſplendour of no earthly gifts could in their opinion reward. The ſenate and the people of Rome, they ſaid, were entirely in his intereſt; and ſhould they, who had the greateſt obligations to him, let the honour of declaring ſo worthy a perſonage emperor, ſlip out of their hands.

The military wiſh to elect Veſpaſian.

Thus the military people reaſoned: their firſt meetings were held ſecretly; but as their increaſing numbers inſpired them with freſh courage, they unanimouſly determined to make choice of Veſpaſian as emperor, and accordingly entreated him to take under his protection an empire ſhaken to its foundation. This diſtinguiſhed man had for a long time been the ſupport of the empire; but he was ſo far from being ambitious of the dignity intended him, that he poſitively declined it, declaring that he would rather paſs the remainder of his days in eaſe and retirement. But the more anxious Veſpaſian was to avoid this honour, the more earneſtly was he preſſed to accept of it: till, at length, on his repeated refuſal, the military advanced with drawn ſwords, and threatened his deſtruction, if he longer refuſed a dignity to which he was ſo eminently entitled. Still, however, he reſiſted; but at length yielded to their preſſing importunities.

CHAP. XI.

Veſpaſian inclined to make a conqueſt of Alexandria. Egypt deſcribed.

VESPASIAN had no ſooner accepted the government of the empire, than Mucianus, and the other officers who had urged him to receive the dignity, joined with the whole body of the army to ſolicit that he would march his forces againſt Vitellius: but he thought it would be more prudent, in the firſt place, to attempt the conqueſt of Alexandria; as Egypt, on account of the immenſe quantity of corn which it produced, was deemed one of the moſt capital branches of the empire. Veſpaſian, therefore, was of opinion, that if he could once poſſeſs himſelf of that country, the inhabitants of Rome might be induced to expel Vitellius, rather than run the riſk of ſtarving; which would be the neceſſary conſequence, if their ſupplies from Egypt were cut off. Veſpaſian deſired that two legions, which then lay at Alexandria, might aſſiſt him in this expedition.

Deſcription of Egypt.

He likewiſe intended to make Egypt a place of retreat, in caſe of any diſagreeable turn of fortune. This country is ſo ſituated, that it is difficult to approach it by land; nor has it many ſea-ports. On the weſt it is bounded by the ſcorching ſands of Lybia; on the eaſt, as far the city called Coptos, the Red Sea anſwers the purpoſe of a rampart: on the ſouth the Syene divides it from Æthiopia, and the unpaſſable cataracts of the Nile; and on the north this country extends as far as Syria, to the ſea called the Egyptian Sea; all the coaſt of which it totally deſtitute of ports: ſo that the ſecurity of Egypt is abundantly provided for by nature, from the peculiarity of its ſituation. The diſtance from Syene to Peluſium is eſtimated at two thouſand ſtadia; and that from Peluſium to Plinthine, by ſea, at three thouſand ſix hundred. As far as Elephantine the Nile is navigable; but the cataracts render it impaſſable.

The port of Alexandria dangerous to enter.

The entrance of the port of Alexandria is ſo narrow, and the rocks which are diſperſed in ſhoal-water are ſo numerous, that it requires the care of a ſkilful pilot to evade them, even in fine weather. On the right-hand is ſituated the iſle of Pharos, which had been ſo long celebrated as a ſea-mark; and on the left the port is encompaſſed by a dyke partly circular. The light from the iſle of Pharos is ſeen three hundred furlongs out at ſea, and ſerves as a direction to ſeafaring people. Around this iſland there is a number of ſubſtantial walls and ſtrong quays, erected for the purpoſe of breaking the waves that beat on the coaſt, and withſtanding the rage of the billows. Yet, notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, the port of Alexandria, beyond the bar, is one of the moſt ſafe in the world. It is in length thirty furlongs; and it is furniſhed with proper ſtore-houſes for the reception of merchandizes of all kinds.

Veſpaſian judged rightly when he fixed on Alexandria as the place in which to commence the eſtabliſhment of his empire. He informed Tiberius Alexander, the governor, that the importunity of his ſoldiers having prevailed on him to take the government into his own hands, he thought he could not act more prudently than to requeſt the favour of his advice and aſſiſtance. This intimation was conveyed by a letter; which Alexander had no ſooner read, than, with the utmoſt freedom and good will, he adminiſtered an oath of fidelity to Veſpaſian, to the legions and the inhabitants. This oath was taken with every demonſtration of joy; for they were previouſly apprized of the good intentions of the new emperor, and therefore wholly confided in his virtue and honour. Alexander made a generous uſe of the power entruſted to him for the public welfare; and immediately began to make proper diſpoſitions for the reception of the new emperor.

The govern of Alexandri adminiſters the oath of fidelity in favour of Veſpaſian.

CHAP. XII.

Veſpaſian's advancement ſatisfies the people. Joſeph, while a priſoner, in the life-time of Nero, giving Veſpaſian the title of emperor, he now gives Joſeph his liberty.

INTELLIGENCE of Veſpaſian being advanced to the dignity of ruling the empire was now propagated with the utmoſt ſpeed through every part of the eaſtern country; and the inhabitants of the ſeveral cities where the news had reached kept a holiday on the occaſion, making ſacrifices, and offering vows, that the reign of Veſpaſian might be long, glorious, and happy.

Certain legions quartered in Myſia and Pannonia, who had lately taken up arms againſt Vitellius, on account of his tyrannical diſpoſition, with the utmoſt pleaſure took the oath of fidelity to Veſpaſian.

Ambaſſadors from Syria meet Veſpaſian.

As the new emperor was on his return from Cæſarea to Berytus, he was met by ſeveral ambaſſadors, from Syria and other provinces, who congratulated him with addreſſes in behalf of the cities and their inhabitants, and honoured his proceſſion with garlands. Among the reſt was Mucianus, the governor of Syria, who gave the utmoſt aſſurance of the loyalty and affection of the people in general, expreſſing their regard to the perſon and authority of Veſpaſian, which they had teſtified by taking the oaths of allegiance.

Veſpaſian thought his preſent elevation ſo very extraordinary, that he could not help aſcribing it to the immediate intervention of the Deity. This ſubject brought to his mind ſeveral prophetical hints which had happened in the courſe of his life; and, among the reſt, he could not but recur to the circumſtance of Joſeph having, while he remained a priſoner, during the life of Nero, hailed him with the title of emperor. This ſingular predictive ſpeech had great influence on the mind of Veſpaſian; and the greater, becauſe Joſeph was ſtill his priſoner: therefore, ſending for Mucianus, and others of his officers, he ſpoke of the ſingular courage and bravery of Joſeph, particularly at the ſiege of Jotapata. After this he mentioned ſeveral other particulars reſpecting him, and at length adverted to the ſubject of his predictions: "Theſe," ſaid he, "I at firſt imagined to be nothing more than contrivances for his own preſervation; but the event has proved that they were actually the reſult of divine inſpiration: wherefore, my friends, it would be an indelible diſgrace on me longer to detain, in the abject condition of a priſoner, the ſacred meſſenger of God, who declared to me the news of my advancement."

Joſeph liberated.

Joſeph was therefore inſtantly ſent for, and reſtored to his liberty. From this inſtance of gratitude in the emperor, his officers formed the moſt favourable idea of their own ſituations; thinking that they, who were his faithful friends and ſervants, ſhould experience every indulgence under ſo kind a maſter. Titus, who was preſent during this ſcene, hinted to his father, that the ſingle granting of liberty to Joſeph, was leaving the generoſity of his plan ſomewhat incompleat; for that his chains ought not only to be taken off, but broken, as a perfect teſtimony of his innocence; otherwiſe the diſhonour of his impriſonment would remain, though his perſon was reſtored to liberty. Veſpaſian, agreeing in this opinion, gave immediate orders that the chains ſhould be cut in pieces. This circumſtance not only gave freedom to Joſeph, but ſo raiſed his reputation as a prophet, that every one was diſpoſed to give credit to any of his future predictions.

CHAP. XIII.

Veſpaſian, in his way to Rome, goes to Antioch. Cæcinna prevails on the ſoldiers of Vitellius to take part with Veſpaſian; but they deſert. An encounter between Anthony and the Vitellians. The capitol ſeized on by Sabinus. A deſperate engagement between Anthony and the Vitellians. Vitellius is dragged through the ſtreets, and ſtabbed in the city.

VESPASIAN having diſpatched the ambaſſadors who had attended on him, and committed the care of all his governments to officers of tried fidelity, he changed his original intention of going to Alexandria; and went to Antioch, determining to go from thence to Rome; for by this time Alexandria was reduced to a ſtate of peace and ſafety; while Rome, being exceedingly diſturbed by Vitellius, required immediate attention. Having determined on this plan, he diſpatched Mucianus over land, through Cappadocia and Phrygia into Italy, with a large army of infantry and cavalry.

Veſpaſian goes to Antioch in his way to Rome.

Antonius Primus was among thoſe who were ſent on this occaſion. He was governor of Myſia; and had under his command the third legion, which had been quartered in that province. Anthony wiſhed for an immediate engagement with Vitellius; and, on the other hand, Vitellius ſent a ſtrong army, under the command of Cæcinna, to oppoſe him. While Cæcinna was on his march towards Rome, he met Anthony on the confines of Italy, in the neighbourhood of Cremona. On this occaſion he halted to take a view of the numbers, order, and diſcipline of the enemy: but he was totally at a loſs how to act; he did not dare to riſk a battle; nor could he think of running away; he therefore choſe rather to be conſidered as a deſerter than a coward. Having aſſembled his centurions, tribunes, and all the reſt of his officers, he exerted the utmoſt powers of his oratory in a declaration on the different degrees of merit in Veſpaſian and Vitellius. The one he extolled in the higheſt degree, and depreciated the character of the other; and all this with a fixed deſign to prevail on the ſoldiers of Vitellius to take part with Veſpaſian.

Cæcinna declares for Veſpaſian.

The arguments of Cæcinna were urged with ſo much zeal, that he obtained the point at which he laboured, and prevailed on his troops to agree to go over to Antony: but on the following night, Cæcinna's people, partly repenting of what they had done, and partly in fear of the conſequence in caſe Vitellius ſhould prove ſucceſsful in the conteſt, advanced in a rage with drawn ſwords, with a determination to deſtroy Cæcinna; which they certainly would have done, if the tribunes had not interceded ſtrongly in his favour: but they inſiſted that, as a traitor, he ſhould be immediately ſent to Vitellius in chains.

Anthony was no ſooner informed of this event, than he inſtantly diſpatched a party to attack them as deſerters. For ſome time they made a faint reſiſtance; but receded upon the firſt violent ſhock, and betook themſelves to flight towards Cremona: but Anthony, interpoſing his cavalry between the fugitives and the town, and entirely ſurrounding them, deſtroyed great numbers on the ſpot, and permitted his troops to make plunder of all they could find in the place. The whole army of Vitellius, amounting to thirty thouſand two hundred men, fell on this occaſion: and of the merchants and townſmen great numbers were ſacrificed. Four thouſand five hundred of the men whom Anthony had brought out of Myſia were likewiſe ſlain: but Anthony gave Cæcinna his liberty, and diſpatched him to Veſpaſian with an account of the victory; who received him with all imaginable honour and reſpect, which was deemed a counterpoiſe to the diſgrace he had received by deſerting his former commander.

No ſooner was Sabinus, the brother of Veſpaſian, informed that Anthony was on his march towards Rome, than he was inſpired with freſh courage: he therefore, on the ſame night, aſſembled the city guards, and ſeized on the capitol. On the following day great numbers of diſtinguiſhed perſons joined his party; among whom was his nephew, Domitian.

Sabinus ſeizes on the capitol.

Vitellius, directing his reſentment towards Sabinus, paid little regard to the proceedings of Anthony. He diſpatched a body of his own troops to attack the capitol. In which enterprize ſingular inſtances of bravery were exhibited betwixt the aſſailants and thoſe in the temple; but, in the end, the Germans made themſelves maſters of the hill, their numbers being too great for thoſe of their opponents. Domitian, and other Romans of the firſt rank, eſcaped miraculouſly: the greateſt part of the people were totally deſtroyed; and the ſoldiers firſt plundered the temple, and then ſet it on fire. Sabinus was made priſoner, and conducted to Vitellius, who commanded that he ſhould be put to death inſtantly.

Next day Anthony arrived with his army; when a deſperate battle commenced between him and the Vitellians; the latter of whom being nearly all ſlain, Vitellius came out of his palace in a fit of intoxication; for he was much addicted to exceſs. He was inſtantly ſeized, dragged through the ſtreets, and at length mortally ſtabbed in the center of the city. He had reigned eight months and five days; during which time his extravagance was ſo great, that it was imagined the revenue of the empire would not have been equal to his expences had he lived much longer. Excluſive of thoſe already mentioned, it was reckoned that there were above fifty thouſand men ſlain. This action took place on the 3d of the month Appellæus.

Vitellius ſtabbed.

Mucianus and his army entering Rome the following day, found the ſoldiers of Anthony engaged in ſearching for the troops of Vitellius, whom they indiſcriminately put to death the moment they were apprehended. When the fury of this carnage had in ſome degree ſubſided, Mucianus inſinuated that the people would act a wiſe part in electing Domitian governor, till Veſpaſian ſhould arrive; but the people apprehending no farther danger, would not conſent to this propoſal.

CHAP. XIV.

Veſpaſian diſpatches his ſon Titus towards Jeruſalem.

THE Roman empire being now ſettled, Veſpaſian conſidered the ſtate of Judea, and then made preparation for his journey to Rome. Having adjuſted all things at Alexandria, he diſpatched his ſon Titus, with the beſt of his troops, on an expedition againſt Jeruſalem. Titus having gone by land to Nicopolis, about twenty furlongs from Alexandria, there embarked his forces in long boats, and ſailed down the Nile, on the banks of the Mendeſian Canton, to the city of Thmuis, and landed at Tanis. Hence he proceeded to Heracleopolis, and thence to Peluſium, where he remained two days to refreſh his troops. Then he marched acroſs the deſert, and encamped near the temple of Jupiter Caſſius. On the following day he proceeded to Oſtracine; which is ſo remarkable for its drowth, that the inhabitants have no water but what they procure from other places. Thence he went to Rinocorura, where he remained ſome time. Raphia, on the confines of Syria, was his fourth ſtage, and Gaza his fifth; from which he went to Aſcalon, Jamnia and Joppa; and from Joppa to Cæſarea, in the view of adding ſome reinforcement to the troops under his command.

Titus's route towards Jeruſalem.

THE WARS OF THE JEWS.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER I.

Eleazar, John, and Simon, head three ſeveral factions in Jeruſalem. An encounter between John and Eleazar; after which John and Simon engage. Terrible calamities prevail in Jeruſalem. The march of the Roman army under the command of Titus.

TITUS having paſſed the deſerts ſituated between Egypt and Syria, repaired to Cæſarea, where he had determined to form his army in the moſt advantageous manner. During the time that he remained at Alexandria with his father, iſſuing orders reſpecting the government of the empire, which the Almighty had been pleaſed to commit to his charge, the malecontents of Jeruſalem divided themſelves into three diſtinct parties, and ſeverally oppoſed each other; as if labouring to procure their own deſtruction.

I have already related the riſe and progreſs of the faction of the Zelotes, whoſe arbitrary proceedings were unqueſtionably the principal cauſe of ruin to the city of Jeruſalem. The ſeparation of this faction was commenced in the temple by Eleazar, the ſon of Simon; who irritated the Zelotes againſt the people, under the pretext that the audacious conduct of John of Giſchala was at length become intolerable. Eleazar was equally remarkable for a cruelty of diſpoſition; and he was influenced to put himſelf at the head of a faction, from an impatience of inferiority. Judas, the ſon of Chelcias; Simon, the ſon of Ezron, men of high diſtinction and great intereſt; and Ezechias, the ſon of Chobar, deſcended of noble anceſtors, attached themſelves to the party of Eleazar, and each was attended by a company of Zelotes. This faction took poſſeſſion of the interior part of the temple, and ſtationed guards upon the ſacred doors and porches; and as they had impiouſly determined to obſerve no diſtinction between ſacred and profane things, they entertained a full confidence of gaining a plentiful ſupply of the neceſſaries of life, ſince proviſion would continue to be brought into the place for the purpoſe of the daily oblations. Their only apprehenſion now was, that they were not ſufficiently numerous to effect an important enterprize.

Eleazar diſunites the faction of the Zelotes.

John's party was conſiderably more powerful than Eleazar's, whoſe deficiency in point of numbers, however, was fully compenſated by the elevated ſituation of his poſt, which gave him a great advantage over his adverſary. John, convinced of his unfavourable ſtation, was unable to determine on what means to purſue; but every ſuggeſtion of prudence at length yielding to the deſire of vengeance, he made repeated aſſaults upon Eleazar; whereby the temple was defiled with dead carcaſes and the blood of the ſlain.

John attacks Eleazar.

The people, thus circumſtanced, choſe Simon, the ſon of Gorias, their governor; who being in poſſeſſion of the whole upper and greateſt part of the lower town, directed his arms againſt the faction under the command of John; who being hard preſſed from above by Eleazar, Simon purſued his attacks with additional vigour. Eleazar being poſſeſſed of the moſt elevated ſpot, the fugitives and the town, and entirely ſurrounding them, deſtroyed great numbers on the ſpot, and permitted his troops to make plunder of all they could find in the place. The whole army of Vitellius, amounting to thirty thouſand two hundred men, fell on this occaſion: and of the merchants and townſmen great numbers were ſacrificed. Four thouſand five hundred of the men whom Anthony had brought out of Myſia were likewiſe ſlain: but Anthony gave Cæcinna his liberty, and diſpatched him to Veſpaſian with an account of the victory; who received him with all imaginable honour and reſpect, which was deemed a counterpoiſe to the diſgrace he had received by deſerting his former commander.

No ſooner was Sabinus, the brother of Veſpaſian, informed that Anthony was on his march towards Rome, than he was inſpired with freſh courage: he therefore, on the ſame night, aſſembled the city guards, and ſeized on the capitol. On the following day great numbers of diſtinguiſhed perſons joined his party; among whom was his nephew, Domitian.

Sabinus ſeizes on the capitol.

Vitellius, directing his reſentment towards Sabinus, paid little regard to the proceedings of Anthony. He diſpatched a body of his own troops to attack the capitol. In which enterprize ſingular inſtances of bravery were exhibited betwixt the aſſailants and thoſe in the temple; but, in the end, the Germans made themſelves maſters of the hill, their numbers being too great for thoſe of their opponents. Domitian, and other Romans of the firſt rank, eſcaped miraculouſly: the greateſt part of the people were totally deſtroyed; and the ſoldiers firſt plundered the temple, and then ſet it on fire. Sabinus was made priſoner, and conducted to Vitellius, who commanded that he ſhould be put to death inſtantly.

Next day Anthony arrived with his army; when a deſperate battle commenced between him and the Vitellians; the latter of whom being nearly all ſlain, Vitellius came out of his palace in a fit of intoxication; for he was much addicted to exceſs. He was inſtantly ſeized, dragged through the ſtreets, and at length mortally ſtabbed in the center of the city. He had reigned eight months and five days; during which time his extravagance was ſo great, that it was imagined the revenue of the empire would not have been equal to his expences had he lived much longer. Excluſive of thoſe already mentioned, it was reckoned that there were above fifty thouſand men ſlain. This action took place on the 3d of the month Appellæus.

Vitellius ſtabbed.

Mucianus and his army entering Rome the following day, found the ſoldiers of Anthony engaged in ſearching for the troops of Vitellius, whom they indiſcriminately put to death the moment they were apprehended. When the fury of this carnage had in ſome degree ſubſided, Mucianus inſinuated that the people would act a wiſe part in electing Domitian governor, till Veſpaſian ſhould arrive; but the people apprehending no farther danger, would not conſent to this propoſal.

CHAP. XIV.

Veſpaſian diſpatches his ſon Titus towards Jeruſalem.

THE Roman empire being now ſettled, Veſpaſian conſidered the ſtate of Judea, and then made preparation for his journey to Rome. Having adjuſted all things at Alexandria, he diſpatched his ſon Titus, with the beſt of his troops, on an expedition againſt Jeruſalem. Titus having gone by land to Nicopolis, about twenty furlongs from Alexandria, there embarked his forces in long boats, and ſailed down the Nile, on the banks of the Mendeſian Canton, to the city of Thmuis, and landed at Tanis. Hence he proceeded to Heracleopolis, and thence to Peluſium, where he remained two days to refreſh his troops. Then he marched acroſs the deſert, and encamped near the temple of Jupiter Caſſius. On the following day he proceeded to Oſtracine; which is ſo remarkable for its drowth, that the inhabitants have no water but what they procure from other places. Thence he went to Rinocorura, where he remained ſome time. Raphia, on the confines of Syria, was his fourth ſtage, and Gaza his fifth; from which he went to Aſcalon, Jamnia and Joppa; and from Joppa to Cæſarea, in the view of adding ſome reinforcement to the troops under his command.

Titus's route towards Jeruſalem.

THE

THE
WARS
OF THE
JEWS.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER I.

Eleazar, John, and Simon, head three ſeveral factions in Jeruſalem. An encounter between John and Eleazar; after which John and Simon engage. Terrible calamities prevail in Jeruſalem. The march of the Roman army under the command of Titus.

TITUS having paſſed the deſerts ſituated between Egypt and Syria, repaired to Cæſarea, where he had determined to form his army in the moſt advantageous manner. During the time that he remained at Alexandria with his father, iſſuing orders reſpecting the government of the empire, which the Almighty had been pleaſed to commit to his charge, the malecontents of Jeruſalem divided themſelves into three diſtinct parties, and ſeverally oppoſed each other; as if labouring to procure their own deſtruction.

I have already related the riſe and progreſs of the faction of the Zelotes, whoſe arbitrary proceedings were unqueſtionably the principal cauſe of ruin to the city of Jeruſalem. The ſeparation of this faction was commenced in the temple by Eleazar, the ſon of Simon; who irritated the Zelotes againſt the people, under the pretext that the audacious conduct of John of Giſchala was at length become intolerable. Eleazar was equally remarkable for a cruelty of diſpoſition; and he was influenced to put himſelf at the head of a faction, from an impatience of inferiority. Judas, the ſon of Chelcias; Simon, the ſon of Ezron, men of high diſtinction and great intereſt; and Ezechias, the ſon of Chobar, deſcended of noble anceſtors, attached themſelves to the party of Eleazar, and each was attended by a company of Zelotes. This faction took poſſeſſion of the interior part of the temple, and ſtationed guards upon the ſacred doors and porches; and as they had impiouſly determined to obſerve no diſtinction between ſacred and profane things, they entertained a full confidence of gaining a plentiful ſupply of the neceſſaries of life, ſince proviſion would continue to be brought into the place for the purpoſe of the daily oblations. Their only apprehenſion now was, that they were not ſufficiently numerous to effect an important enterprize.

Eleazar diſunites the faction of the Zelotes.

John's party was conſiderably more powerful than Eleazar's, whoſe deficiency in point of numbers, however, was fully compenſated by the elevated ſituation of his poſt, which gave him a great advantage over his adverſary. John, convinced of his unfavourable ſtation, was unable to determine on what means to purſue; but every ſuggeſtion of prudence at length yielding to the deſire of vengeance, he made repeated aſſaults upon Eleazar; whereby the temple was defiled with dead carcaſes and the blood of the ſlain.

John attacks Eleazar.

The people, thus circumſtanced, choſe Simon, the ſon of Gorias, their governor; who being in poſſeſſion of the whole upper and greateſt part of the lower town, directed his arms againſt the faction under the command of John; who being hard preſſed from above by Eleazar, Simon purſued his attacks with additional vigour. Eleazar being poſſeſſed of the moſt elevated ſpot, had a conſiderable advantage over John, but who had an equal power over Simon, his party being ſtationed on ſtill lower ground. Thus was a double war purſued againſt John, who had but little difficulty in repulſing the attacks made by Simon; and he exerted his utmoſt efforts to defend himſelf againſt Eleazar, whom he annoyed with ſtones and darts caſt by ſlings and machines. The weapons diſcharged by theſe engines killed many of Eleazar's people, and others who had repaired to the temple for the purpoſe of performing the duties of religion. Theſe iniquitous people gave ready admiſſion to all who came to the temple from religious motives; but the Jews were ſubjected to more particular examinations than others. Many of the ſtrangers who eſcaped the rage of the ſoldiers, were killed by the ſtones and lances diſcharged by the faction under John; and numbers of theſe weapons reached the very altar, and deſtroyed the prieſts who were employed in diſcharging the duties of the ſacred function. Perſons who had repaired from diſtant parts of the globe were ſacrificed in the holy temple, where they meant to offer prayers and adorations to the Almighty; and the altar, which not only the Greeks, but even the moſt barbarous nations, held in the greateſt veneration, was polluted with their blood. The carcaſes of perſons ſacred and profane, ſtrangers and natives, were promiſcuouſly heaped together, and the blood iſſuing from them flowed up to the altar.

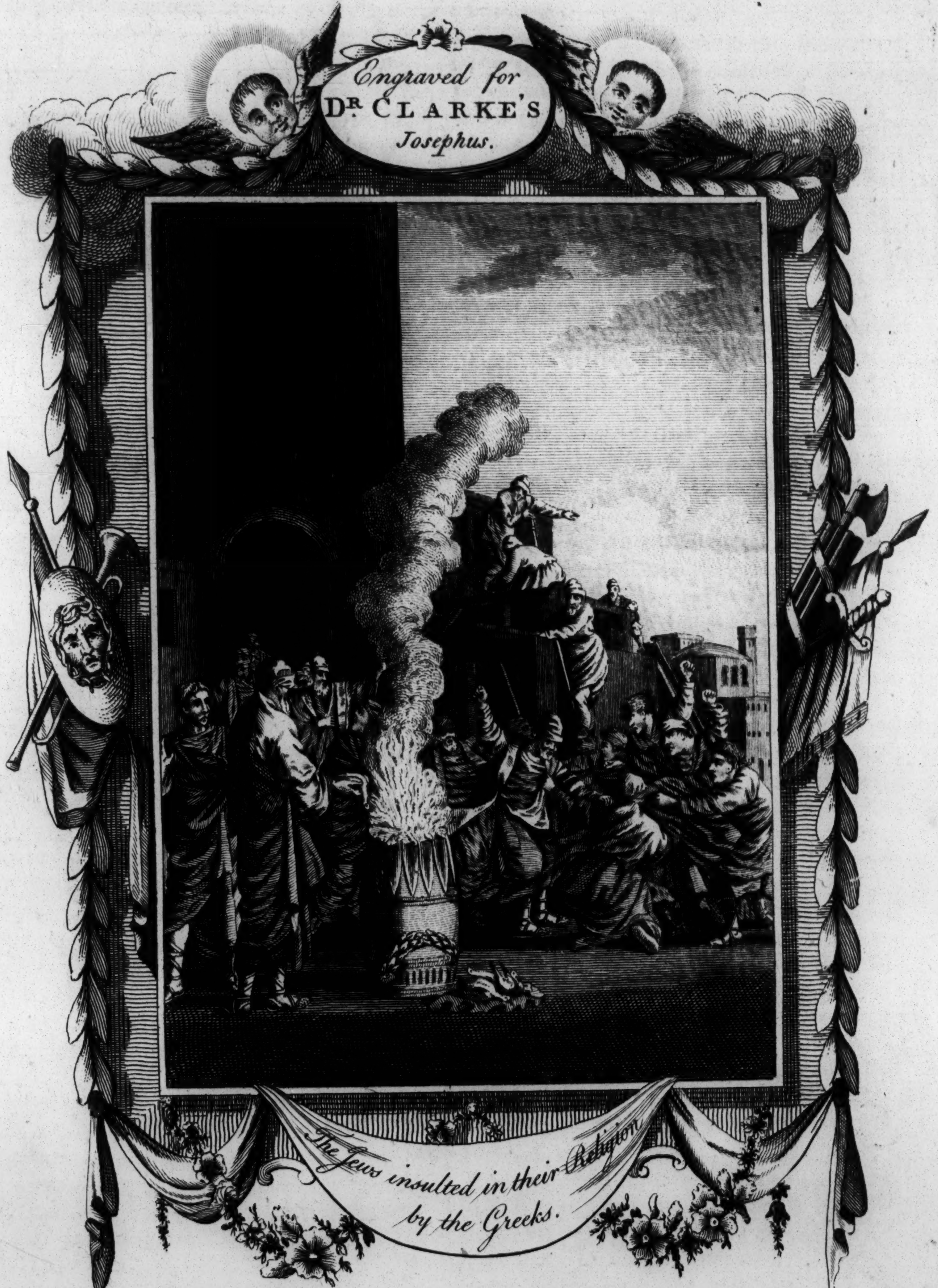
Dreadful carnage in the temple.

When John was attacked by Simon and Eleazar at the ſame time, he divided his forces, and annoyed the former with darts diſcharged from the tops of the porches; and againſt the latter he directed his engines for caſting ſtones and arrows. Through the intoxication or fatigue of Eleazar and his people, they allowed John frequent intervals; and he, availing himſelf of theſe opportunities, made more powerful aſſaults upon Simon, whom he compelled to retire; and, in the purſuit, ſet fire to ſtore-houſes, granaries, habitations, and other buildings, wholly regardleſs of what they contained: and a like conduct was adopted by Simon when John was under the neceſſity of returning to his quarters. In ſhort, they deſtroyed all that was neceſſary for the defence of the city; all that ſurrounded the temple was entirely conſumed by fire; and a ſtock of grain, and other neceſſaries, that would have ſerved the inhabitants during a ſiege of ſeveral years, being nearly all burnt, a famine enſued, which produced the utter deſtruction of the city.

Beſieged by the Romans, and diſtracted by internal diviſions, Jeruſalem reſembled a body expoſed as a prey to ſavage and furious beaſts. The women and ancient men put forth prayers for the ſucceſs of the Romans, hoping to be relieved by their means from the intolerable calamities of civil diſcord. The ſituation of the inhabitants was truly deplorable; for the leaders of the factions, notwithſtanding their inveterate enmity to each other, united in the determination to ſacrifice ſuch of the people as were ſuſpected to entertain the moſt diſtant wiſh of ſucceſs to the Romans. The ſhouts of thoſe who were engaged, the lamentations of the wounded, and the claſhing of arms, were inceſſantly heard both day and night. All diſtinction of perſons was loſt; even funeral rites, and all other decencies, were entirely neglected. The people who compoſed the factions mounted the heaps of ſlain, and fought with a ſeeming oſtentation. John applied to profane purpoſes a quantity of materials appointed for the ſervice of the holy temple. The people and the high prieſts had, previous to theſe calamities, formed a deſign of raiſing the temple twenty cubits, and erecting an arch for the ſupport of the work; and for the purpoſe of carrying the plan into execution, King Agrippa, at an amazing expence, had cauſed a quantity of timber, remarkable for its length, breadth, and excellent quality, to be conveyed from mount Libanus: but the war taking place, the ſcheme was interrupted. John now cauſed the trees to be cut into lengths, to form turrets for defending himſelf againſt the attacks of Eleazar; which were erected along the wall to the weſtward, oppoſite the great hall. John cheriſhed the flattering idea, that by this impious contrivance he would be enabled to ſubdue his enemies: but, through the providence of heaven, the Romans were appointed the inſtruments of rendering his deſign abortive.

Titus, having aſſembled one part of his army, and commanded the remainder to march to Jeruſalem, repaired to Cæſarea. Excluſive of the three legions which had made great devaſtation and havoc in Judea, while under the command of Veſpaſian, he was joined by the twelfth legion, which was compoſed of brave and well diſciplined troops, whoſe natural intrepidity was greatly encreaſed by the deſire of revenge for the defeat they had ſuſtained under the command of Ceſtius. Titus commanded the fifth legion to march by the way of Ammaus, and the tenth by that of Jericho; and he led the reſt of the army himſelf, with a more powerful body of royal auxiliaries than had been ſupplied on any former occaſion, and a numerous company of Syrian troops. Detachments from the four legions having been ſent into Italy, under the conduct of Mucianus, Titus compleated the companies by ſupplying the places of the

Titus joined by the twelfth legion.


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

The Jews insulted in their Religion
by the Greeks.

Publish'd as the Act Octr. 20: 1786 by John Walker Paternoster Row

15 AUG 59

the draughted men out of the two thouſand choſen Alexandrian troops who accompanied him, and the three thouſand that followed him from the Euphrates. He was joined by his valuable and much reſpected friend, Tiberias Alexander, formerly the governor of Egypt; who, ſoon after he had aſſumed that office, eſpouſed the cauſe of Veſpaſian, and contracted an alliance with him, to which he adhered, without ſuffering the uncertain events of fortune to ſhake his fidelity.

CHAP. II.

Titus reconnoitres the ſituation of the enemy at Jeruſalem, who make a furious ſally, and cut off the communication between the two diviſions of the Roman army. The providential eſcape of Titus.

TITUS led his army, according to the military diſcipline of the Romans, by the way of Samaria, to Gophana, wherein Veſpaſian had formerly eſtabliſhed a garriſon. The morning after his arrival at this place he proceeded to the "Valley of Thorns," ſituated near thirty furlongs from Jeruſalem, and adjacent to the village of Gabath Saul, or the valley of Saul; where he encamped his army the ſame evening.

Titus reconnoitres Jeruſalem; and is attacked.

Titus now led a body of ſix hundred ſelect cavalry towards Jeruſalem, to inform himſelf of the ſituation of the Jews: while he continued in the direct road to the city, none of the enemy appeared on the battlements; but upon his croſſing towards the turret called Pſephinos, a great concourſe of Jews ſuddenly ruſhed from the gate oppoſite the ſepulchre of Helena, on that quarter called the Woman's Tower; and, forcing a paſſage through the cavalry, intercepted all communication between the two diviſions of the Roman army. Titus found himſelf, accompanied by only a ſmall number of his troops, in a ſituation whence he could not advance on account of the gardens, encloſures, and ditches, between him and the city; nor retreat, a powerful body of Jews having ſtationed themſelves between him and the reſt of his army. Thus ſituated, he was conſcious that his ſafety muſt depend wholly on the ſucceſs of an extraordinary effort of intrepidity; he therefore commanded his people to follow him amidſt the body of the Jews, in order to force a paſſage to the reſt of the troops. Titus had omitted to provide himſelf with armour for the defence of his perſon, as his view was only to reconnoitre the ſtate of the enemy; notwithſtanding which he eſcaped unhurt, amidſt immenſe numbers of darts, arrows, and other weapons, diſcharged againſt him. He put every man who oppoſed his progreſs to death, and trampled great numbers under his horſe's feet. Theſe ſurpriſing exploits inflamed the Jews with additional rage; and they exerted their utmoſt efforts for effecting his deſtruction, as the only means of interrupting the ſucceſs of the Roman arms. They preſſed upon him both in flank and rear; but wherever the gallant general turned, the enemy fled: his people kept cloſe to him, and behaved with great reſolution. Titus and his party, however, conceived that there remained no probable means of eſcape but by forcing a paſſage through the adverſe army; on which deſperate exploit they reſolved. In the attempt two of Titus's friends were ſlain, the horſe of one of them was killed, and that of the other ſeized by the enemy: but the general and the remaining part of his company gained the camp without receiving a wound, or being otherwiſe injured.

Titus forces his way through the Jewiſh army.

CHAP. III.

The three factions unite. Several ſkirmiſhes between the Jews and Romans.

THE legion from Ammaus joining Titus that night, he directed his march early the next morning towards Scopos, ſituated ſeven ſtadia from Jeruſalem, on the northern ſide. Scopus, though ſituated in a hollow, commands a view of the city and temple. Titus ordered two legions to encamp immediately; and the legion which, by performing a tedious march during the night, was greatly fatigued, he appointed to encamp at the diſtance of three ſtadia farther from the enemy. The tenth legion arrived about this time from Jericho; which Titus ordered to encamp at ſix ſtadia eaſtward of Jeruſalem and the mount of Olives, which is oppoſite the city, being ſeparated only by the valley of Cedron.

The contending factions in the city began now to think it prudent to diveſt themſelves of their animoſities, that they might have it in their power to cope with the common enemy. As ſoon as a reconciliation had taken place, they furiouſly ruſhed acroſs the valley, and with violent ſhouts and clamours aſſaulted the tenth legion, who were then employed in forming the entrenchments of their camp. When the attack was made, all the Romans, who were unprovided with weapons of defence, quitted their ſtations in great conſternation; ſome ſought their ſafety in flight, others ran to take up arms, but before they could make uſe of them they were cut off by the enemy. The ſucceſs of the Jews animated conſiderable numbers of the ſame profeſſion to reinforce them: but as the Romans were overtaken by ſuch as had gained ground of the body of the Jews, they turned, and killed and wounded ſeveral. Notwithſtanding which they were obliged to abandon their camp, the number of the Jews continuing to increaſe;

The factions unite, and aſſault the tenth legion.

creaſe; and the whole legion would inevitably have been deſtroyed, had not Titus, attended by a body of choſen troops, arrived to their relief: his appearance put a ſtop to the flight; and he upbraided the fugitives with being deficient in courage. He attacked the Jews in flank, killed ſeveral, wounded a great number, and drove the reſt into the valley; which they croſſed in great diſorder. Having gained the further ſide of the valley with ſome loſs, they made a ſtand, and maintained a conteſt with the Romans till mid-day. Early in the afternoon, Titus reinforced the legion with the troops he had led to its ſuccour when it was put to flight by the Jews; and having ſtationed parties in proper places to guard againſt excurſions of the enemy, he ordered the remaining part of his people to proceed up the mountain, on the ſummit of which they were to encamp and raiſe fortifications.

The Jews, obſerving the Roman troops in motion, imagined that they were actually flying; and this idea was ſtrengthened by the ſhaking a garment in the air by one of the ſentinels upon the walls of the town, a ſignal that had previouſly been agreed upon. In conſequence of this intimation, the Jews ruſhed to the aſſault with ſuch violence, that their adverſaries were not able to withſtand the ſhock, and were diſperſed as if by the ſtroke of ſome terrible engine: but they exerted every poſſible effort to preſerve themſelves, by endeavouring to gain the top of the mountain. Titus made a ſtand about the middle of the hill, being attended by only a ſmall number of intrepid friends, who exhorted him no longer to expoſe himſelf to the dangerous rage of a profligate banditti; they ſaid that the Jews were driven to ſuch a ſtate of deſperation, that death was the beſt event that could happen to them; and that therefore it became a point of duty to preſerve a life on which ſo materially depended the honour and ſafety of the Roman empire: but, wholly regardleſs of the advice of his companions, Titus maintained his ground, reſolutely oppoſing the aſſailants; ſome of whom he cut over the face, killed others, and drove ſome into the valley. Titus thus kept the Jews in ſome awe; but ſtill they did not deem it neceſſary to ſeek refuge in the city: they formed an opening to the right and left, and aſſaulted Titus and his party on each ſide. But the Romans attacked them in flank, fighting with aſtoniſhing bravery.

Titus exhorted by his friends to retire.

He maintains his ground.

The Romans who were fortifying their camp at the top of the mountain, were perfectly amazed at the flight of the troops beneath. In their diſtraction ſome of them ran to the place where Titus was encompaſſed; and, ſo violent was their rage, that they inſtantly drove the Jews down the hill, and purſued them to the valley: but the example of Titus greatly animated their endeavours. This being effected, he ordered the legion to compleat the entrenchments on the top of the mountain.

CHAP IV.

John meditates a horrid ſcene of villainy. The factions form themſelves into two parties. Titus advances towards the city.

A Suſpenſion of hoſtilities now taking place, the diſſentions among the Jews were revived. The Paſchal feaſt, or the feaſt of unleavened bread, which is celebrated on the fourteenth of the month Xanthicus, whence the Jews date their deliverance out of Egypt, now approaching, Eleazar cauſed the gate of the temple to be opened, that all who repaired thither from religious motives might have free admittance.

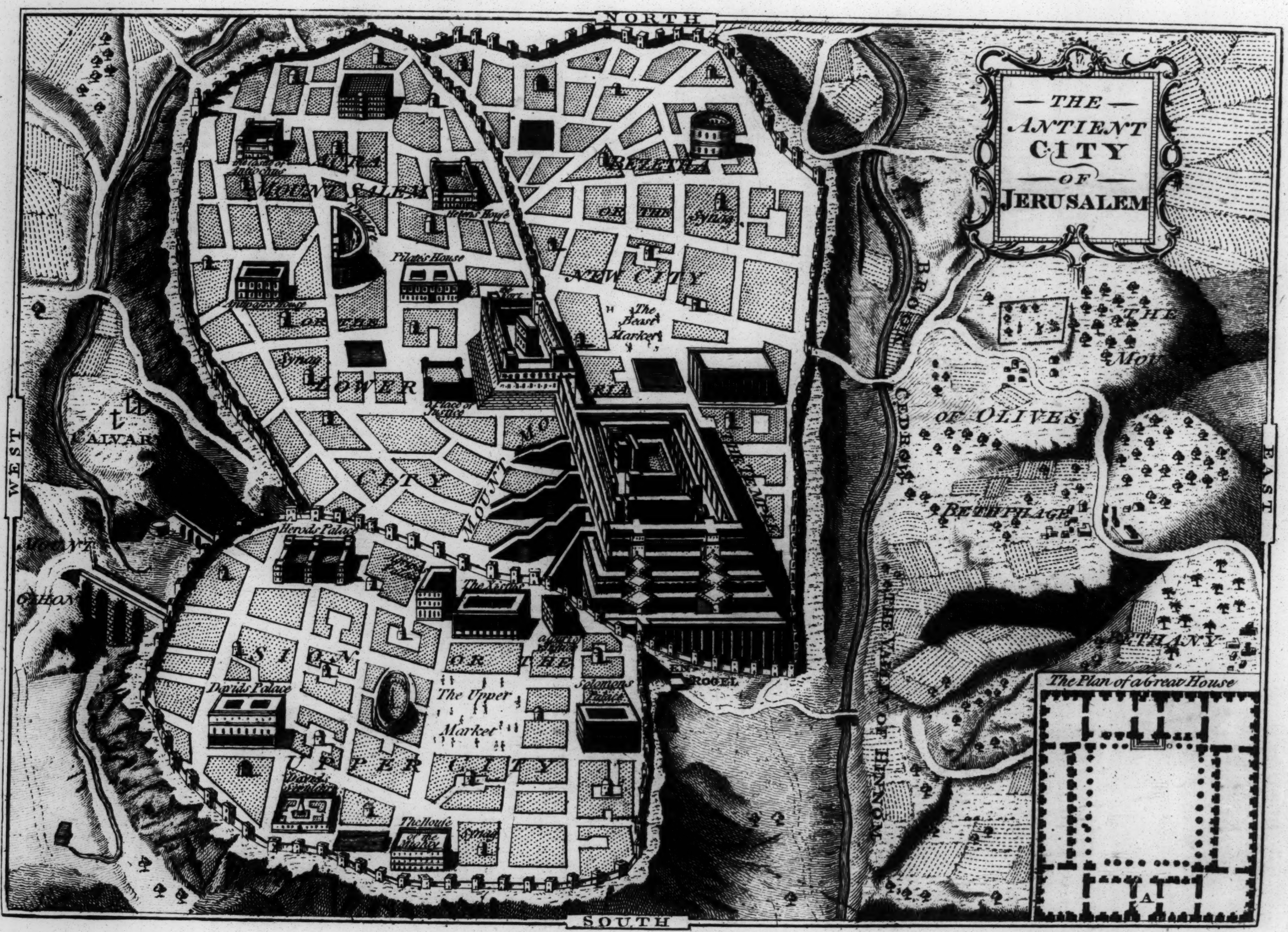
The villainy of John.

John impiouſly determined to take advantage of the opportunity which this occaſion afforded; and therefore he ſelected a number of his adherents, whoſe perſons were leaſt known; and providing them with daggers and other weapons, to be concealed under their garments, inſtructed them in the meaſures they were to purſue. Accordingly theſe diſſolute people diſperſed themſelves among thoſe who had aſſembled in the temple for the purpoſe of performing the duties of religion, and then, throwing open their garments, expoſed their weapons. The worſhippers imagining that the deſign of the armed men was hoſtile towards all other people who were in the building, the utmoſt confuſion prevailed; but Eleazar and the Zelotes knew that they were the objects againſt whom the reſentment of John was principally directed. The guards therefore drew off from the gates, others leaped from the towers where they were ſtationed, and concealed themſelves in the vaults of the building. Some of the people who repaired to the altar were preſſed or trampled to death by the crowd; others loſt their lives by the ſword; and many were deſtroyed by means of cudgels. Thoſe who entertained private animoſities, gratified their deſire of revenge by murdering their adverſaries under the pretence of their being friends to the oppoſite parties. The interior part of the temple being now in poſſeſſion of the Zelotes, they aſſaulted Simon with unuſual vigour. The factions were now reduced into two diviſions.

A dreadful carnage in the temple.

At this time Titus reſolved to advance his army nearer Jeruſalem; preparatory whereto he appointed a ſufficient number of troops to repulſe the Jews in caſe parties of them ſhould attempt to obſtruct his progreſs; and another body he ordered to level all the ways between the place where his army was now poſted and the city: which was

BRITISH MUSEUM



THE ANTIENT CITY OF JERUSALEM

NORTH
SOUTH
EAST
WEST
The Castle of Antiochus
ACRA
MOUNT SALEM
Theatre
Helens House
Pilate's House
Antipas's House
OR THE
Synag.
LOWER
CITY
a Place of Justice
BEZETHA
OR THE
Synag.
NEW CITY
The Beast Market
MO
RIA
MOUNT
THE TEMPLE
CALVAR
MOUNT
GIHON
Herods Palace
The Xystus
SION
OR THE
Solomons Palace
EN ROGEL
Davids Palace
The Upper Market
UPPER CITY
Davids Sepulchre
The House of the Mighty
Synag.
THE BROOK CEDRON
THE VALLEY OF HINNOM
THE MOUNT OF OLIVES
BETHPHAGE
BETHANY
The Plan of a Great House
A

was accordingly done, though to the great detriment of the country people.

CHAP. V.

The Jews concert meaſures for deceiving the Romans. Jeruſalem beſieged.

Policy of the Jews.

THE Jews now concerted a plot for deceiving the enemy. A number of the moſt reſolute left the city, by the place called the Women's Tower, pretending that their dread of the party who were advocates for a reconciliation had compelled them to leave the town; and keeping themſelves as cloſe together, and as much concealed as poſſible, they appeared to be fearful of venturing farther leſt they ſhould be attacked by the Romans. Another party, who were ſtationed upon the walls, raiſing their voices to the utmoſt extent, in the name of the inhabitants called for peace and alliance with the enemy, ſupplicating them to agree to a compromiſe, and promiſing that the gates ſhould be opened: and to give their deception an air of plauſibility, they counterfeited a domeſtic contention; ſome pretending to be deſirous of going over to the Romans, and others caſting ſtones and uſing other means as if to obſtruct them. After ſeveral feigned attempts and repulſes, the former party retired, affecting to be much diſappointed. On the preceding day Titus had made the Jews an offer, through the agency of Joſeph, of the very matter which they now ſeemed ſo anxious to obtain, and the propoſal was rejected; he therefore conceiving that they had adopted their preſent conduct with a view of taking advantage of his credulity, he ſtrictly enjoined his troops to ſtand to their arms. But ſome of the ſoldiers ſtationed upon the trenches, miſled by this ſtratagem of the Jews, took up their arms, and eagerly went towards the city. They were permitted to paſs without obſtruction, till they had proceeded nearly as far as the towers adjacent to the port; when the Jews, who followed cloſe upon their rear, hemmed them round within the reach of darts, ſtones, and other weapons, diſcharged from the walls. By this means great numbers of the Romans were ſlain and wounded; and, being unable to retire, they came to a determination of forcing their way back. After a long and obſtinate conteſt, in which both parties ſuſtained an equul loſs, the Romans effected a paſſage through the body of the Jews, who annoyed them as far as the ſepulchre of Helena, and, beſides, reflected upon them for having been ſo eaſily duped.

Part of the Roman ſol-iers fall into he ſnare.

The Romans, being returned to their quarters, were ſeverely reprimanded by the general; but the officers interfering in their behalf, and the culprits promiſing amendment for the future, Titus at length conſented to their pardon. To be revenged on the Jews for this act of treachery, he ordered the ground from the ſpot where he was ſtationed to the city wall to be formed on a level; which was compleated in four days. He then commanded the moſt intrepid and beſt diſciplined of his ſoldiers to proceed towards the ramparts between the north and weſt; the infantry were drawn up in ſeven battalions, and the cavalry were formed into three ſquadrons, archers being ſtationed between them.

Titus ſeeks revenge.

Titus eſtabliſhed his camp two ſtadia from Jeruſalem, oppoſite the tower named Pſephinos, on that angle of the wall of the city running from the north to the weſtward: he intrenched another part of his army towards the tower Hippocos, about two furlongs from the town; and he appointed the tenth legion to remain on Mount Olivet.

CHAP. VI.

Jeruſalem, with the temple, fully deſcribed.

Deſcription of Jeruſalem.

THREE celebrated walls ſurrounded the city of Jeruſalem on every ſide, except on that part which was deemed inacceſſible, on account of the valley beneath; and in this place there was only one wall. This city is built on two hills, the one ſituated oppoſite to the other; and a deep valley lies between them, the whole of which is likewiſe built on. The mountain on which the upper town is ſituated is much more ſteep and lofty than the other. It originally received the name of the Fortreſs or Caſtle, from king David, who erected it: but the Upper Market is the name by which it has been lately diſtinguiſhed.

The ſituation of the lower town is on another hill, which is called Acra; round which there is a remarkable ſteep declivity. Oppoſite to this there was formerly another hill, not ſo high as the Acra, from which it was ſeparated by an extenſive valley: but during the power of the Aſmonæan princes, they cauſed this valley to be filled up, and detaching a part of the hill Acra, they united the town with the temple; in conſequence of which it commands and overlooks all the adjacent parts.

Tyropæon is the name given to the above mentioned valley, which divides the upper from the lower town: it extends even to the fountain of Siloe, the waters of which are diſtinguiſhed by their great abundance, and fine flavour.

Without the city there are two other towns, which are rendered almoſt inacceſſible, by the crags and precipices which ſurround them on every ſide.

The moſt ancient of the three walls was remarkable for its uncommon ſtrength, being erected on a hanging rock, and protected by the depth of the valley beneath it. Excluſive of the advantages of its natural ſituation, it was repeatedly ſtrengthened, at an immenſe expence, and by all the arts of induſtry, by David, Solomon, and a number of other princes. Its commencement on one ſide was at the tower named Hippocos; and it continued to another place, named the Galleries, ſtretching away by the Town-Houſe, to the weſtern porch of the temple. On the other ſide, reckoning from the ſame ſpot, it extended by Bethſo, down to the Eſſene-Gate; and from thence, bending ſouthwards, by the fountain of Siloe, on which place it turned eaſtward, towards the pool of Solomon; and was from thence continued to the eaſt porch of the temple, by the way of Ophlas.

At the gate called Genath, which belongs to the former wall, the ſecond wall commences; and is carried on, by the north ſide of the city, to the fort Antonia.

The beginning of the third wall being at the tower Hippocos, it extended northward to that named Pſephinos, oppoſite to the ſepulchre of Helena, mother of king Izates, and queen of the Adiabenians; and hence it continued by the Royal Caves, from the tower at the corner, towards the place which is denominated the Fullers Monument; after which it met the old wall in the valley of Cedron. This wall was built by Agrippa, as a protection to that part of the city which he had erected. About this period the city had ſo encreaſed in the number of its inhabitants, that it was unable to contain them; in conſequence of which a ſort of ſuburbs were by degrees erected on the north ſide of the temple next the hill.

Agrippa drops his deſign of fortifying Bezeth.

Oppoſite fort Antonia was a fourth mountain, called Bezeth, or the New Town; between which and the fort ditches of ſo amazing a depth had been cut, that it was impoſſible to undermine it. No ſooner was this place well peopled, than the inhabitants requeſted that it might be fortified; whereupon Agrippa, the father of king Agrippa, laid the foundation of the wall about it; but afterwards, on more mature deliberation, thinking that Claudius Cæſar might be offended at his undertaking a work of ſuch importance, he dropped the farther proſecution of his plan, after he had laid the foundations. If he had compleated it, the capture of Jeruſalem would have been rendered totally impracticable.

Twenty cubits was the length of the ſtones that formed this wall, and the breadth of them ten; and they were ſo remarkably hard and firm, that mining or battery could have no effect on them. The thickneſs of the wall was ten cubits; and it would have been built of proportionable height, if Agrippa had not dropped his deſign. After this, however, the Jews carried up the wall to the height of twenty cubits, and erected on it battlements of two cubits, and parapets of three, making in the whole twenty-five cubits. Towers of twenty cubits ſquare formed the fortifications of the wall; which were built with as much ſtrength as the wall itſelf. The towers were elevated twenty cubits above the wall, and they were aſcended by circular ſtair-caſes. On the top of them were dining-rooms and chambers, and ciſterns for the reception of rain-water. The third wall was diſtinguiſhed by having on it ninety towers, all built in the ſame ſtile of architecture, and ſituated from each other at equal diſtances of two hundred cubits. The old wall had ſixty towers, and the middle only fourteen; and the extent of ground round the whole city was thirty-three furlongs.

The third wall was deemed a piece of exquiſite workmanſhip; but it was much inferior to the tower named Pſephinos: this tower is ſituated on the angle of the wall, to the north-weſt of the city; its height was ſeventy cubits; and the proſpect from it was ſo extenſive, that, in clear weather, it commands a view of Arabia, the ſea, and the whole extent of the Jewiſh dominions. There were eight angles to this tower.

Juſt oppoſite was the tower Hippocos; near which were two others erected by Herod, on the old wall, of great magnitude, ſtrength, and elegance; for Herod conſulted on all occaſions the advantage and dignity of the city. He conſecrated theſe towers to the memory of his brother, his friend, and his wife. An honourable death in the field of battle had diſtinguiſhed the two former; and the latter he deſtroyed himſelf, in a tranſport of jealouſy.

Herod conſecrates three towers to the memories of his friend, hi brother, and his wife.

One of the towers was called Hippocos, after the name of one of Herod's friends. It had four angles; was thirty cubits in height, and five and twenty in breadth: and the whole body was of ſolid ſtone. On the firſt ſtory of it was a platform of ſtones, twenty cubits in depth, formed in a moſt admirable manner, for the reception of rain-water. Above this were two ſtones, each twenty-five cubits high, divided into ſeparate apartments: eighty-five cubits was the elevation of the whole edifice.

Phaſael was the name of the ſecond tower, ſo called after his brother. It was a ſquare building, forty cubits every way, and of the ſame height; and was maſſive from top to bottom. Upon the building was a porch of ten cubits in height, ſupported by arches, and adorned in a moſt curious manner. Above the center of this porch was another, in which were rich baths, and other apartments correſponding with the magnificent taſte of the royal builder. There were ſeveral battlements and fortifications on the top of the tower, the elevation of the whole building being little leſs than ninety cubits. At the period of which I am writing, this tower was inhabited by the tyrannical oppreſſor, Simon.

The tower of Mariamne.

The third tower obtained the name of Mariamne, from that of the wife of Herod. It was of a ſquare form, twenty cubits broad, the ſame in length, and of the height of fifty-five. This tower, from a reſpect to the memory of Mariamne, exceeded the other two in beauty and ornament.

Theſe towers were built on the top of a mountain that was thirty cubits above the top of the old wall, which ſtood on a very high piece of ground. The ſtones of which they were formed were of a ſcarce kind, and too large to be removed without machines: they were of white marble, cut into planks of five cubits in depth, ten in breadth, and twenty in length; and were joined together ſo ingeniouſly, that no kind of parting was to be ſeen.

Deſcription of the royal palace.

Theſe buildings were ſituated on the north ſide of the city; and juſt within them ſtood a royal palace, coſtly and magnificent beyond deſcription. It was encloſed with a wall thirty cubits high; and the turrets were placed at equal diſtances from each other round the whole building, which contained a great number of elegant rooms, ſufficient for the accommodation of an hundred people. The ornaments conſiſted, in part, of an amazing number of curious marbles; and the beams and timbers by which the roofs were ſupported were of a very extraordinary ſize. There were a great number of apartments, and paſſages between them, admirably calculated for convenience and elegance. Indeed, the whole place was magnificently adorned with gold, ſilver, and other valuables. There was likewiſe a great variety of porches and galleries, built in a kind of circular communication with each other; in each of which was a row of pillars. From between theſe pillars, which were in the open air, was the moſt agreeable proſpect imaginable of groves and well-planted gardens, ornamented with agreeable walks, ciſterns, and fountains. The avenues to this delightful place were burnt at the time of the internal diſſentions in Jeruſalem; and a party of the banditti proceeding towards the palace with the ſame intentions, ſet fire to the roofs of the three towers.

A diſmal conflagration.

When Solomon began to erect the temple, he ordered a wall to be raiſed to the eaſtward of the rock, which was ſo ſteep, that, without this precaution to ſupport the earth, ſo large a building could not have been carried on: beſides, the people conveyed ſo much earth to the ſummit of this hill, that its ſurface was ſoon conſiderably extended; and, after this, the north wall being broken down, the whole furniſhed ſufficient room for the foundation of this ſtupendous edifice. After this, they encompaſſed the hill with three walls, at a great expence; which, with other exigencies, (that is, including the upper and lower temples) were defrayed by contributions of the religious in moſt parts of the world, at different periods, for it was the work of many ages. Incredible as it may appear, the ſtones provided for this mighty undertaking were forty cubits in length.

The ſituation, magnificence, and ſtructure of the temple.

Wonderful as theſe foundations were, the ſuperſtructure was nothing inferior in point of grandeur. The upper galleries were all double, ſupported by uniform pillars of white marble, of the height of twenty-five cubits. Theſe galleries were wainſcotted with cedar of the ſmootheſt grain, and curiouſly wrought up. They were each thirty cubits in breadth; and, including the tower of Antonia, their whole circumference was ſix ſtadia.

In the open expoſures the ground was paved with a great variety of different ſtones; and the approach to the ſecond temple had ſtone balluſtrades on each ſide, three cubits in height, exquiſitely carved and poliſhed. The pillars in this paſſage, which were diſpoſed in regular order, were adorned with Latin and Greek inſcriptions, recommending the virtues of continence and charity, and prohibiting ſtrangers from entering into the ſacred place; for the ſecond temple, which was ſituated fourteen ſteps above the firſt, was deemed holy. Its figure was a regular ſquare, and it was ſurrounded by a wall, which was forty cubits on the outſide, and only twenty-five within, the other ſpace being covered by the ſteps that led up to it.

The women's oratory.

Above theſe fourteen ſteps there was a level ground of three hundred cubits up to the wall; from the end of which there were five more ſteps to the gates of the temple. There were likewiſe two ſteps from the eaſt, four from the north, and the ſame number from the ſouth. A particular place was appropriated for the worſhip of the women: it had a partition wall to it, in which were two gates, one on the north, and the other on the ſouth ſide; theſe were the only places at which the women were allowed to enter; nor was it lawful for them to paſs their own boundaries; but theſe entrances were free to ſtrangers as well as inhabitants. On the weſt ſide there was only a dead wall; between the gates above-mentioned, and oppoſite the interior wall, near the treaſury, there were galleries ſupported by pillars not much inferior to thoſe below.

Some of theſe gates were plated with gold and ſilver, even to the poſts and front; but on the exterior part of the temple there was one gate of Corinthian braſs, deemed more valuable than either of the other metals.

tals. Every gate had double doors, each thirty cubits in height, and fifteen in breadth. On the inſide of the doors there were withdrawing rooms, on each ſide, of thirty cubits ſquare, and above twenty cubits in height; they were built like turrets, and each was ſupported by pillars twelve cubits thick: the other gates were, in proportion, of ſimilar dimenſions. The Corinthian portal, on the eaſtern ſide of the temple, (the entrance appropriated to the women) was larger and more magnificent than all the others: it had forty gates, was fifty cubits in height, and was embelliſhed with a greater profuſion of gold and ſilver plates than had been beſtowed on the other nine gates, by Alexander, the father of Tiberius. From the wall that ſeparated the men from the women, there were fifteen ſteps to the great gate; and to each of the other gates there were twenty.

The holy ſanctuary.

Twelve ſtairs formed the aſcent to the place properly called the temple; that is, the ſacred temple or ſanctuary. The height of this building was one hundred cubits; the breadth of it, in front, was of equal extent; but, on the back, it was only ſixty; for on the entrance of it there were two additional raiſed buildings, each of twenty cubits. The firſt gate meaſured ſeventy cubits in height, and twenty-five in breadth; but it had no doors, being intended as an emblem of Heaven, and therefore left viſible to all mankind. The outſides and the front were gilt in a moſt coſtly manner; and the inſide had an equal effect to ſtrike the eye with an idea of grandeur.

The interior part of the ſanctuary was ſeparated into two partitions; and of theſe the firſt which appeared to view was open to the top, which was of the height of ninety cubits, of the length of forty, and of the breadth of twenty. The inſide of the gate was plated with gold, and the wall about it gilt on all parts. Depending from the top there were leaves and branches of vines, and large cluſters of grapes hanging down five or ſix feet; and all theſe were made of gold. The other diviſion of the temple was covered with a cieling, and therefore appeared the lower of the two. The doors which opened to it were fifty-five cubits in height, and ſixteen in breadth, and were made of gold. Before the doors hung a piece of Babylonian tapeſtry, of equal height and breadth with the doors; and this tapeſtry was a mixture of ſcarlet, purple, and blue, wrought up to the higheſt degree of art. Nor was this intermixture conſidered merely as a curioſity, but as a myſterious alluſion to the four elements, either by the materials of which the piece was formed, or the colours that were interwoven: for the ſcarlet repreſented fire; the ſilk itſelf the earth from which that fire was produced; the purple was held to be a reſemblance of the ſea; and the blue of the air.

The candleſtick, the table, and the altar.

The next place is the lower temple, which is twenty cubits broad, ſixty high, and the ſame number in length. At this period this length of ſixty cubits was divided into two parts, one of forty and the other of twenty. The diviſion which conſiſted of forty cubits contained three very extraordinary curioſities; which were, the candleſtick, the table, and the altar of incenſe. The candleſtick conſiſted of ſeven branches, proceeding from the ſame foundation, with ſeven lights, reſembling the ſeven planets. The twelve loaves of ſhew-bread on the table had reference to the twelve ſigns of the zodiack, which take their courſe through the ſeaſons of the year. In a cenſer on the altar of incenſe were placed thirteen kinds of perfumes, many of which were extracted from the bottom of the ſea; by which it was intended that we ſhould conſider God as the great ſovereign of the univerſe, and that every thing moſt valuable in it ſhould be devoted to his honour and glory.

Twenty cubits only was the height of the interior part of the temple, which was ſeparated from the other part by a veil, and was totally unfurniſhed. No perſon was permitted to enter into this place, or even to take a view of it. It was called the Sanctum Sanctorum, or Holy of Holies. There were ſeveral apartments on the ſides of this lower temple, which communicated one with another, and had three ſtories above them; and from them were paſſages that led out of the great gate. The upper part of the building being narrower than the other, the order of the chambers was diſproportioned; and though leſs ſplendid than the other, they were forty cubits in height. The elevation of the whole building was one hundred cubits.

Grandeur of the outſide of the temple.

The outſide of the temple was adorned with ſolid plates of gold, that rivalled the beauty of the riſing ſun, and were ſcarcely leſs dazzling to the eye than the beams of that luminary. Thoſe parts of the building that were not gilt, had the appearance of a pillar of ſnow, or a mountain of marble.

A great number of pointed ſpikes of gold were placed on the roof of the temple, as a preventive againſt the birds ſettling on and defiling it.

The altar which was ſituated before the temple had four angles ſomething like horns. It was forty cubits ſquare, and fifteen in height. This altar was approached on the ſouth ſide; but the aſcent was difficult, on account of the declivity of the ground. In the conſtruction of this altar no iron tool was uſed, nor did a hammer ever touch it.

The temple and the altar were incloſed; and the people were ſeparated from the prieſts by a partition of ſtone one cubit high, wrought in the moſt elegant manner.

Perſons infected with the leproſy, or other filthy diſorders, were not admitted into the temple, nor even ſuffered to reſide in the city. Women in certain circumſtances were likewiſe excluded from approaching this ſacred ſpot; and men were not permitted to paſs into the interior temple without having been firſt purified; and even then it was not lawful for them to aſſociate with the prieſts.

The prieſts to be exemplary in their lives.

It was requiſite that the prieſts who were to ſerve in the temple and at the altar ſhould be remarkably temperate and abſtemious. On every ſeventh day the high-prieſt uſed to advance to the altar, with the other prieſts, and likewiſe on the firſt day of each month, and alſo on ſuch annual feſtivals as occurred in the year. On theſe occaſions he officiated with a veil girt round him, which hung conſiderably below his waiſt: under this was a linen veil, which hung to the ground; and over theſe two garments he wore another of a violet colour, fringed at the bottom; to which were affixed golden bells and pomegranates admirably intermixed; the former being deſigned to repreſent thunder, and the other lightning. On his breaſt hung an ornament, fixed on with ribbands of various colours, viz. ſcarlet, violet, purple, gold colour, &c.

The ephod.

The ephod was likewiſe a compoſition of the ſame kind of colours; but the gold was the moſt prevalent: and, with regard to its ſhape, it bore a conſiderable reſemblance to that of a breaſt-plate. It was embelliſhed with the moſt coſtly ſardonyx ſtones, on which were inſcribed the names of the twelve tribes of Iſrael; and it was faſtened together by means of two buckles of gold which united as a claſp. From this ephod hung twelve valuable kinds of ſtones, in four rows of three each, viz. the ſardonyx, topaz, emerald, carbuncle, jaſper, ſapphire, agate, amethyſt, lynx, onyx, beryl, and chryſalite: and the names were inſcribed on theſe alſo.

The prieſt wore on his head a tiara of ſilk, on which was placed a crown of violet colour; and above that a crown of gold, on which the ſacred vowels were engraven.

The habit worn by the high-prieſt on ordinary days was leſs ſumptuous than that above-mentioned, it being reſerved for the ſerious annual ſolemnity, and then appropriated to the uſe of the high-prieſt alone; nor might he wear it, except when he entered into the Sanctum Sanctorum: for the annual feſtival was obſerved in the ſtricteſt and moſt ſolemn manner.

ort Antonia.

The fort Antonia was erected in an angle between the two galleries of the firſt temple, which angle faced the north and weſt. Its ſituation was on a rock, fifty cubits in height; and ſo ſteep on every ſide as to be inacceſſible. The rock on which this fort was built was faced with thin ſlabs of marble, deſigned equally as an ornament and a ſecurity; for this marble was ſo ſlippery, that it could not be aſcended or deſcended. The encloſure of the fort conſiſted only of a wall of three cubits in height; within which was ſituated the caſtle of Antonia, of forty cubits in extent. This caſtle was as ſtately and convenient as a court, being provided with lodging-rooms and offices for a variety of purpoſes, and extenſive halls and places of parade for the military: ſo that in fact, with regard to magnificence, it had the appearance of a palace. To the view it looked like a tower; it was encompaſſed by four other towers, ſituated, in a quadrangular form, at equal diſtances from each other. Of theſe towers, three were fifty cubits high, and the fourth ſeventy cubits. This fourth looked towards the eaſt and ſouth; and from it there was an excellent proſpect of the whole temple. There were two pair of ſtairs, one on the right and the other on the left hand of the ſpot where the galleries joined. Theſe ſtairs were for the purpoſe of the ſoldiers going into the temple; for at the time that Jeruſalem was in the hands of the Romans, guards were conſtantly ſtationed in this quarter, to prevent ſeditious riots, on occaſion of any public meeting or feſtival. The city was commanded by the temple, in the ſame manner as the temple was by the fort Antonia. On this fort there was a guard placed; and the palace of Herod was a kind of fort to the upper town. Bezeth, the higheſt of all the mountains, was detached, as before obſerved, from the fort Antonia, and annexed to part of the new town.

CHAP. VII.

The factions prevail in the city. Titus orders three attacks.

Strength of Simon.

AT this time Simon had an army of ten thouſand men, beſides a party of five thouſand Idumeans. Fifty captains were appointed over the ten thouſand, and twenty officers over the five thouſand, which laſt were the moſt mutinous of the whole faction: the chief of theſe mutineers were deemed to be Simon, the ſon of Cathlas, and James, the ſon of Soſas; but Simon was commander in chief of the united forces.

John in poſſeſſion of the temple.

John now held poſſeſſion of the temple; he had under him twenty captains, commanding ſix thouſand men. Two thouſand four hundred of the Zelotes likewiſe repaired to him, and enliſted under the command of Simon, the ſon of Jair, and Eleazar, who had formerly commanded them.

The two parties now oppoſing each other, the people fell ſacrifices to their mutual rage, and the moſt unoffending were the greateſt ſufferers. At this time Simon had poſſeſſion of the upper town, with the great wall as far as Cedron, and the old wall that extends to Siloe, and then, turning eaſtward, is continued to the palace of Monobazus. Now Monobazus, king of the Adiabenians, a people coming from the other ſide the Euphrates, was in poſſeſſion of the hill Acra, (the ſtation of the lower town) even to the royal reſidence of Helena, who was his own mother.

John keeps poſſeſſion of the temple.

During this period John ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the temple, and ſome of the places in its neighbourhood; but Ophlas, and the vale of Cedron, which was ſituated between him and Simon, had been conſumed to aſhes, and could anſwer no other purpoſe than that of a field of battle. Though the Romans were now in arms before the gates of the city, the tumult within continued to rage violently. Titus, after ſurveying the walls, concluded that the part of the line towards the ſepulchre of John, the high-prieſt, would be beſt expoſed to an attack.

Nicanor wounded.

But while he was exerting all the power of his oratory with Joſeph to prevail on the Jews to ſolicit a peace, an arrow was ſhot from the wall, which wounded Nicanor, (an intimate friend of Titus) in the left ſhoulder. This inſtance of ingratitude ſo incenſed Titus, that he inſtantly reſolved to make a formal attack on the town. He ordered his ſoldiers to plunder the ſuburbs without loſs of time, and to uſe the rubbiſh and ruins for platforms and other works. He ſeparated his army into three diviſions, aſſigning to each its proper duty. On the mounts, in the midſt of the main body, he ſtationed his archers and ſlingers, who were provided with engines to throw ſtones, and other miſſive annoyances; which anſwered the double purpoſe of keeping the enemy engaged on the walls, and of repelling their attacks.

John oppoſes the beſiegers.

The forces under the command of John vigorouſly oppoſed the beſiegers; while himſelf, in fear of Simon, dreaded to quit the temple. In the mean time Simon, being ſtationed near, was conſtantly in action. The ſhot and engines which he had heretofore taken from Ceſtius, and out of the fort Antonia, he placed along the wall; but his troops being unſkilled in the uſe and management of theſe engines, made very little advantage of them. The Jews occaſionally ſallied forth, and fought hand to hand with the Romans; who, however, defended their workmen by gabins and hurdles. Each of the Roman legions was provided with extraordinary machines for repelling attacks; particularly the tenth legion, which could could throw larger ſtones, and farther than the others. Each ſtone weighed a talent, and did execution to the top of the ramparts. They would even deſtroy at the diſtance of a furlong, a whole file falling before them wherever they came. The Jews ſometimes diſcerned theſe ſtones at a diſtance, from the whiteneſs of their colour, and by the noiſe which they made in the air: but the Romans at length giving them a different colour, they frequently deſtroyed great numbers of the Jews at a ſtroke.

Titus's preparations.

The works of the Romans were no ſooner compleated, than they took the diſtance between the mount and wall by a line and plummet; for it could not be effected in any other manner, owing to the ſhot and darts which were thrown down in abundance. When the place was found to be properly adapted for the battering rams, Titus directed that they ſhould be brought forward, and the other machines likewiſe, nearer the wall, that they might play with the greater convenience. In obedience to theſe orders three batteries began to play at the ſame time on three different parts of the wall. The noiſe occaſioned by theſe engines was heard in all parts of the city, and appeared not to be leſs dreaded even by the faction than it was by the citizens. At length the inſurgents, though divided among themſelves, finding that their danger was general, thought it might not be improper to unite in the defence of each other.

The factions again unite.

Hereupon they marched immediately in a body to the walls; where they had no ſooner taken their ſtations, than they fell with their fires and torches on the Roman engines; inceſſantly plying darts and other weapons on thoſe who had the conducting of them. During this, great numbers of the Jews adventurouſly deſcended from the walls on the engines, tearing the covers off, and attacking the guards who were appointed to their defence.

Titus appointed a party of horſe and archers to guard theſe machines, and who were alſo to find employment for the Jews on the walls, while the engineers ſhould carry on their operations. This attack, however, had for the preſent very little effect: indeed, the battering-ram of the fifth legion ſhook the corner of a tower, which being placed higher than the wall, it fell to the ground, without bringing any of the wall with it.

Some time having paſſed ſince the Jews had made any ſally, the Romans thought they were either tired or diſheartened, and thereupon wandered about as if in a ſtate of ſecurity. The Jews, noticing this inattention, ruſhed violently from a ſally port of the tower Hippocos; ſet fire the Roman works; and drove them back to their own camp. An alarm being immediately ſpread through the whole army, the Romans aſſembled from all parts to the aſſiſtance of their aſſociates. The Jews were for a while victorious, making an attack on every combined company they found: but the greateſt ſtruggle was near the engines, one party ſeeking to burn, and the other to preſerve them. The outcries of the contending parties rent the air; and many a gallant man was ſacrificed in the encounter. The Jews behaved with the moſt determined courage and intrepidity. By this time the fire had taken hold of the machines; and they would all have been deſtroyed, with thoſe who attended on them, but for the critical arrival of a ſelect party of Alexandrian troops, whoſe behaviour on the occaſion cannot be ſufficiently applauded, ſince it contributed, in a great degree, to the honour of the day.

Titus drives the Jews into the city.

The proceedings of the Jews were impeded by theſe troops, till the arrival of Titus, with a body of cavalry. He killed twelve men with his own hands, and drove the remainder of the party into the city. By this enterprize the engines were ſaved from deſtruction.

A Jew being made priſoner in the above mentioned engagement, Titus gave orders that he ſhould be crucified on the walls, in ſight of the people, to try what degree of influence might be produced by terror. Notwithſtanding this circumſtance, an Idumean officer, named John, was ſhot by an Arabian through the heart, with an arrow, as he was converſing before the walls with a ſoldier. Being a man equally diſtinguiſhed by his courage and wiſdom, his unfortunate end occaſioned great diſtreſs among thoſe to whom he was known.

CHAP VIII.

Several deſperate ſallies made by the Jews.

An alarm in the Roman camp.

A SINGULAR alarm happened about this period in the camp of the Romans. Orders having been given by Titus, for conſtructing three towers, each fifty cubits in height, on the ramparts, in order to have the command of the wall of the city, one of them fell ſuddenly to the ground during the night, and made ſo horrid a noiſe, that the whole army was exceedingly alarmed. The Romans, unacquainted with the cauſe of the noiſe, had immediate recourſe to their arms, and every legion was in a perfect tumult of confuſion; till Titus having informed himſelf of the accident, ordered proclamation of the fact to be made in every part of the camp; in conſequence of which the tumult at length ſubſided.

The Jews were unavoidably aſſailed from the remaining towers, by archers, ſlingers, &c. and by various ſorts of machines; for they could not carry up their platforms to a level with theſe turrets: they were of too ſolid a conſtructure to be thrown down; and being plated over with iron, it would have been a work of equal impracticability to burn them. All therefore that remained in the power of the Jews, was to keep at a diſtance. They diſtinguiſhed a battering-ram of the Romans by the name of Nicon, or Conqueror, the firſt breach having been made by it.

The ram Nicon.

The Jews quit the firſt wall, and retreat to the ſecond.

The Jews, now diſpirited by hard duty during the whole night, came to too haſty a determination of abandoning the firſt wall; as they had two others to depend on for their ſecurity. They therefore immediately retreated to the ſecond wall; on which ſome of the Romans aſcended the breach which had been before made, and opened the gates to the whole army. They became maſters of the firſt wall on the ſeventh day of the month Artemeſius, a great part of which they deſtroyed; and alſo the northern quarter of the city, which had heretofore been ravaged by Ceſtius.

They make ſeveral bold ſallies.

Titus, after this, withdrew to a place known by the name of the Aſſyrians Camp, poſſeſſing himſelf of all between that and the valley of Cedron, the diſtance of which from the ſecond wall is ſomething more than a bow-ſhot. From this place he came to a reſolution of beginning his attack, and immediately commenced his operations. The Jews took their ſtations in a regular manner on the wall, where they made a formidable oppoſition. John and his aſſociates commanded the troops in the fortreſs Antonia, and from the ſepulchre of Alexander on the north of the temple. From the monument of John, the high-prieſt, to the gate by which water is conveyed to the tower Hippocos, Simon and his people held the command. A number of reſolute ſallies were made by the Jews, in which they came to cloſe quarters with the Romans; but the military knowledge of the latter was more than a counterpoiſe to the deſperation of the Jews, who were repulſed with conſiderable loſs; yet, on the walls, they had the advantage. It ſhould be obſerved that the Romans were now fighting for glory, and the Jews for life and ſecurity: they were therefore continually employing themſelves in violent aſſaults, and deſperate ſallies and combats of every kind. Their labours commenced with the day, and were ſuſpended only by the darkneſs of night. On this occaſion the Jews deſpiſed danger and death ſo much, that they ſeemed emulous who ſhould brave them moſt undauntedly, as a recommendation to their ſuperiors. They entertained ſo perfect a veneration for Simon, that they would cheerfully have ſacrificed their lives to his ſervice.

At this period a large party of Jews were aſſembled in military order before the walls, and had approached ſo near to the Romans, that lances and blows might be mutually exchanged. At this critical juncture one of the Roman cavalry, named Longinus, galloped forward into the midſt of the enemy, and killed two of the beſt ſoldiers among them, ſtriking one through the jaws with his lance, and then, with the ſame weapon running the other through the body; which being done, he expeditiouſly retreated to the Romans unhurt.

The gallantry of Longinus.

CHAP. IX.

The courage, craft, and treachery of Caſtor, a Jew.

THE tower on the north ſide of the city was the object againſt which the battering-ram was now directed. Thoſe who defended this tower were aſſailed by Titus with ſuch repeated flights of arrows, that every man abandoned his poſt, except a crafty Jew, of the name of Caſtor, and ten of his aſſociates, who concealed themſelves behind the battlements. Theſe having remained quiet for a conſiderable time, at length felt a ſhock, by the force of which the tower appeared to be ſhaken to its foundations. On this alarm they quitted their ſtation; and Caſtor, aſſuming the language, manner, and behaviour, of a ſuppliant, entreated that Titus would grant him quarter; who, willing to believe that the Jews were now tired of the war, directed that his archers ſhould ceaſe their operations: at the ſame time informing Caſtor, that if he had any propoſals to make, he would attend to what he had to ſay. To which Caſtor replied, that it was his utmoſt ambition to commence a treaty: and Titus anſwered, "I grant you the opportunity, with all my heart." In conſequence of this offer, five out of the ten who aſſociated with Caſtor pretended to join him in opinion; but the other five exclaimed that they would never ſubmit to live ſlaves, while it was in their power to die freemen. A ſtop was put to all hoſtilities, during the period that this treaty was in agitation. In the interim, however, Caſtor ſent privately to Simon, deſiring that he would make the beſt advantage of the preſent opportunity, and ſubmit to his management the beſt method of amuſing the Roman general, under pretence of recommending terms of peace to his aſſociates. In a word, Caſtor acted his part with ſo much artifice, that ſwords were drawn, blows paſſed, and men appeared to be killed: but the whole device was founded in falſhood and diſſimulation.

Caſtor conceals himſelf.

His policy.

Titus and his people were aſtoniſhed at the ſtubborn obſtinacy and perſevering reſolution of the Jews; and, at the ſame time, entertained a generous compaſſion for their diſtreſs; but having the diſadvantage of the ground, they could not be proper judges of what was done above them. At this juncture Caſtor received a wound in his noſe from an arrow; but immediately drawing it out, he ſhewed it to Titus, ſeeming thereby to demand juſtice.

Titus was ſo enraged at this injury, that he ordered Joſeph to go immediately to Caſtor, and give him all poſſible aſſurances of his friendſhip. But Joſeph deſired to be excuſed from executing this commiſſion, in which he not only conſulted his own ſafety, but likewiſe diſſuaded ſuch of his friends who would have undertaken it, aſſuring them that this apparent ſubmiſſion was founded in the deepeſt treachery. However, Æneas, who had deſerted from the Jews, ſeemed willing to undertake this expedition, to which he was the rather encouraged by Caſtor's directing him to bring with him ſomething in which to put a ſum of money, with which he apparently intended to compliment him. Thus encouraged, Æneas advanced; when Caſtor let fall a large ſtone from the wall, and the ambaſſador narrowly eſcaped being cruſhed by it, for it wounded the man who ſtood next to him.

Æneas narrowly eſcape

From this circumſtance Titus was aware of the ill conſequences of ill-timed benevolence. He thereupon began to ply his batteries with greater violence than heretofore, in order to revenge himſelf for the contumacious affront that had been offered him by Caſtor and his aſſociates. When the batteries had played ſome time, Caſtor and his people found that the tower ſhook under them, and appeared to be on the eve of falling; on which they ſet fire to it, and, running through the flames, eſcaped into a vault. The Romans imagined that, by this action, they had devoted themſelves to certain deſtruction, and were generous enough to extol their great courage.

Caſtor and his party eſcape through the flames.

Titus took poſſeſſion of this part of the wall, at the end of five days from the time that he had become maſter of the firſt. The paſſage to the ſecond wall being now opened, the Jews fled before him: having ſelected a thouſand of his beſt troops, he entered the city at that quarter inhabited by the ſaleſmen, clothiers, and braziers, and paſſed up the narrow croſs ſtreets to the wall. The laws of war would have juſtified Titus in breaking down this wall; and if he had inſtantly demoliſhed the greater part of it, he would certainly have obtained a compleat victory with very inconſiderable loſs; but reflecting on the utter diſtreſs to which the Jews would on the one hand be reduced, if they continued to make reſiſtance, and on the other, how eaſy a matter it would be for them to effect their eſcape, if they were diſpoſed ſo to do, generous ſentiments once more prevailed in his breaſt; as he flattered himſelf that they would think properly of their ſituation.

CHAP. X.

A ſevere famine rages in the city.

NO ſooner had Titus entered the town than he iſſued orders that not a ſingle houſe ſhould be burnt, nor even one priſoner put to the ſword. He was ſo indulgent even to the faction, that he offered to permit them to end their own diſputes among themſelves, if they would engage not to oppreſs the inhabitants. To theſe laſt likewiſe he promiſed that he would ſupport them in all their legal poſſeſſions, and that what had been taken from them by violence ſhould be reſtored.

The humanity of Titus.

Theſe terms were highly agreeable to the majority of the people; but the faction, aſcribing the generoſity of Titus to fear, threatened inſtant death to any perſon who ſhould propoſe a treaty of reconciliation.

No ſooner, therefore, had the Romans entered the city, than the Jews did all in their power to obſtruct their progreſs: they blocked up the narrow paſſages, ſhot at them from the houſes; and, making frequent ſallies from the walls, often compelled the guards to abandon the towers, and ſeek refuge in the camp. The ſoldiers within the city were in the utmoſt confuſion; and thoſe without were agitated in the higheſt degree, on account of the apprehended fate of their companions. Several ſmart encounters enſued between the oppoſing parties; but the Jews being more numerous than the Romans, and likewiſe better acquainted with bye-ways and ſecret paſſes, obtained repeated advantages; the breaches being likewiſe too narrow for any number to march out abreaſt, the Romans would have been preſſed to ſuch a degree, that ſcarcely a man of them would have eſcaped, if Titus had not arrived in the critical conjuncture: he placed a band of archers at the end of every ſtreet; was himſelf preſent in every place of the greateſt danger; and, being ſeconded by Domitus Sabinus, (a gallant man, who performed ſingular feats of courage on the occaſion) the Jews were ſo annoyed by darts and lances, that the Romans had an opportunity of bringing off their men. Thus the Romans were driven from the ſecond wall, after they had gained poſſeſſion of it.

The Romans driven from the ſecond wall.

A ſevere famine now raged in the city, the effects of which were daily felt in a moſt ſenſible manner. Hitherto the ruin of the public had been the ſupport of the inſurgents; and they had, almoſt literally, drank of the blood of the citizens. The moſt worthy of the inhabitants were reduced to great diſtreſs, many falling ſacrifices to abſolute want.

The Romans now made another attempt to recover poſſeſſion of the wall. They made almoſt conſtant aſſaults for the ſpace of three ſucceſſive days: during which period they were repulſed with equal valour by the Jews. Titus, however, made ſo furious a charge on the fourth day, that his opponents were no longer able to reſiſt his force; whereupon he took poſſeſſion of the wall, the northern part of which he deſtroyed; and in all the towers to the ſouthward he inſtantly placed garriſons.

Titus regains the wall.

CHAP. XI.

The Jews addreſſed by Joſeph.

THE ſtorming of the third wall now engaged the attention of Titus: but as he did not deem it a work that would be attended with much time or difficulty, he firſt conſidered how, by more lenient methods, he might bring the people to conſider their true intereſt; hoping that they might be induced to liſten to him, through the dread of his power, and the fear of famine; for by this time their plunder and proviſion were near conſumed; while, on the contrary, the forces under Titus were ſupplied with every thing for which they could wiſh. This being the caſe, Titus iſſued orders that, on the day of a general muſter, his troops ſhould be drawn up, and paid within view of the enemy. On this occaſion the infantry advanced with drawn ſwords; and the led horſes were adorned in ſo ſplendid a manner, that gold and ſilver ſeemed to prevail over all the field. The courage of the braveſt among the Jews was ſomewhat repreſſed by this appearance; and in all probability they would have now ſubmitted to the Romans, had it not been for a conſciouſneſs that they had offered provocations of ſuch a nature as not to be readily pardoned.

He pays his troops within ſight of the Jews.

After four days ſpent without any act of hoſtility, and in procuring proviſions for the camp, Titus on the fifth ſeparated his army into two diviſions; and finding that the Jews were not in the leaſt diſpoſed to peace, he cauſed works to be thrown up againſt the fort of Antonia, near the monument of John, in the hope that from that quarter he might get poſſeſſion of the upper town, and then, from Antonia, become poſſeſſed of the temple; for it was impoſſible to keep poſſeſſion of the city, unleſs that fort was taken. He made ſeparate attacks againſt each of theſe two places; and at every riſing ground he placed a legion of ſoldiers to protect and defend the engineers. Thoſe who carried on their works near the monument were violently aſſailed by the Jews, and the people under the command of Simon; while thoſe who oppoſed the fort Antonia were ſtill vigorouſly oppoſed by

He prepares his army for action.

by the party of John and the Zelotes in his direction; for theſe had the advantage of the higher ground, and were alſo ſupplied with machines, of the uſe of which they were now perfectly acquainted, in conſequence of daily practice. The Zelotes had likewiſe the poſſeſſion of forty ſlings for ſtones, and three hundred croſs-bows, by which the Romans were much annoyed.

Titus addreſſes the Jews.

Joſeph harangues the multitude.

Titus, who wiſhed to avoid the neceſſary cruelties of war, perſonally addreſſed the Jews, requeſting that they would have ſo much regard to their own intereſt as to ſurrender a place of which he could make himſelf maſter at any time. This done, he committed the reſt to Joſeph; thinking that when they were addreſſed by their own countryman, and in a familiar language, ſucceſs would probably be the conſequence. Joſeph, therefore, firſt walked through ſeveral parts of the city; and then ſtopping on an elevated ſpot, within the hearing of the enemy, though not within reach of their ſhot, made a ſpeech, in which he repreſented the dreadful effects of the famine which then raged among them, aggravated by the deſtruction already made by the Romans, who had ſtill the means of extending their ſucceſſes. He ſaid, that when ſuperior force prevailed, it was no diſgrace to yield at once, rather than continue the miſeries of war to no effect: if, however, they thought otherwiſe, and ſuffered the Romans to ſtorm the city, they muſt prepare to fall by the point of the ſword.

This harangue had no other effect than to irritate the people, who treating his admonitions with contempt and ridicule, pelted him with ſtones. He therefore changed his mode of argument; and adverted to the hiſtory of former times; requeſting them to reflect on the glorious exploits of their anceſtors, and the ſignal deliverances with which they were favoured by heaven, through the ſacredneſs of the place which they had now violated by every ſpecies of wickedneſs. He particularly mentioned the forbearance of Abraham, who, when Sarah was carried away by Pharoah Necho, king of Egypt, inſtead of revenging the injury, as he might have done, by force, piouſly offered up his prayers for Divine aſſiſtance; in conſequence of which Sarah was ſent back uncontaminated the ſecond night after her capture. He begged them to recollect their bondage in Egypt for four hundred years, during part of which time they could have obtained their liberty by force, had they preferred it to a patient reſignation to the will of their merciful Creator, whoſe ſignal intervention in their favour ought never to be forgotten. He alſo adverted to the taking of the ark by the Aſſyrians; the prodigious army of Sennacherib, king of Aſſyria; the deſtruction of Jeruſalem in the time of Zedekiah; and, laſtly, he repreſented the burning of Jeruſalem as the act of the Jews. "If nothing elſe," ſaid he, "will have weight with you, conſider the miſerable ſituation of your parents, your wives, your children, and all of thoſe who depend on you, to whom the famine and the ſword threaten equal deſtruction, even in the moment that I am thus appealing to you. It is poſſible it may be urged, that as I have a wife, a mother, and a family, (heretofore of ſome conſideration) whoſe fate will be involved in the common danger, I have given this advice on their account, and with a view to my own intereſt: but I hereby pledge myſelf, that if the ſurrendering their lives, or my own, or the lives of all of us, will contribute to the common ſafety, the ſacrifice ſhall cheerfully be made, on the ſingle condition that you will act with more wiſdom and integrity when our lives have paid the forfeit."

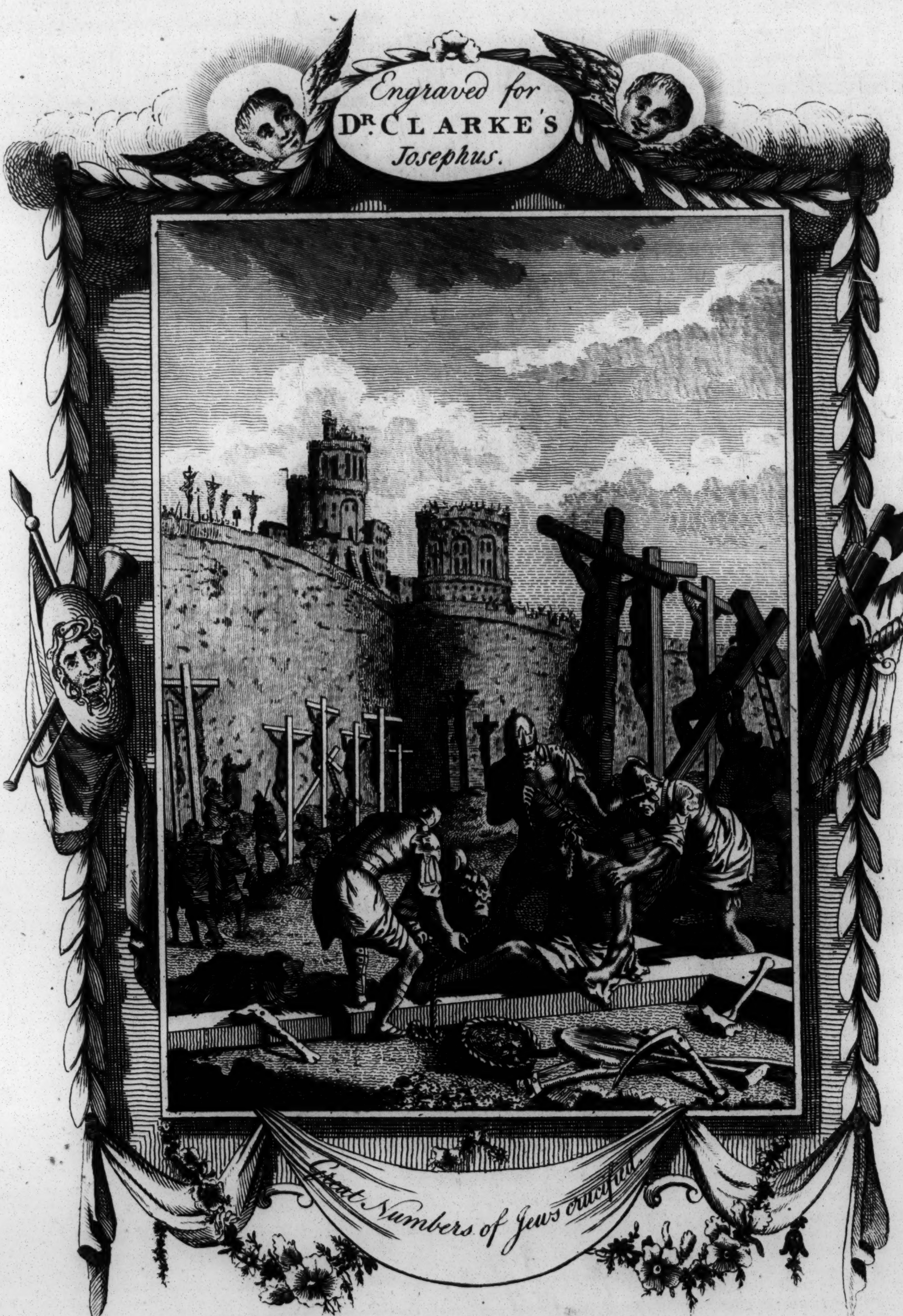
The faction reject the terms offered by the Romans.

Some of the people eſcape.

Joſeph wept abundantly at the recital of his own ſpeech; but it appeared to make no impreſſion on the oppoſing faction, who did not think that they could, with ſafety, agree to the terms offered by the Romans, even if they had been diſpoſed ſo to have done. But of the common people, many were ſo impreſſed with what had been ſaid, that they began to conſider on the moſt effectual means of conſulting their ſafety by flight: and for this purpoſe they ſold all their moſt valuable effects, though at prices greatly inferior to their real worth; and ſwallowed the gold they received as the purchaſe money, leſt they ſhould be ſtripped of it in their journey. Thus provided, they repaired to the Romans, where they were ſupplied with what they wanted. In the interim Titus permitted the deſerters to enjoy their full liberty; which was an encouragement to others to deſert, as they avoided the misfortunes of thoſe in the city, without being ſubjected to the enemy. However, Simon and John, and their adherents, placed guards at all the outlets; and were not leſs aſſiduous to keep the citizens from departing, than the Romans from making an entrance. The leaſt cauſe of ſuſpicion was ſufficient to deprive a man of his life; or even a pretence on which to found a ſuſpicion, had the ſame effect. Perſons in affluent circumſtances were certain to be ſufferers: thoſe who had any thing to loſe were aſſuredly ſuſpected, and that ſuſpicion ended in their final deſtruction.

The faction now grew more tumultuous, and the famine daily encreaſed. When corn was no longer offered to ſale, they broke open houſes in ſearch of it; and if none was diſcovered, the owners were tortured, to make them declare where their ſtores were depoſited; and if it was diſcovered,

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

Great Numbers of Jews crucified

Publish'd as the Act directs, Octr. 14 1786, by J. Walker, Paternoster Row

covered, they were ſeverely puniſhed for concealing it. The very appearance of the wretched was conſtrued into the effect of guilt. If they ſeemed to be in health, it was inferred that they had a ſecret ſupply of proviſions. Thoſe who were in a low habit of body were immediately killed; though it appeared to be a work of ſupererogation to deſtroy thoſe who were already periſhing for want of the common neceſſaries of life. At length, ſuch was the diſtreſs, that people in tolerable circumſtances diſpoſed of their whole effects for a buſhel of wheat, and the poorer people for an equal quantity of barley. The purchaſes being made, they ſecluded themſelves from all obſervation; when ſome of them began to eat the corn before it was ground, while others only waited till it was baked. The ceremony of ſetting out a table was totally diſpenſed with; and happy was he who could ſnatch a morſel of meat, half raw, half roaſted, from the fire.

Dreadful conſequences of the famine.

Starving is, beyond all doubt, the moſt horrid kind of death; for it deprives people of the common emotions of humanity*. The wife ſeized the meat from the mouth of the huſband; the child from the parent, and even the mother from that of the infant which lay periſhing in her arms. Whenever a houſe was obſerved to be ſhut up, it was concluded that thoſe within had ſomething to eat; wherefore it was broke open, and the meat ſeized even from the mouths of the perſons who were about to ſwallow it. Neither age nor ſex was ſpared: the old men, for endeavouring to defend their proviſion, were beaten violently; and the women, for a like conduct, were dragged by their hair.

Nothing was deemed a more atrocious offence, than for the unhappy man who was purſued to eat his bread before he was overtaken. Perſons ſuſpected of having concealed food were tortured in the moſt exquiſite manner: ſharp ſticks were thruſt up their bodies; and they were otherwiſe ſo ſeverely treated, that the recital would give horror in the extreme.

Theſe calamities were greatly aggravated by the conſideration, that thoſe who occaſioned them had not the plea of neceſſity to urge in their juſtification.

Such was the treatment that the common people received from the ſoldiers: but perſons of higher rank were carried before the uſurpers, who ordered ſome of them to be put to death on charges of treaſon; as a colour for which, falſe witneſſes were continually produced, to ſwear that theſe unhappy perſons had an intention of betraying the city to the Romans. Thoſe who had been plundered by Simon were carried to John; and the priſoners brought to John were ordered to Simon; as if they had mutually agreed to augment the diſtreſſes of their fellow-creatures. In a word, though Simon and John conteſted for ſuperiority, they entertained ſimilar ſentiments with reſpect to uſurpation and tyranny.

In ſhort, I am fully convinced that ſuch barbarous wretches, and ſuch a miſerable city, never before exiſted. As an apology for their inhumanity to ſtrangers, theſe lawleſs vagabonds calumniated the whole Hebrew people. In conſequence of their atrocious conduct, the city was laid in aſhes, and the temple burnt; for their precipitancy gave riſe to theſe horrid facts, againſt the inclination of Titus, who was compelled to the violent procedure. While the upper town was burning, the Romans gave many proofs of their benevolent feelings; but the Jews neither heaved a ſigh, nor ſhed a tear on the occaſion.

CHAP. XII.

An obſtinate encounter between the Romans and Jews.

TITUS, in the mean time, plied his operations with inceſſant aſſiduity; in the courſe of which he loſt many men from the walls. The poorer ſort of the Jews had a practice of quitting the city in the night, to ſearch for the neceſſaries of life; and in theſe excurſions they were frequently attended by ſuch ſoldiers who could not obtain ſufficient food within the city.

The miſerable diſtreſs of the Jews.

Titus, being aware of this circumſtance, ſent a party of his cavalry to wait for them in the vallies. The Jews finding themſelves enſnared, were compelled to fight, in the dread of a puniſhment even worſe than death in battle: and, in fact, it was now too late to think of demanding quarter. They were, however, ſubdued; and having firſt been put to a variety of tortures, were crucified in ſight of their beſieged brethren. This rigour was diſagreeable to Titus; but he could not ſpare men enough to attend them as priſoners; nor did he think it prudent to give liberty to ſuch a number; which was indeed ſo great, that croſſes were wanted, and even room, for executing them. Yet this horrid ſpectacle wrought an effect on the faction directly contrary to what was intended; for the friends and relations of the fugitives were compelled to go down to the walls, and obſerve the torture that was to be expected by thoſe who deſerted to the Romans: and on this occaſion it was inſiſted that the ſufferers were not priſoners of war, but deſerters who had made their ſubmiſſion, and implored mercy.

Crucified in ſight of the beſieged.

Titus therefore ordered that ſeveral of the

---

* See Spanheim's notes on Callimachus.

the priſoners ſhould have their hands cut off; and in this condition he ſent them to John and Simon, ſo that it was not poſſible they ſhould be miſtaken for deſerters: by theſe people he ſent notice that an end might be put to the war, before he ſhould be abſolutely compelled to deſtroy the city; intimating that the Jews, on a proper ſubmiſſion, had yet an opportunity of preſerving their lives, their country, and their temple. Titus, however, did not neglect to forward his works, having determined that what could not be effected by reaſon, ſhould be attempted by force.

Titus forwards his works.

In the interim, the Jews on the walls execrated both Veſpaſian and Titus; declaring that they held their liberties more ſacred than their lives; that they were above the fears of death; and that if they could torment the Romans, they deſpiſed every conſequence. With regard to the temple, they ſaid that the univerſe was the more magnificent edifice; or, at any rate, they thought that the Almighty would protect his own houſe.

By this time Antiochus Epiphanes was arrived, having under his command a body of armed troops; among whom was one particular company of young men, nearly of an age, who were accoutred, and had been trained after the Macedonian manner, from whence they obtained the name of Macedonians; though neither their birth nor characters gave them claim to that name. There never was a prince who had been ſo fortunate in the firſt part of his life as the king of Comagena; but fortune forſook him in the decline of life. He had a ſon, diſtinguiſhed by great perſonal ſtrength, a ſpirit uncommonly enterprizing, and a degree of courage that approached to raſhneſs. This ſon, on a particular day, obſerved to Titus, that it was amazing the Romans did not vigorouſly aſſault the city. To which Titus, ſmiling, replied, that the opportunity was open to thoſe who were diſpoſed to make the attack. Antiochus, on this, inſtantly advanced with his Macedonians; and, in the courſe of the aſſault (which, however, proved unſucceſsful) gave proof of his courage and military ſkill: his followers, who had boaſted what great actions they could perform, thought it would be diſhonourable to retreat; and, in conſequence, moſt of them were either killed or wounded.

Attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes.

The Romans began their platforms heretofore mentioned, on the twelfth of the month Artemiſius; and, after ſeventeen days inceſſant labour, compleated them on the twenty-ninth. There were four of theſe platforms; and they were works of a very capital nature. One of them, which was near the fortreſs of Antonia, was conſtructed by the fifth legion, oppoſite the middle of the Struthian Pool: the twelfth legion threw up another, at the diſtance of twenty cubits from the former: oppoſite to the pool named Amygdalon, another work was thrown up by the tenth legion, which was more numerous than the other legions; and a fourth mount was erected by the fifteenth legion, at a ſmall diſtance from the monument erected to the memory of John, the high-prieſt.

As ſoon as the works above-mentioned were compleated, John gave directions for digging a mine under that facing Antonia, and that a number of props ſhould ſupport the earth from falling. This being done, the wood-work was covered with a bituminous inflammable matter; after which he ordered the pillars to be fired; and the props being deſtroyed, the whole fortification fell to the ground with a hideous craſh. At firſt only duſt and ſmoke appeared; but at length the flames burſting forth to view, the Romans were perfectly diſtracted at the defeat of their views.

John ſets fire to the works.

Two days after this, Simon and his aſſociates made an attempt on the other mounts, where the Romans had by this time planted their battering-rams, and begun their operations. Jeptheus, a Galilean, of the city of Garſis; Megaſſarus, a domeſtic of Queen Mariamne; and Agiras, the ſon of Nabateus of Adiabena, greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion. They ran with torches in their hands; and, forcing their way through the enemy with apparent unconcern, ſet fire to the works; and though oppoſed by darts and arrows, they reſolutely perſevered, till the whole erection was in a flame.

Simon attempts the other mounts.

The Romans uſed every effort to ſave the battering-rams; the covers of which were by this time conſumed: but the Jews advanced even into the flames to prevent them; nor would they let go their hold, though the iron work was then of a burning heat. There was now no poſſibility of preventing the fire paſſing to the ramparts; and when the Romans found that they were encompaſſed with flames, they retreated to their camp.

The Romans retire.

Such numbers from without the city now came into the Jews, that this additional aid inſpired them with ſuch courage, that, fluſhed with the hope of conqueſt, they advanced even to the Roman camp, and made an attack on the guards: but they were repulſed with great bravery.

When Titus returned from Antonia, he made a ſelection of ſome of his beſt troops; and, ſurrounding the Jews, charged them in flank; while they, on the other hand, ſuſtained the charge with aſtoniſhing reſolution. When the two parties met, there was ſuch a horrid noiſe, and the durſt flew in ſuch clouds, that it was impoſſible to ſee or hear any thing diſtinctly; nor could friends be diſtinguiſhed from foes. But the Romans were ſo enraged, partly from a ſenſe of military honour, and partly from a concern for the ſafety of their general, who was in imminent danger, that if the Jews had not opportunely retreated to the city, they would have been utterly deſtroyed. Still, however, the Romans were hurt at having loſt their bulwarks; and that what they had been ſo long in erecting ſhould be demoliſhed almoſt in an hour.

CHAP. XIII.

A council ſummoned by Titus.

Various opinions of the officers.

IN this critical ſituation of affairs, Titus iſſued orders that his principal officers ſhould be ſummoned to a council, to adviſe with him how to act. Some of the moſt violent among them recommended an immediate attack with the whole army; but thoſe of more reflection were for re-erecting the ramparts; while a third party were totally againſt having any fortifications, but adviſed that care might be taken that no proviſions ſhould be carried into the city; truſting that famine would effectually do the buſineſs.

Titus's determination.

Titus ſaid, that expedition ought to be preferred to glory; and that the moſt effectual way to obtain the object of their wiſhes, in a ſhort and certain manner, was to erect a wall round the whole city; which would prevent the inhabitants from making excurſions.

He therefore directed his officers immediately to begin the erection of the wall, and ordered the whole army to take a ſhare in the buſineſs.

The courſe of the wall.

This wall commenced at a place named the Camp of the Aſſyrians, where Titus himſelf held his head quarters. Hence it was continued to the lower Cænopolis, and carried forward by the way of Cedron to Mount Olivet, which was encloſed to the ſouth as far as the rock Periſtereon, and this incloſure comprehended an adjacent hill which commands the vale of Siloah. From this place it inclined ſomewhat to the weſt, and was carried on to the valley of the Fountain. Its next direction was to the ſepulchre of Ananus, the high-prieſt; after this it incloſed the mountain on which Pompey had heretofore encamped. It then turned to the north, and was extended to a village named Erebinthonicus. It included the ſepulchre of Herod on the eaſt ſide; and ſoon afterwards was joined to that part of the wall where the building originally commenced.

Nine and thirty furlongs was the whole extent of this wall; and thirteen forts were erected on the outſide of it, ten furlongs being the compaſs of each fort. It is ſomewhat extraordinary, but no leſs ſo than true, that this amazing work was compleated in three days; though an equal number of months might have been a more reaſonable time. As ſoon as it was finiſhed, garriſons were placed in all the forts, who did duty under arms every night. On each night, likewiſe, Titus went the firſt round in perſon, Tiberius Alexander the ſecond, and the officers who commanded the legions the third. Some perſons were conſtantly on guard in the forts during the whole night; but ſome of the ſoldiers were allowed to reſt, alternately with others who were appointed to watch.

The wall finiſhed in three days.

CHAP. XIV.

Four ramparts erected at the fortreſs Antonia.

THE above-mentioned incloſure of the Jews within the town reduced them to the laſt degree of deſpair; for by this time the famine had encreaſed to ſuch a height, that whole families were ſacrificed to its rage. The dead bodies of women and children were ſeen in every houſe: old men were found dead in all the narrow lanes of the city; while the younger who were yet able to walk, appeared like ghoſts. It became impoſſible to commit the bodies of the dead to the ground: many of the living were unable to perform this office; while others were unwilling to undertake it, partly diſcouraged by the numbers of the deceaſed, and partly by the reflection that themſelves could not ſurvive long. Numbers expired while they were burying their fellow-citizens; and ſome, prompted by deſpair, ſought their own graves, and interred themſelves, that they might be certain of a place of repoſe. Yet, miſerably diſtreſsful as the preſent ſituation of theſe wretched people was, not a ſingle complaint or lamentation was heard: for the pangs of exceſſive hunger abſorbed every other paſſion. Thoſe who laſt expired beheld thoſe who had gone before them, with unweeping eyes, and looks marked with the near approach of death. During the courſe of the night, heaps of dead bodies were frequently piled on each other: yet a more melancholy part of the ſtory ſtill remains untold. This aroſe from the brutal inſolence of a number of abandoned thieves, who broke into the houſes, that at this time appeared only like charnel-houſes; and, having ſtripped the bodies of the dead, they derided their ſituation: excluſive of which they ran their ſwords into the bodies of perſons who lay half expiring. When any deſpairing wretch called for ſome friendly hand to diſpatch him by a ſword, that he might no longer endure the miſeries of famine, this earneſt requeſt was conſtantly refuſed with the moſt unfeeling barbarity. When any of the unfortunate reached the moment of death, they turned their faces to the temple, and thus cloſed their eyes; lamenting at the ſame time that the vile incendiaries who had profaned the holy place, ſhould be yet left among the living. When the offenſive ſmells ariſing from the corruption of the dead bodies became inſupportable, an order was given that all of them ſhould be buried at the public expence: the abandoned incendiaries threw them from the walls into the vallies; a ſight that occaſioned ſo much horror to Titus, that while he was going his rounds, and found the ditches infected with dead bodies, and peſtilential vapours ariſing from them, he extended his hands towards Heaven, and made a ſolemn appeal to God, that theſe misfortunes aroſe not from any orders that he had given.

The Romans make a diſplay of their riches.

Encouraged by their better fortune, many of the Romans advanced to the walls, and made an oſtentatious diſplay of their poſſeſſions, with a view to reflect on the neceſſities of thoſe who were in diſtreſs. But this appeared to have no effect on the unfeeling minds of the ſeditious multitude: whereupon Titus, in compaſſion to the reſidue of an unhappy people, determined on the erection of new works, and reſolved that no time ſhould be loſt in their completion. One conſiderable difficulty, indeed, now occurred; which was, providing the proper materials for carrying theſe works into execution; for all the wood in the neighbourhood of the city had been previouſly cut down: wherefore they were under a neceſſity of fetching all the timber for this ſecond ſupply from the diſtance of ninety furlongs: and herewith four ramparts of greater magnitude than the former were erected at the fortreſs Antonia. Titus carried on this buſineſs with great aſſiduity; and the beſieged being now at his mercy, he plainly hinted to them that he knew their ſituation. Still, however, they ſhewed no concern for what had happened: they ſeemed to have no regard for themſelves, or each other. Thoſe who were decaying with ſickneſs they confined in priſons; and tore the dead in pieces, as dogs would have done.

Four large ramparts erected at the fort of Antonia.

CHAP. XV.

Matthias murdered. The city ſurprized by Simon.

MATTHIAS, who was the means of admitting Simon into the city, was the ſon of a prieſt named Boethus, whom the people held in high eſteem. The Zelotes having treated the Jews with very unwarrantable ſeverity, and John having joined the former, Matthias recommended that Simon might be called in to their aſſiſtance; but took no previous precaution, nor made any condition with regard to his conduct. Such, however, was the ingratitude of Simon, that as ſoon as he had become maſter of the city, he treated Matthias as one of his worſt enemies; and the advice the latter had given for opening the ports was attributed to mere thoughtleſſneſs. On this weak pretence Matthias was brought to trial, and charged with holding a correſpondence with the Romans; and, without any kind of proof, ſentence of death was paſſed on him and three of his ſons, without permiting them to urge a ſingle argument in their defence: a fourth ſon had fortunately made his eſcape to the Romans. The venerable old man earneſtly requeſted that he might ſuffer firſt himſelf; but even this poor favour Simon denied. The iſſue of this horrid affair was, that the good old Matthias was put to death laſt, and on the bodies of his ſons, within view of the Romans, agreeable to an order which Simon gave to Ananus, the moſt cruel inſtrument among his dependants. Simon, in the moment that Ananus was preparing to give the fatal ſtroke, ſaid to Matthias, with an air of inſolence—"You had intended to have deſerted to the Romans: let them now afford you aſſiſtance, if it be in their power." The barbarity was carried ſtill farther; for Simon gave expreſs orders that the bodies ſhould be denied the rites of ſepulture.

The cruelty of Simon towards Matthias.

About this time the following perſons were alſo put to death: Ananias, the prieſt, the ſon of Maſbalus, deſcended of a noble family; Ariſteus, a native of Ammaus; and fifteen others of the principal people in the city. The father of Joſeph was committed to priſon, and a proclamation iſſued that no one ſhould go near him, on pain of incurring the penalties of treaſon. It was likewiſe declared that thoſe who expreſſed any ſentiments of pity for the unfortunate ſufferers ſhould be put to death.

Soon after theſe tranſactions, Judas, (the ſon of Judas, one of Simon's officers) commander of one of the turrets, being highly concerned for the ſufferings of the people, and willing alſo to conſult his own ſafety, ſummoned ten of his moſt intimate friends, to whom he repreſented the barbarity of Simon, alledging, that the man who enjoyed his confidence one day, might the next be ſacrificed by his orders: and that, the Romans being almoſt within their walls, the moſt prudent meaſure they could adopt, would be to ſurrender the turret, while they had it in their power.

Judas reſolves to ſurrender to the Romans.

Having come to this reſolution, Judas ſent the reſt of his people different ways, in order to keep his intentions ſecret: about the third hour of the day he advanced to the turret; and, addreſſing himſelf to the Romans, intimated what had been agreed on. Some of the Romans paid no regard to what he ſaid; others did not believe his aſſertions; while a third party thought the conqueſt of a place which they might poſſeſs without danger was not worth the leaſt hazard.

Simon ſurprizes the city.

Titus had by this time advanced ſome of his troops quite cloſe to the wall; but the city being inſtantly ſurpriſed by Simon, he killed a number of the guards, even in ſight of the Romans, and threw their bodies over the wall.

Joſeph wounded.

As Joſeph was offering every aſſiſtance poſſible to the Jews, by advice and encouragement, he was wounded by a ſtone from the battlements, which beat him to the ground. Hereupon the Jews ſallied forth in a violent manner, and would have carried him off a priſoner, had not Titus, in the critical juncture, ſent a number of men to his relief; and while they were conteſting the matter, the friends of Joſeph carried him off, before he recovered his ſenſes.

Joſeph recovers.

The danger that Joſeph had been in from his wound was ſoon at an end; and, on his returning to his former ſtation, he intimated that the delinquents ſhould ſeverely ſuffer for the outrage they had been guilty of; but he ſtill, in the moſt earneſt manner, recommended ſubmiſſion to the people. Joſeph's friends were highly pleaſed, and the faction as much diſpirited, on his making his re-appearance.

Some of the inhabitants deſert.

At this juncture a number of the inhabitants went off to the Romans. Some of them deſerted under pretence of purſuing the enemy with ſtones; and others made their eſcape by leaping over the walls. But while they ſought to avoid the diſtreſſes which prevailed within the city, they met with greater calamities without; for they contracted forfeits in the camp, ſtill more haſtily deſtructive than the famine from which they had fled; for after long faſting, and being infected with a dropſical complaint, they durſt not venture to eat freely, for fear of burſting.

A Jew ſearching for gold that paſſed through his body.

Among the Syrians a fugitive Jew was diſcovered, while he was ſearching for gold which he had ſwallowed, and which had paſſed though his body. At the period above-mentioned there was a very great ſcarcity of gold in the town; and the faction had ſearched all the people in the ſtricteſt manner. On this diſcovery it was immediately reported through the camp, that the Jews who had deſerted had ſwallowed all their gold. Hereupon the Arabians and Syrians, aſſiſted by ſome of the Romans, ſeized on theſe unhappy fugitives, and cut open the bodies of two thouſand of them in one night, with a view to get inſtant poſſeſſion of the expected treaſure.

A horrid maſſacre.

The rage of Titus.

Titus, ſo far from excuſing thoſe of his own people who were concerned in this inhuman butchery, was tranſported to the higheſt degree of rage at their conduct, and threatened immediate death to any man who ſhould be guilty of ſimilar acts for the future. But what Titus prohibited with ſuch ſeverity was repeatedly practiſed in ſecret on the deſerters from the Jews; who, at length deterred by this infamous practice, deſiſted from going over to the Romans.

CHAP. XVI.

Immenſe numbers of the Jews deſtroyed.

John rifles the temple.

JOHN, after appropriating ſeveral valuable articles to his own uſe, which belonged to the temple, made no ſcruple of diſtributing among his people the holy wine and oil which had been reſerved for ſacrifices in the interior part of this holy place: and as he was free of his diſtributions, the people were equally free of receiving them, drinking and anointing without ceremony.

The taſk of recounting the various miſeries which this conduct brought on the Jews would be endleſs. One of the gates of the city was commanded by Mannæus, the ſon of Lazarus; who, deſerting to Titus, informed him that from the day when Titus firſt encamped before the city, which was on the tenth of the month Xanthicus, to the firſt of the month Panemus, no leſs than one hundred and fifteen thouſand and eighty dead bodies were carried through that gate.

Six hundred thouſand bodies carried out of the city.

Some time after this ſeveral men of eminence, who had deſerted, made a computation; by which it appeared, that ſix hundred thouſand dead bodies had been carried out of the gates; beſides which, incredible numbers were either encloſed in large buildings, or laid in heaps in the open air.

At this juncture wheat had ariſen to the price of a talent for a buſhel; and ſince the city had been ſurrounded with the wall, the inhabitants were prevented from obtaining any kind of proviſions; and were at length reduced to ſuch an extremity of diſtreſs, that they were under a neceſſity of ſearching vaults and ſinks for ſuſtenance; and even fed on ox-dung, and other articles too offenſive to be mentioned.

THE
WARS
OF THE
JEWS.

BOOK VII.

CHAPTER I.

Jeruſalem aſſaulted. Titus addreſſes his army. His opinion of a future ſtate. A gallant action of Sabinus.

State of Jeruſalem.

THE faction became more deſperate, in proportion as the calamities which prevailed in Jeruſalem increaſed. All ranks of people were equally affected by the famine; the ſtreets and paſſages afforded a moſt dreadful proſpect, being clogged with dead bodies, by which the air was intolerably infected: and ſo dead to every ſenſe of remorſe were the people, that they trampled on the carcaſes with apparent unconcern.

The delightful part of Judea converted to a deſart.

The Romans, to compleat their works, cut down all the woods within the circuit of ninety furlongs of the city; and finiſhed their platforms in the ſpace of twenty-one days. A moſt diſmal alteration took place in this delightful part of Judea, which abounded in curious gardens, plantations, and houſes of pleaſure: not a building or tree was now to be ſeen, the marks of devaſtation and ruin occupying the whole proſpect.

The Jews now became greatly alarmed; being conſcious that they muſt ſurrender the city, if they did not contrive to deſtroy the Roman works: on the other hand, the Romans were apprehenſive leſt the attempts of their adverſaries ſhould prevail; for if theſe mounts were deſtroyed, all hopes of ſucceſs muſt end, the ſcarcity of materials rendering it impoſſible to repair ſuch a loſs.

John's party attempt to fire the mounts.

Before the rams were mounted, no meaſures that were likely to prove effectual were omitted by John and his adherents, who guarded the caſtle of Antonia, to prevent a breach being made in the walls. They made a ſally with a view of ſetting fire to the mounts; but they went out in ſmall parties; and they did not act with their uſual courage and unanimity, to which may be attributed the failure of their deſign. The Romans became unuſually vigilant; and, leſt their works ſhould be ſet on fire, they planted a ſtrict guard upon the bulwarks, and adopted ſuch other precautionary meaſures as were neceſſary for preventing any advantages being taken by the enemy. Rather than ſubmit to the irreparable injury of relinquiſhing their advantageous ſtation, they unanimouſly reſolved to die in defending the mounts.

The Romans reſolve to defend the mounts.

The Romans were prepared with darts to encounter the enemy as they advanced; and ſuch of the foremoſt as were ſlain or wounded obſtructed the progreſs, and damped the courage, of their companions. Thoſe who preſſed forward were aſtoniſhed and deterred upon obſerving the exact regularity of the Roman diſcipline; others were alarmed at the great numbers of the enemy; and thoſe who were wounded availed themſelves of the firſt opportunity that offered for effecting an eſcape.

The Jews having retreated, on the firſt day of the month Panemus, the Romans advanced their rams in order to batter the walls of the caſtle of Antonia. To prevent the approach of the engines, the Jews had recourſe to their ſwords, fire, ſtones, and ſuch other means as were likely to prove effectual; and they defended themſelves with ſingular reſolution: they greatly depended on the walls being ſufficiently ſtrong to reſiſt the force of the machines, but ſtill they exerted every poſſible effort to prevent their being advanced, and placed in a manner proper for action. Hence the Romans concluded that the great activity of the Jews proceeded from a conſciouſneſs of Antonia being in danger. For a conſiderable time the battery was continued without effect; but, deſpairing of being able to effect a breach by means of their engines, the Romans applied their thoughts to mining, carefully guarding themſelves with their bucklers from the ſtones, lances, and other weapons, diſcharged from above. With immenſe labour they at length looſened four ſtones of the foundation. The night now arrived, and both parties retired to repoſe. In the mean time, that part of the wall which John had undermined, with a view of deſtroying the former works, ſuddenly gave way.

Part of the wall of Antonia falls down.

The Romans were greatly rejoiced at a circumſtance ſo favourable to their views as the falling of this wall; but their tranſports abated upon obſerving another which John had conſtructed within the circuit of that wherein the breach appeared. They ſtill, however, entertained hopes of conquering the place; for the ruins of the outward wall greatly facilitated acceſs to the other, which was not yet ſufficiently ſettled, and hard, to make any conſiderable reſiſtance to the force of the battering-rams.

Titus endeavours to animate his troops.

Titus, finding the Jews continue unanimous longer than he had expected, aſſembled the flower of his army together; and publickly exhorted them to bravery and perſeverance. He owned he thought it would be difficult to ſubdue the wall before them: but great ſouls, he ſaid, were given for great and glorious exploits. He inſtanced the inſuperable patience and conſtancy of the Jews in the worſt of trials; and compared the different ſituations of the two armies, the one provided with neceſſaries, the other impoveriſhed by famine, and its horrid conſequences. He was for firſt aſſaulting Antonio, which was the only obſtacle to a compleat victory; and this he thought might be eaſily effected, if they would ſupport each other with firmneſs and reſolution. As a farther incentive, he ſaid that the ſouls of thoſe who glorioully fell in battle, were inſtantly tranſlated to the heavens, and placed among the ſtars, there to influence their deſcendants; but this was not the caſe with thoſe who fell by the natural infirmities of the body, for, however honourable or virtuous, they nevertheleſs ſink into oblivion and obſcurity. He concluded with offering the moſt ſplendid rewards to him who would firſt mount the breach.

His opinion of a future ſtate.

Sabinus undertakes to mount the breach.

Sabinus, a Syrian by birth, was the only man, however, who had courage to undertake this hazardous commiſſion. He was a man of remarkable bravery and military ſkill: but ſo unpromiſing was his appearance, that ſtrangers would ſcarcely have ſuppoſed him of martial character. He was of low ſtature, thin, and of a black complexion; but he was of a diſpoſition ſingularly active and enterprizing. He made a reverential obedience to Titus; and told him, that if he failed in the hazardous enterprize, he ſhould conſider himſelf amply recompenſed by yielding his laſt breath in the ſervice of his gallant general.

He advances towards the wall.

Sabinus then graſped his ſword in his right-hand; and, caſting his ſhield over his head with the other, he advanced towards the wall, being followed by eleven men, who were induced to ſupport him merely from an emulation of his ſuperior bravery and generous contempt of danger. It was about the ſixth hour of the day when Sabinus attempted this brave exploit: he was annoyed by innumerable darts and arrows diſcharged by the enemy; notwithſtanding which he continued to purſue his purpoſe with a degree of reſolution that appeared more than human; and in the action ſome of his followers were ſlain. Having nearly mounted the wall, his extraordinary courage, and eſcape amidſt ſuch a variety of dangers, proved ſo alarming to the Jews, that they quitted their ſtations, fearing that the example of Sabinus would encourage his companions to ſupport him, and that they ſhould be oppreſſed and overpowered by numbers.

Sabinus forced to the ground by a ſtone.

But when Sabinus had nearly accompliſhed this great exploit, he was moſt unhappily encountered by a ſtone of conſiderable bulk, which forced him to the ground. The noiſe occaſioned by the fall of the ſtone induced the Jews to return; and upon obſerving Sabinus lying alone on the earth, without motion, apparently ſenſeleſs, they violently aſſaulted him with darts and other weapons. He raiſed himſelf upon his knees; and, throwing his buckler over his head, bravely revenged himſelf with his ſword, by killing many of the enemy and wounding others. But ſuch immenſe ſhowers of darts were aimed at him, that he became wholly unable any longer to maintain ſo unequal a conteſt; and, at length, he reſigned his breath.

His death.

This happened on the third day of the month Panemus. Three of the companions of Sabinus were cruſhed to death by the fall of ſtones from the wall; and the other eight being wounded, were conveyed to the Roman camp.

CHAP. II.

A ſilent march to the walls of Antonia.

TWO days having elapſed, twenty of the guards of the platforms, the enſign of the fifth legion, two cavaliers, and a trumpet, aſſembled; and in the dead of the night theſe people ſilently advanced over the ruins of the wall up to Antonia. They marched without meeting the leaſt obſtruction; and finding the advanced guard oppreſſed with ſleep, they cut their throats. Having gained poſſeſſion of the wall, the trumpeter ſounded his inſtrument, which arouſed the reſt of the guard, who were thrown into ſo great a conſternation, that they inſtantly fled, being ignorant that only a ſmall number of the enemy had entered the place.

The advanced guards at fort Antonia deſtroyed.

Upon receiving intimation of the ſtate of affairs at the fort, Titus put himſelf at the head of his moſt reſolute troops, and immediately marched thither over the ruins already mentioned. So aſtoniſhed were the Jews by the ſudden and unexpected attack, that ſome fled for ſafety to the interior temple, and others to the mine that John had formed with a view of deſtroying the Roman works. The factions under the command of John and Simon were convinced that every proſpect of ſucceſs muſt end if the enemy obtained poſſeſſion of the temple: and hereupon a deſperate engagement enſued before the doors of the ſacred building; one party fighting for the preſervation of life, and the other for the honour of conqueſt. Neither party could uſe lances or darts with effect; for they were ſo cloſely engaged, that the ſword was the only weapon on which the iſſue of the battle was to depend. Jews and Romans were promiſcuouſly crouded together, and neither order nor diſcipline was obſerved.

A deſperate battle before the doors of the temple.

The outcries were ſo loud and various, that, notwithſtanding the difference of language, there was no poſſibility of diſtinguiſhing from which party they reſpectively proceeded. A very conſiderable ſlaughter was made on both ſides; and the ground was encumbered with the bodies and weapons of the ſlain and wounded. The ſpot where the battle took place would not admit of a retreat, or a purſuit; but when either party obtained an advantage, they preſſed forward with ſhouts of triumph, while the other retired, exclaiming againſt the injuſtice of fortune.

Great havock on both ſides.

The rear of each army ſo violently preſſed forward, that the ſoldiers in front were wholly unable to retreat; and therefore they had no alternative but either to deſtroy their adverſaries, or ſurrender their own lives. The encounter was maintained for the ſpace of ten hours, being commenced at the expiration of the ninth hour of the night, and not concluded till the end of the ſeventh on the following morning. The determined rage of the Jews, however, proved too powerful for the diſcipline and bravery of the Romans; and that this was the caſe was a fortunate circumſtance for the former, whoſe laſt adventure being at ſtake, had they been vanquiſhed in this action, utter deſtruction to them muſt inevitably have been the conſequence. The Romans judged that they had reaſon to be ſatisfied with the advantage they had acquired in gaining poſſeſſion of the fort of Antonia; for they had performed the exploit with only a part of the army, the legions on whom the greateſt dependance was placed not being yet arrived.

The Jews overpower the Romans.

CHAP. III.

A centurion, named Julian, performs an heroic exploit. The Romans are repulſed, and ſhut up in the fort of Antonia.

JULIAN, a centurion, and a native of Bithynia, a man deſcended of an honourable family, obſerving, while he ſtood near Titus in the fort of Antonia, that the Romans were ſo hard preſſed as to be on the point of retiring, availed himſelf of a favourable opportunity; and, with a degree of intrepidity truly aſtoniſhing, made a ſudden and deſperate leap into the thickeſt part of the adverſe forces, whom, by the efforts of his ſingle arm, he put to flight, and purſued to the moſt interior court of the temple. The bravery of this man ſo aſtoniſhed the Jews, that they believed he was aided by a ſupernatural power. Julian continued his progreſs with undaunted courage and unremitting agility, fearleſs of danger and inſenſible of fatigue, putting ſome of the enemy to death, and wounding others.

A fatal accident, however, which neither wiſdom could foreſee, nor judgment avoid, attended this heroic ſoldier: according to the cuſtom of the martial people among the Romans, he wore ſhoes ſtudded with iron, which, while in purſuit of the enemy upon a part that was paved with ſtones, occaſioned him to ſlip down. Upon hearing the ſound cauſed by the daſhing of his armour againſt the pavement, the Romans united in a loud and general outcry, being apprehenſive of his having received ſome injury by the fall. At the ſame inſtant the Jews turned, and furiouſly aſſaulted him with ſtones and darts. He for ſome time bravely defended himſelf againſt the aſſailants, ſeveral of whom he wounded; he made divers efforts to riſe, but was as conſtantly oppreſſed and overborne by multitudes. Being unable any longer to guard himſelf with his buckler, he fell at his length upon the ground: and, even while

A fatal accident attends Julian.

in this ſituation, the Jews found ſome difficulty in depriving him of life. The loſs of blood, the pain occaſioned by his wounds, and fatigue, produced ſuch weakneſs, that Julian, being unable any longer to contend with the frailties of human nature, yielded to inevitable fate; and died an honourable object of admiration to both friends and enemies.

Titus was exceedingly grieved upon ſeeing ſo great and valuable a warrior fall; and when he had obſerved him to be in danger from the Jews, he was deeply concerned, and ſeverely lamented the total impracticability of haſtening in perſon to the ſpot where ſo valuable a life was threatened with deſtruction. There were, however, many of the Roman army, who, on account of their ſituation, might have gone to the reſcue of Julian, had they poſſeſſed ſufficient bravery to venture their own perſons for the preſervation of a man of the moſt exalted martial character.

The names of the Jews who diſtinguiſhed themſelves.

Alexas and Gypthæus*, adherents to the faction under the conduct of John; Judas, the ſon of Merton; James, the ſon of Sozas, captain of the Idumeans; Simon and Judas, the ſons of Jair; and Malachias, who were attached to the intereſts of Simon, were the Jews who ſignalized themſelves in the above recited action.

CHAP. IV.

Titus commiſſions Joſeph to urge John to an encounter. Titus harangues the faction.

HAVING formed the determination of breaking up the foundations of the fort Antonia, to form a level paſſage for the more convenient march of his army, Titus ſent for Joſeph into his preſence; and, underſtanding that on this day, being the ſeventeenth of the month Panemus, the Jews were greatly diſtreſſed on account of their incapacity of performing the daily ſacrifices and oblations, through the want of a congregation, commiſſioned him to repair a ſecond time to John, and repeat a former propoſal, which was to the following effect: that if John was ſtill diſpoſed to reſiſt, the Romans would be ready to give battle to any numbers that he might bring into the field; that he propoſed this method of deciding the controverſy from no other motive than that of preſerving the city and temple from being involved in the common deſtruction: if John accepted the propoſal, it was to be on the condition that he ſhould offer no farther profanations to the ſacred name and worſhip of the Almighty; and it was added, that if he was inclined to reſtore the ſervices of religion, he had full liberty to nominate ſuch Jews as he approved, to officiate in the duties of the ſacred function.

Titus offers battle to John.

Joſeph was not ſatisfied with acquitting himſelf of the matter which Titus had entruſted him to communicate to John; but, repairing to an eminence, for the purpoſe of being more diſtinctly heard, he exalted his voice; and, in the Hebrew language, related to the multitude what, in obedience to the command of Titus, he had already reported to John. He exhorted the Jews to reflect upon the deplorable ſtate to which their country was reduced; and, leſt the opportunity ſhould elapſe, immediately to purſue the neceſſary meaſures for preventing the deſtruction of the temple; adding, that they would not be abridged of the privilege of ſolemnizing prayer, offering ſacrifices, and obſerving their other cuſtomary ceremonials of religion.

The Jews were greatly affected by the diſcourſe of Joſeph; but they dared not venture to expreſs their ſentiments. John violently exclaimed againſt Joſeph, and ironically ſaid, that, ſince Jeruſalem was the city of God, it could not poſſibly be liable to danger.

Joſeph argues with John.

But John reminded him of the horrid impieties which he had committed, in applying to profane uſes the victims dedicated to the honour and ſervice of the Almighty. He ſaid that the Romans were advocates for the preſervation of the legal inſtitutions of religious worſhip, as eſtabliſhed by their anceſtors; and that therefore they could ſuffer no infringement of liberty from cheerfully giving up the conteſt. To prove that humiliation and repentance are ever acceptable to the Almighty, he mentioned the caſe of Jechonias, king of the Jews, who, to preſerve the holy temple and city from deſtruction, ſurrendered himſelf, his mother, and other near relations, to the Babylonians. Would they follow ſo illuſtrious a precedent, the Romans would pardon all paſt offences, and relieve their preſent calamities. He was a Jew, he ſaid, and therefore they might rely on the ſincerity of his profeſſions. He concluded by reminding them, that the preſent commotions had been frequently foretold in hiſtory; and that of courſe the conſequences would alſo follow, if they longer periſhed in their cruel obſtinacy.

In the courſe of this expoſtulation, Joſeph's voice was frequently interrupted by ſobs and tears. But as his grief increaſed, ſo did the inveteracy of John and his adherents againſt the Romans; and they became ſtill more anxious to diſcover ſome ſtratagem by means of which they might get him into their power. Joſeph's addreſs, however, was not entirely without effect; for it made a deep impreſſion on many perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank.

---

* Al. Tipthæus.

Several, therefore, ſeized the opportunity of eſcaping to the Romans; from whom they experienced a moſt gracious and generous reception; and conceiving that it would prove both inconvenient and diſagreeable to reſide among people whoſe laws, cuſtoms, and manners, ſo materially differed from thoſe under which they had been uſed to live, ordered them to Gophne, promiſing to grant them conſiderable poſſeſſions when the war ſhould be concluded.

The Jews report that the Romans kill all the deſerters.

When the faction obſerved that the fugitives were no longer to be ſeen from the city, they circulated a rumour that the Romans had put them to death. For ſome time this ſtratagem had the deſired effect, by deterring other Jews from following the example of the deſerters: but being apprized of the deſign with which the report had been propagated, Titus recalled the deſerters from Gophne, and ordered them to make the tour of the walls, attended by Joſeph. The calumny being thus refuted, a ſtill greater number of the people were induced to revolt. Being aſſembled on this occaſion within ſight of the Romans, with tears and lamentations they ſupplicated the faction to preſerve their country by admitting the Romans into the town; or, at leaſt, to depart from the temple rather than provoke them to deſtroy it by fire. This conduct ſerved but to inflame the faction to a more extravagant degree of outrage; and having planted machines even at the gates of the temple, they aſſailed the deſerters with darts, arrows, ſtones diſcharged from ſlings, and other miſſive weapons; ſo that the ſacred building had a greater reſemblance to a place of war and ſlaughter, than a houſe dedicated to the worſhip of God; and the bodies of the deceaſed lay in ſuch numbers in the ſpace of ground before the temple, as to give it the appearance of a cemetary. They forcibly entered the holy ſanctuary, their hands yet reeking with the blood of the murdered citizens, and were guilty of the moſt horrid impieties, which proved the ſource of great affliction to the Romans, there not being a man in the army under Titus that did not obſerve a due reſpect to the holy temple, and the rights and ceremonies of the Jewiſh religion, and entertain the higheſt veneration towards the eternal Being, to whoſe ſervice the ſacred edifice was dedicated; and they were unanimous in the wiſh that the faction would repent of their horrid impieties and abominations, and thereby avert the deſtruction with which they were threatened.

Titus affected at the ſituation of the enemy.

Greatly affected at the miſerable ſituation of the Jews, Titus determined to adopt another effort to reclaim them to reaſon: and addreſſing himſelf to John and his aſſociates, he ſpoke to the following purport:

Titus addreſſes the faction.

“Ye barbarous and ſacrilegious people, are you not conſcious that your anceſtors environed the holy place with partitions, and that the pillars bear Latin and Greek inſcriptions, on ſevere penalties prohibiting all perſons from treſpaſſing beyond the incloſure? Have not the Romans given a ſignal proof of their tender regard to your privileges, by denouncing death as the puniſhment of thoſe who ſhould preſume to paſs the preſcribed limits, without exception even of their own countrymen? Whence is it, then, that you ſuffer yourſelves to be tranſported by an extravagant rage to profane the ſanctuary with maſſacres and aſſaſſinations, and pollute the holy temple with domeſtic and foreign blood? I here ſolemnly appeal to the gods of my country; to that Power who was of late patron of the temple, but who has now abandoned it; to the army under my command; to the Jews who have revolted to me; and even to yourſelves—that I have in no manner been concerned in, or acceſſary to, any of the profanations that have been committed: and I pledge my word, that, if you will acquieſce in my deſire of quitting the holy place, it ſhall be my peculiar care to prevent its being approached, or the leaſt violation offered to it by the Romans; and that, even in oppoſition to your inclinations, I will exert my utmoſt endeavours to preſerve and protect the ſacred edifice.”

CHAP. V.

Titus proſecutes the war. A deſperate and bloody engagement. A Roman cavalier performs an heroic exploit.

Titus forced to proſecute the war.

JOSEPH, as the interpreter of Titus, delivered the preceding addreſs in the Hebrew language; but the faction put a falſe conſtruction upon it, attributing the application made by the Roman general as proceeding from motives of fear rather than good will; and in conſequence hereof their inſolence encreaſed. Finding that the Jews were wholly regardleſs of their own ſafety, and the preſervation of the temple, Titus determined vigorouſly to proſecute the war. The place not being ſufficiently extenſive for drawing up his whole army, he ſelected from each company thirty of the moſt reſolute troops, appointing a tribune to head every thouſand men, and Cerealis to the chief command of the party that was thus choſen for making the aſſault. He ordered all neceſſary preparation for proceeding to action about the ninth hour of the night, intending himſelf to lead his troops to the attack. The officers of Titus's army being aſſembled in a council of war, they were unanimouſly of opinion that it would be highly impolitic for the general to expoſe his perſon; and therefore they adviſed him to ſtation himſelf upon the fort Antonia, whence he might iſſue orders, and obſerve the behaviour of his troops, who would be inſpired with extraordinary valour by the conſideration of fighting under his immediate inſpection.

Titus poſts himſelf on fort antonia.

The hour was now appointed for making the aſſault; and Titus, in compliance with the requeſt of his officers, repaired to a watch-tower in the fort Antonia.

The Romans were deceived in an expectation of ſurprizing the Jews while aſleep: the advanced guards reſolutely oppoſed the aſſailants; and, at the ſame time, joined in a general ſhout, which awakening their companions, great multitudes immediately came to their ſupport. The Romans bravely withſtood the ſhock made by the advanced guard; and when the other Jews came up, a ſcene of horror took place. Through the darkneſs of the night, the confuſed ſound of voices, fear, and the impulſe of rage, their conſternation was ſo great, that they deſtroyed both friends and enemies without diſtinction; and the Jews who fell by the hands of their own countrymen were conſiderably more numerous than thoſe who were ſlain by the enemy. The loſs on the part of the Romans was not great; for they preſerved a regular diſcipline, carefully defended themſelves with their bucklers, and had the advantage of knowing each other by means of the watch-word. Upon the appearance of daylight the Jews diſcovered their error, and purſued the encounter with more regularity. Each party now employed darts, arrows, and other weapons; and, notwithſtanding the conteſt that had been maintained in the night, they appeared to ſuffer no abatement of courage or ſtrength.

This conteſt continued from the ninth hour of the night to the fifth of the following day; and, when it was concluded, ſo reſolutely had the combatants maintained their ground, it could not be decided which party had gained the advantage.

Neither party conquer.

In the above action ſeveral noble Romans diſtinguiſhed themſelves by feats of great heroiſm; and the Jewiſh captains who ſignalized themſelves on this occaſion were the following: Judas, the ſon of Merton, and Simon the ſon of Joſias, adherents to the party under Simon; Jacob the ſon of Soſa, and Simon the ſon of Cathlas, who were Idumeans; Gyſthæus and Alexas, friends to the party under John; and a Zelote, named Simon, who was the ſon of Jair.

Titus ordered the foundations of Antonia to be broken up to the very bottom; and in the ſpace of ſeven days this work was compleated, and a level paſſage formed for admitting the Roman legions to march conveniently up to the walls. Titus now employed his troops in erecting four mounts; the firſt facing the angle of the interior temple that looked towards the north and eaſt; a ſecond againſt the gallery, to the northward between the two gates; a third towards the weſt porch, and the fourth towards the north porch of the outward temple. This work was not compleated without great difficulty and expence; for the Romans were under the neceſſity of conveying what materials they had occaſion for from places at an hundred furlongs diſtant from Jeruſalem; and placing great confidence in their ſtrength, they neglected to guard againſt ſurprizes from the Jews, who waiting for them on the way, frequently made deſperate ſallies from ambuſhes, and put them to conſiderable loſs and inconvenience.

Titus erects four mounts.

The platforms being now raiſed, and the Romans having made every other preparation neceſſary to the aſſault they had meditated, on the following day a number of Jews belonging to the faction, who, being unable to procure the neceſſaries of life by their uſual practice of pillage, were nearly on the point of ſtarving, formed the reſolution of attacking the Roman guards ſtationed on Mount Olivet; and they advanced about the eleventh hour of the day, when they imagined their attempt would be moſt likely to ſucceed, as at that time it was uſual for the enemy to take ſome reſpite from the fatigue of duty.

But the Romans obſerving their approach, collected all their force in order to repulſe them. A terrible conteſt enſued, in which great exploits were performed by both parties. The Romans founded their hopes of ſucceſs on their ſuperior knowledge in the art of war: and the furious rage and impetuoſity of the Jews induced them to believe that they were able to ſucceed in the moſt deſperate attempts.

Courage of Pedanius.

The following remarkable exploit was performed by a Roman cavalier, named Pedanius: the Jews being repulſed, and purſued into the valley, Pedanius rode after the fugitives; and, overtaking a corpulent young Jew, bearing very heavy arms, who, in order to preſerve his life, was urging his horſe full ſpeed, he ſeized him by the leg; and, carrying him away a priſoner, preſented him to Titus. The general complimented Pedanius on his courage, and ſurpriſing ſtrength and activity; and he conſigned the Jew to death for having been concerned in the audacious attempt to ſurpriſe the Romans in their camp. Titus continued to direct his principal attention towards compleating the mounts, by means of which he entertained the hope of becoming maſter of the temple.

Finding themſelves conſiderably weakened by the loſſes ſuſtained in divers combats; that the war daily raged with additional violence; and that the temple was in the moſt imminent danger of being deſtroyed; the Jews reſolved to ruin a part of the ſacred edifice in order to preſerve the reſt. They ſet fire to that part of the gallery extending from the north to the eaſt, and facing the fort Antonia; and in a ſhort time as much of the building as occupied a ſpace of near twenty cubits was entirely conſumed. Thus were the Jews the firſt who actually put the deſign in execution of effecting the deſtruction of this ſuperb and holy ſtructure, ſo deſervedly celebrated throughout the univerſe.

Two days having elapſed, the Romans, on the twenty-fourth of the ſame month, ſet fire to the remaining part of the gallery; and when the flames had gained fourteen cubits, the Jews deſtroyed the roof, as well as every other matter which was likely to ſerve as a communication with fort Antonia; though they might, had they been ſo inclined, have ſaved the place from the rage of the flames. During this time daily ſkirmiſhes took place in the neighbourhood of the temple.

A fantaſtical challenge of Jonathan.

A Jew named Jonathan, a man of obſcure birth, deſperate fortune, low ſtature, and every way contemptible in appearance, at this period repaired to the ſepulchre of John, the high-prieſt; and, making himſelf the ſubject of a vain-glorious diſcourſe, he inſolently challenged any man of the Roman army to come with his ſword in his hand, and engage him in ſingle combat. Jonathan waited a conſiderable time before any champion appeared to oppoſe him; and during that interval he continued to inſult the Romans by charging them with cowardice. At length a Roman cavalier, named Pudens, being naturally of an impetuous temper, and no longer able to brook the provoking inſults offered by Jonathan, inconſiderately accepted his challenge. The contemptible idea he entertained of his adverſary rendered Pudens careleſs, and by ſome accident he unfortunately fell: the Jew ſeized the opportunity, and put him to death while he lay on the ground; he now trampled the body of the deceaſed under his feet; and, his ſword yet reeking with blood in his right, and his buckler in his left-hand, he exultingly clattered his arms together, and vented the moſt ſcurrilous reflections upon his deceaſed adverſary and the whole Roman army. A centurion, named Priſcus, being provoked at the inſolence and vanity of this Jew, diſcharged an arrow, which ſhot him through the heart, and he inſtantly expired, and fell on the body of Pudens.

Jonathan kills Pudens.

CHAP. VI.

The Jews make uſe of a ſtratagem to confound the Romans. The ſingular valour of Longus. Artorius eſcapes in a manner almoſt miraculous.

The Jews overcome the Romans.

At this juncture the faction in the temple were engaged in open war with the ſoldiers on the mounts; and the Jews deviſed the following ſtratagem on the twenty-ſeventh day of the month abovementioned. They placed a large quantity of dry wood, ſulphur, and bituminous matter, between the timbers and the top of the roof of the weſtern porch; and then affecting to give way, as if an attack had been made on them, they retreated, with every appearance of being driven out of a place of which they could no longer hold poſſeſſion. Hereupon a number of their opponents purſued them cloſely, with the utmoſt eagerneſs, and put up ladders, to ſecure the place; but ſome deemed it to be a mere artifice, and therefore did not join the purſuit.

As ſoon as the Romans had crouded into the porch, the Jews ſet it on fire, and the whole building was immediately in flames, to the horror and confuſion of thoſe who were within their power, and the aſtoniſhment of thoſe who viewed the conflagration at a diſtance. Some of theſe unhappy people threw themſelves into wells and pits; others leaped from the houſes, and ran for their lives; others again were ſmothered in the flames; and ſome threw themſelves on their ſwords, to avoid a more diſagreeable death.

Indeed, thoſe who eſcaped the fury of the flames, were attacked by the Jews; and every man of them was ſlain, after they had made an obſtinate reſiſtance.

The bravery of Longus.

Great numbers of gallant and courageous men fell on this unhappy occaſion; among whom one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed was Longus, a Roman by birth, and in the prime of life. The Jews, who were acquainted with his bravery, and thought him a dangerous perſon, ſaw no mode by which they could deſtroy him; unleſs they could prevail on him to come to them by pledging their honour that he ſhould return in perfect ſafety. This being done, his brother Cornelius called to him, warning him, by all that was ſacred, not to be guilty of any act for which either himſelf or his country ſhould have cauſe to bluſh. Thus ſituated, Longus ſtopped within ſight of both parties, and killed himſelf with his own ſword.

A perſon named Artorius eſcaped from the fire before mentioned in a very extraordinary manner. Being reduced to the utmoſt extremity of danger, he obſerved Lucius, his fellow-ſoldier and companion, within hearing: on which he called out to him, "Catch me in your arms, and break my

The death of Lucius.

my fall; and I will make you heir to my eſtate." Lucius prepared himſelf to catch him; Artorius leaped down; but in the attempt his friend was daſhed to pieces on the ſpot.

The fire deſtroyed the porch as far as the tower which John had built (during his war with Simon) on the pillars that led to this porch. After the Romans had been burnt by the Jews, in the manner above recited, they deſtroyed the remainder of the building: and, the following day, they ſet fire to the north porch, and continued the conflagration to the porch facing the eaſtward, which commands the valley of Cedron.

CHAP VII.

The exceſſive diſtreſs attendant on famine.

THUS unhappily were affairs ſituated in the neighbourhood of the temple. The extreme ſeverity of the famine had almoſt depopulated the city; and the miſeries conſequent on this calamity were beyond all number or recital. If it was but ſuſpected that there was any concealed food in a family, this circumſtance was ſufficient to diſſolve the tendereſt ties, and create a general inſurrection among the parties. Thoſe who abſolutely periſhed of mere hunger were not credited, even at the hour of death, when they declared that they had no food; for no ſooner had the breath left their bodies, than immediate ſearch was made about their perſons on the ſuppoſition that they had concealed ſome bread. When the ſurvivors found not what they ſearched for, they ranged the ſtreets like mad dogs, reeling like drunkards through weakneſs, repeatedly prying into every corner of every houſe; ſeizing whatever they could find, even ſuch articles as a canine appetite would have refuſed. The ſkins of beaſts, leather-girdles, and ſhoes, were eaten; and even a handful of old hay bore the price of four atticks. But what was this in compariſon of what I am going to relate.

CHAP. VIII.

The fleſh of a ſon dreſſed and eaten by his mother. Titus ſolemnly declares his innocence in the whole affair.

IN the village named Vetezobra, (that is, the houſe of Hyſſop) beyond the river Jordan, lived one Eleazar, who had a daughter named Mary. The family was rich, and the deſcent reſpectable. Now this Mary fled, in company with ſeveral other perſons, and took refuge in Jeruſalem. All the more valuable effects that this woman brought with her ſhe was deprived of by the tyrants; and with regard to ſuch articles as ſhe had concealed, whether goods or proviſions, the ſoldiers frequently broke open her houſe, and ſtole them from her. Irritated by this treatment ſhe reviled the faction in terms of the utmoſt acrimony; but no language of which ſhe was miſtreſs, however ſevere, could provoke any of this abandoned ſet to put her to death, either from motives of rage or pity. At length, tormented with the excruciating pangs of a devouring famine, from which ſhe ſaw no poſſibility of eſcaping, having no farther means of ſuſtaining life, and being abandoned to the utmoſt rage of deſpair, ſhe determined on a reſolution more horrid than it is in the power of language to deſcribe.

At this time Mary had a child ſucking at her breaſt, whom ſhe took haſtily to her embraces; and, regarding it with the tenderneſs of a mother, ſhe cried, "In what terms ſhall I addreſs thee, moſt unhappy infant, who art born during the raging of ſuch horrid judgments as rebellion, famine, and war! To which of theſe ſhall I reſerve thee? It is poſſible the Romans will grant thee thy life, but not thy liberty: famine will prevent ſlavery; but our preſent tyrants will be worſe foes than the other two. What, in thy preſent ſituation, canſt thou do better than to ſupply a meal to thy ſtarving mother, and terrify the party with the horror of the deed? Thus ſhalt thou compleat the hiſtory of the Jews, with the only atrocious act that is yet wanting to render their miſery compleat."

Dreadful act of a mother.

Having made this apoſtrophe, ſhe killed her infant; and, having boiled it, ſhe ate the half of it, and, covering up the remainder, put it away. The circumſtance of her having dreſſed ſome proviſion ſoon came to the knowledge of the faction; ſome of whom went to the woman, and threatened her with immediate death, if ſhe did not produce what victuals ſhe had in the houſe. Hereupon ſhe fetched out that part of the child which ſtill remained undevoured, and told them that was all the food ſhe poſſeſſed. This ſight had ſuch an effect on the ſpectators, that they at firſt appeared petrified with horror, then trembled at the idea of what had paſſed, and were ſhocked at the conſequences to be dreaded from it. On this the woman addreſſed them as follows: "Be aſſured, that this is my ſon; and that I have dreſſed this diſh, the half of which I have eaten myſelf, and requeſt that you will eat the remainder. I flatter myſelf that you will not pretend to have more delicacy than a woman, or more compaſſion than a mother. But if you refuſe the oblation through ſcruples of conſcience, you are welcome to leave the food where you have found it. Only remember, that I have eaten a part of it already." She had no ſooner ended ſpeaking, than they departed with evident ſigns of terror; leaving the remainder of the child with the unfortunate mother.

When this melancholy tale reached the Romans, Titus ſolemnly declared, that he had exerted his utmoſt influence to render the Jews eaſy and happy in their fortunes, lives, and liberties: "But (ſaid he) if they were determined rather to deſtroy each other, than to live in the bands of fraternal affection; if they preferred war rather than peace, and famine rather than plenty; it was not in my power to prevent them. As they were determined to ſet fire to the temple with their own hands, while I did every thing in my power to preſerve it, the fleſh of their own children is as good food as ſuch parents deſerve. For my part, I am reſolved that their iniquities ſhall be but the forerunners of their ruin; for I will not longer permit the exiſtence of a city, in which mothers feed on their own children; and the fathers, with a ſtill more horrid degree of impiety, continue the war, after ſuch plain and evident demonſtrations, that the ſo doing is contrary to the will of almighty God."

The reflections of Titus.

CHAP IX.

Titus commands his people to ſet fire to the gates. The Jews encircled in flames, which totally deſtroy the galleries.

TWO of the legions having compleated their platforms, Titus directed his battering-rams to be planted againſt the weſtern gallery of the outward temple, on the eighth of the month Lous. Six days ſucceſſively he played his beſt piece of battery againſt this place; but without making any impreſſion on the work. In the interim ſome of the troops were employed in ſapping the foundations on the north ſide; but, after prodigious labour, they found that they could only move the outward ſtones, the porch ſtill remaining firm; wherefore the Romans had recourſe to their ſcaling-ladders; in which, however, they were obſtructed by the Jews, who immediately attacked them as they were aſcending, before they had time to put themſelves in a poſture of defence: ſome they deſtroyed as they were advancing with relief; and ſometimes they overturned the ladders with the men upon them. On the whole, the Romans ſuſtained a very conſiderable loſs in this attack; eſpecially in thoſe conteſts which happened for the defence or recovery of their colours, which military people deem to be an affair of the utmoſt conſequence. In the end, however, the Jews killed a number of the enſign-bearers, keeping ſuch enſigns as they got poſſeſſion of; a circumſtance which ſo diſcouraged the reſt of the Romans, that they thought it prudent to retreat.

The Jews obſtruct the Romans in their attack on the eaſtern gallery.

Titus, now finding that his own men were devoted to ruin, by his wiſhes to ſpare the temple, iſſued orders that the gates ſhould be ſet on fire without loſs of time.

At this juncture, Archelaus, the ſon of Magadathes; and Ananus, one of Simon's guards, and the moſt cruel of all his attendants; repaired to Titus, flattering themſelves that their abandoning the faction at the time they had ſome advantage in their favour, would ſecure them a good reception. But Titus knowing their characters, had ſome thoughts of putting them to death; being convinced that their own ſafety, and not his intereſt, had influenced their conduct: but having reflected more ſeriouſly on the affair, he dropped his firſt intention.

By this time the gates of the temple were burning furiouſly; the timbers being all on fire, and the ſilver-work above the gates melted; and the flames ſoon extended even to the adjacent galleries. The Jews were ſo much ſurprized at finding themſelves ſo ſuddenly encompaſſed by the flames, that they regarded each other with looks of aſtoniſhment, not even attempting to preſerve what as yet remained uninjured, or affecting any concern for what was already deſtroyed: ſo that the fire encreaſed all that day, and the ſucceeding night; till at length the galleries were totally burnt to the ground.

The Jews encompaſſed by flames.

On the following day, however, Titus iſſued out orders for the ſuppreſſion of the fire, and directed the roads to be levelled for the march of his troops. He then ſummoned a council of general officers, to concert the beſt mode of proceeding, with regard to the deſtruction or preſervation of the temple. Of theſe, ſome recommended a ſtrict adherence to the law of arms, urging that while the temple remained, and the Jews continued their frequent aſſociations in it, they would never deſiſt from oppoſition. Others gave their votes for ſparing the building, on the condition that the Jews ſhould abandon it, and that it ſhould be no longer conſidered as an object of contention; but that if poſſeſſion of it ſhould be acquired by dint of the ſword, in this caſe that they ſhould not heſitate to burn it; not conſidering it as a temple, but as a caſtle: ſince the blame would then reſt with thoſe who compelled the burning it, not with thoſe whom neceſſity urged to the deed. Titus, at laſt, gave his opinion, ſaying, "If the obſtinacy of the Jews will convert a temple to a citadel, ſhall I take vengeance on their perverſeneſs, by wreaking my wrath on the ſtones of the building, and burning to aſhes the moſt magnificent ſtructure in the world? Indeed, I am of opinion that the robbing of the empire of ſo diſtinguiſhed an ornament would be a diſgrace

Arguments of the council convened by Titus.

diſgrace to the characteriſtic majeſty of Rome."

The council being diſmiſſed, orders were iſſued that the army ſhould be allowed to reſt, and take refreſhment. In the mean time ſome ſelect battalions were directed to obſerve the ravages made by the fire, and to make proper paſſages through the ruins.

The courage and ſtrength of the Jews beginning now to fail them, they remained at peace during this day; but on the following one, about the ſecond hour, having recruited their ſpirits, and acquired freſh reſolution, they made a deſperate ſally, through the eaſtern gate, on the guards of the outward temple. At firſt the Romans, under the protection of their bucklers, eaſily ſuſtained the ſhock; but all their courage and perſeverance would not have enabled them long to hold out in oppoſition to ſo fierce an enemy, if Titus, who beheld the action from Antonia, had not inſtantly come to their relief. On this, ſome of the Jews fell back; and the Romans breaking in on their front, the main body fled with precipitation. After this the Romans retreated in their turn; while the Jews rallied and advanced in order of battle. Thus they continued, one party having now the advantage, and then the other, till about the fifth hour of the day; when the Jews were compelled to retreat into the temple, and there encloſe themſelves. Hereupon Titus retired to Antonia; having come to a determination to make an aſſault on the temple on the following day with his whole army. It ſeemed evident that divine Providence had originally deſtined this place to be deſtroyed by fire, and that the period was at length arrived; that is to ſay, the tenth day of the month Lous, being the return of that day on which it had heretofore been burnt by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. Of this laſt conflagration, however, the Jews themſelves were the occaſion; for no ſooner had Titus left them at their repoſe, than the inſurgents made a violent ſally on his guards, while they were engaged by the general's orders in extinguiſhing the fire. But the Romans routed, and compelled them to retreat to the temple for refuge.

The Jews retreat to the temple.

CHAP. X.

A ſoldier ſets fire to the temple. Titus endeavours to ſtop the flames. A horrid maſſacre enſues.

AN event happened at this period, which took riſe from the conduct of a private ſoldier; who thinking himſelf actuated by a divine impulſe, got on the ſhoulders of one of his brother ſoldiers, and threw a fire-brand into the golden window that was oppoſite the apartments on the north ſide of the temple. The place, on this, was inſtantly in flames; which occaſioned ſo violent a tumult among the Jews, that their countrymen haſtened as faſt as poſſible to their relief.

When intelligence of the conflagration was brought to Titus, he immediately aroſe; and, ordering his chariot, proceeded to the temple, to uſe all his authority towards the extinction of the fire. But ſo great was the confuſion that every where prevailed, that his orders were either not heard, or diſregarded. Nor had the faction any way to prevent what happened; for on which ſide ſoever they turned, deſtruction ſtared them in the face. The poor people, the ſick, and the unarmed, were deſtroyed by the ſword wherever they were found: numbers of unhappy wretches were left ſtreaming in their own gore; dead bodies were piled in heaps round the altar; and the ſtairs were floated with deluges of blood.

The fury of the ſoldiers had now ariſen to ſuch a height, that Titus finding it impoſſible to reſtrain it, and that the fire continued to make additional ravages every day, he immediately proceeded, with ſome of his officers of the firſt rank, into the interior temple; where, on a careful ſurvey of the place, he found that its ſplendor and magnificence greatly exceeded what common fame had reported. Titus, having now remarked that the fire had not reached the ſanctuary, and being of opinion that it might not yet be too late to preſerve the holy place undeſtroyed, inſtantly exerted himſelf, and earneſtly entreated the ſoldiers to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſtop the progreſs of the flames; at the ſame time iſſuing ſtrict orders to Liberalis, a centurion of the guards, to urge the accompliſhment of this buſineſs, and to puniſh thoſe who refuſed their aſſiſtance. But ſo violent was the rage of the ſoldiers, that they were not to be reſtrained within the bounds of duty, either by motives of reſpect or fear. Avarice prompted great numbers to ſeek for plunder, as they imagined the inſide of that place was filled with hidden treaſures, the very doors being plated with gold.

Titus ſurveys the interior temple.

While Titus was thus exerting his utmoſt endeavours to preſerve the temple, one of the ſoldiers ſet fire to ſeveral of the door-poſts; on which he was obliged, with his officers, to retire to ſo great a diſtance, that their ſervices could no longer avail: the temple, therefore, was deſtroyed, notwithſtanding every generous effort that the Roman general had made for its protection.

It is a painful taſk to recite the circumſtances of this misfortune; which ruined the moſt aſtoniſhing fabric that ever was conſtructed, whether we conſider its architecture, its dimenſions, its ſplendor and magnificence, or the ſacred purpoſes to which it was dedicated. But one circumſtance ariſes, equally for our inſtruction and conſolation: we learn that all the works of the created univerſe, whether animate or inanimate, are governed by an inevitable deſtiny; and that all things muſt come to an end. From the commencement of the firſt temple by Solomon, to the deſtruction of this in the ſecond year of Veſpaſian, I reckon a period of eleven hundred and thirty years, ſeven months, and fifteen days: and I account ſix hundred and thirty-nine years and forty-five days, from that of Haggai, in the ſecond year of king Cyrus.

CHAP. XI.

The temple and all its contents reduced to aſhes. An impoſtor adviſes a proceeding that terminates in the deſtruction of near ſix thouſand people.

WHILE the temple was in flames, the ſoldiers ſeized all perſons that came in their way; and, having firſt plundered, ſlew them, without paying the leaſt attention to age, ſex, or quality. Indeed, the ſlaughter was immenſe: the old, the young; thoſe of the prieſthood, and thoſe of the laity; perſons of all ranks, and all degrees, whether they reſiſted or ſubmitted; were all involved in the general calamity.

Horror of the flames.

As the fire encreaſed, the groans of perſons in the agonies of death was diſtinguiſhed from the noiſe of the flames: and, to thoſe at a diſtance, the whole city appeared to be on fire, owing to the extent of the conflagration, and the depth of the hill. The Roman legions made the moſt horrid outcries: and the faction, when they found themſelves at the mercy of the fire and ſword, ſcreamed in the moſt dreadful manner; while the unhappy wretches encloſed between the enemy and the fire, lamented their ſituation in the moſt pitiable complaints. Thoſe on the mountain and thoſe in the city ſeemed mutually to echo each other's groans. Thoſe who were already on the point of expiring through famine, acquired freſh ſpirits to deplore their misfortunes, when they ſaw the dreadful effects of the raging flames. The complaints and lamentations from the city were repeatedly returned from the adjacent mountains and places beyond Jordan. But, in reality, the calamity exceeded all that could be expreſſed. The flames of fire were ſo violent and impetuous, that the mountain on which the temple ſtood reſembled one large body of fire, even from its foundation. The blood of the ſufferers flowed in proportion to the raging of the flames; for the number of thoſe who were ſlain exceeded that of their executioners. Dead bodies ſtrewed the ground on every ſide; on which the Roman ſoldiers trampled in purſuit of the ſurvivors. At length, however, a body of the Jews repelled the Romans; and, having forced a paſſage into the outward temple, effected their eſcape into the city; while the outward porch was gained by the remainder of their number.

The prieſts make uſe of ſpits.

Many of the prieſts who had engaged in this conteſt with the Romans made uſe of the ſpits belonging to the temple, inſtead of darts; and, in the place of ſtones, they threw their ſeats, which had lead in them: but at length, finding all their efforts fruitleſs, and that fire purſued wherever they attempted to fly, they took refuge for ſome time under a thick wall that was not leſs than eight cubits in breadth. Among the principal perſons who exerted themſelves on this occaſion, were Meirus, the ſon of Belgas, and Joſeph, the ſon of Daleus: they might have preſerved their own lives if they would have taken part with the Romans; but chuſing to adhere to their aſſociates, they plunged themſelves into the fire, and were buried in the conflagration that deſtroyed the temple.

The Romans likewiſe burnt the treaſury and the wardrobe, containing an immenſe treaſure in jewels and money, and rich habits to a very large amount: for the Jews had made this place a repoſitory of every thing deemed moſt valuable.

There was yet ſtanding one gallery on the outſide of temple, to which an immenſe number of women and children had reſorted, with a variety of other perſons who had fled from the multitude; the whole number amounting to almoſt ſix thouſand. The ſoldiers, ſtill enraged to the utmoſt degree of fury, ſet this place on fire before Titus had an opportunity of giving any directions to the contrary: and they continued their operations againſt it with ſuch vehemence, that not a ſingle perſon eſcaped with life: numbers threw themſelves headlong from the ruins, and all the reſt were conſumed by the flames.

A gallery ſet on fire.

This melancholy event happened through the artifices of an impoſtor, who, on that day, pretended to be commiſſioned by God Almighty, to declare his will; which was, that they ſhould immediately go up to the temple: and he accompanied this order with an aſſurance that the divine favour and protection would be manifeſted to them by an infallible ſign.

CHAP. XII.

Several remarkable occurrences.

IT is remarkable that the Jews ſhould ſo reſolutely perſevere in meaſures that tended immediately to their utter deſtruction,

tion, when the conſequences had been ſo clearly foretold by prodigies and other prognoſtics. This may be inſtanced by the following ſingular examples:

A comet hangs over Jeruſalem.

A comet, which bore the reſemblance of a ſword, hung over the city of Jeruſalem for the ſpace of a whole year.

A ſhort time before the revolt, a moſt remarkable and extraordinary light was ſeen about the altar. This ſpectacle, which continued for about half an hour, gave a light equal to that of the day, and happened on the eighth of the month Xanthicus, at the ninth hour of the night preceding the celebration of the feaſt of the Paſſover. Ignorant perſons conſidered this unuſual and wonderful appearance as a happy omen: but thoſe of ſuperior judgment averred that it was a prediction of approaching war.

A cow delivered of a lamb.

At the time of the feſtival above-mentioned another ſingular prodigy occurred. As the proper perſons were leading a cow to the altar to be ſacrificed, ſhe was delivered of a lamb in the midſt of the temple.

A gate of braſs opens without human aſſiſtance.

Solid braſs compoſed the eaſtern gate of the interior temple; and this gate was of ſuch an immenſe weight, that it was the labour of twenty men to make it faſt every night. It was ſecured with iron bolts and bars, which were let down into a large threſhold conſiſting of one entire ſtone. But about the fifth hour of the night this gate opened without any human aſſiſtance; and immediate notice of this event being given to the officer on duty, he loſt no time in endeavouring to reſtore it to its former ſituation; but it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he accompliſhed it.

Prodigies ſeen in the air.

On the twenty-firſt day of the month Artemiſius, not long after the feſtival was ended, a viſion of ſo extraordinary a kind made its appearance, that I ſhould be ſcrupulous of venturing to relate it, but that the events which were foretold have already actually happened; and I could yet produce ſeveral witneſſes who ſaw the circumſtance. Before the ſetting of the ſun, chariots and armed men were ſeen in the air, in various parts of the country, paſſing round the city, among the clouds.

While the prieſts were going to perform the duties of their function, according to cuſtom, in the inner temple, on the feaſt of Pentecoſt, they at firſt heard an indiſtinct murmuring, which was ſucceeded by a voice, repeating, in the plaineſt and moſt earneſt manner, "Let us be gone; let us be gone!"

Strange exclamation of a countryman named Jeſus.

But the moſt extraordinary ſtory yet remains untold. About four years before the commencement of the war, and while the city appeared to be in the moſt perfect peace, and abounded in plenty, there came to the feaſt of Tabernacles, which is annually celebrated to the honour of God, a ſimple countryman, named Jeſus, who was the ſon of Ananus, and who, without any previous intimation, exclaimed in the following manner—"A voice from the eaſt; a voice from the weſt; a voice from the four quarters of the world; a voice to Jeruſalem, and a voice to the temple: a voice to men and women newly married; and a voice to the nation at large!" In this manner did he continue his exclamations night and day, in various places, through all the ſtreets of the city. Some perſons of eminence in the government were ſo offended at the freedom of the ill-omened exclamation, that they directed that the man ſhould be apprehended and whipped ſeverely. He bore his ſufferings not only without complaint, but without ſaying a word in his defence: but his puniſhment was no ſooner ended, than he proceeded as before with his denouncing exclamations. By this time the magiſtrates were ſuſpicious (and indeed not without reaſon) that what he had ſaid proceeded from the divine impulſe of a ſuperior power that influenced his words. Hereupon he was ſent to Albinus, the governor of Judea, who directed him to be whipped with ſuch ſeverity, that his bones appeared; yet, even in this ſituation, he neither wept nor ſupplicated; but in a voice of mourning he repeated, after each ſtroke; "Woe, woe to Jeruſalem!" On this extraordinary conduct, Albinus was induced to interrogate him with reſpect to his character, and the places of his birth and reſidence; and what could induce him to proceed as he had done; but he replied not to any of theſe queſtions: wherefore Albinus found himſelf under a neceſſity of diſmiſſing him, as a man out of his ſenſes. From this period to the commencement of the war, it was not known that Jeſus viſited or ſpoke to any of the citizens; nor was he heard to ſay any other words than that melancholy ſentence, "Woe, woe to Jeruſalem!" Thoſe who daily puniſhed him received no ill language in return; nor did thoſe who fed him receive his thanks: but his general ſpeech to every one was an ominous prediction. It was remarked, that on public feſtivals he was more voiceferous than on other occaſions: and in the manner above-mentioned he continued to proceed for the ſpace of ſeven years and five months; nor did his voice or ſtrength appear to fail him till his predictions were verified by the ſiege of Jeruſalem. When this event had taken place, he went, for the laſt time, on the wall, and exclaimed, in a more powerful voice than uſual, "Woe, woe to this city, this temple, and this people!" and concluded his lamentation by ſaying, "Woe, woe be to myſelf!" He had no ſooner ſpoken theſe words than he was deſtroyed by a ſtone thrown from an engine.

It is aſtoniſhing that the Jews, after poſſeſſing themſelves of Antonia, ſhould have reduced the temple to a ſquare form, when they knew that the ſacred writings contained a prediction, importing that the city and temple ſhould be both taken whenever it ſhould be reduced to that figure. But the principal motive by which they were induced to undertake this deſtructive war, was the doubtful meaning of another text, which intimated that, in thoſe days, a perſon ſhould come out of Judea, who ſhould have the command of all the world. This text they applied to their own nation; and the error prevailed even among men of ſuperior rank: while, in fact, the prophecy related to Veſpaſian, who became an emperor while in Judea. Fancy appears to be the general guide in interpretations; thus, at leaſt, it happened with the devoted Jews.

A prophecy expounded.

CHAP. XIII.

The army proclaims Titus emperor. Titus commands that the prieſts ſhould be put to death. A treaty requeſted by the faction.

WHILE the temple, and all its adjacencies, continued on fire, the inſurgents fled into the city. The Roman army, after this, placed their enſigns againſt the eaſtern gate, where they made ſacrifices of thankſgiving, and proclaimed Titus emperor, with every poſſible demonſtration of joy.

The army proclaims Titus emperor.

So large a treaſure in gold was now obtained in Syria, that it was reduced to half its accuſtomed value.

Policy of a child.

Among the prieſts on the wall there happened to be a child, who requeſted the Roman guards to give him a draught of water to quench his thirſt: this they readily complied with, in compaſſion to the tender age of the little ſupplicant. On going down to the water, he took a flaggon, which he filled, and then ran off with ſuch expedition, that the guards were not able to catch him. The Romans, however, ſubmitted to the impoſition, in conſideration of its ſmallneſs.

The prieſts, having continued on the wall five days after this, an extremity of hunger at length compelled them to ſurrender themſelves to Titus, of whom they entreated a merciful regard. To this the emperor replied, that they were too late in their application; for as the temple was now deſtroyed, it was not unreaſonable that the prieſts who belonged to it ſhould ſhare its fate: and hereupon he ordered them to be put to death.

Titus orders certain prieſts to be put to death.

The leaders of the faction, finding that there was no poſſibility of eſcaping, propoſed to enter into a treaty with the emperor: to which he lent a favourable ear; partly, indeed, on the recommendation of his friends, and partly with a view to ſpare the city, in the hope that the inſurgents, by their future conduct, might deſerve his mercy. Titus took his ſtation on the weſt ſide of the interior temple, near the gates which led to the gallery; and between the temple and the upper town there was a bridge of communication, by which the Romans and Jews were at this time ſeparated. On each ſide the ſoldiers crouded round their commanding officers; the Romans, on the one part, eager to ſee how Titus would receive the ſupplicants; and the Jews, on the other, equally eager to learn what chance there was of their being pardoned. Titus having ordered his men to keep the ſtricteſt ſilence, aſked the Jews if they had ſo far recovered the uſe of their ſenſes as to be aware of their own weakneſs, and the power of the Romans. He endeavoured to convince them, by a variety of arguments, that they had been contending againſt abſolute impoſſibilities. In fact, Veſpaſian, he ſaid, did not viſit Judea with a view to chaſtiſe their defection from Ceſtius, but to give ſuch wholeſome advice as might tend [illegible] their reformation? "And yet," he continued, "after all that has paſſed, you have the aſſurance to invite me to a treaty, as if you had a ſingle argument to urge, in atonement for the devaſtation you have made. Is it to be thought that I can on any terms grant a pardon to thoſe who would not ſpare their own temple? You even preſent yourſelves now in arms; nor put on the leaſt appearance of petitioners for favour. But let us examine the foundation you have for this confident behaviour. Your people are totally diſpirited; your temple is deſtroyed; your city is mine by the law of arms, and you remain entirely at my diſpoſal: yet even to the preſent moment you perſiſt to demand terms of honour. But wherefore ſhould I longer remonſtrate with a folly ſo obſtinate? Lay down your arms and ſubmit, and I will yet ſpare your lives. It is true, that I will cauſe exemplary juſtice to be done on the principal offenders; but the reſt ſhall feel the beſt effects of humanity."

The faction deſire a treaty.

The ſpeech of Titus on the occaſion.

To this addreſs the faction returned an anſwer, importing that they could not ſurrender on any promiſe or aſſurance of ſafety that the emperor could make, as they were ſolemnly ſworn not to make any ſuch ſubmiſſion: but, if he had no objection, they were ready to retire, with their wives and children, into the deſart, and leave the city to the Romans.

The faction reject his terms.

Titus, enraged at the idea of priſoners giving law, and preſcribing terms to the conqueror, cauſed proclamation to be immediately made, intimating that, for the future, no Jew ſhould preſume to apply to him either for quarter or protection: but that they might now have recourſe to arms, if they thought proper; for that the laws of war ſhould hereafter determine his conduct towards them.

The ſword reſumed.

On this, the ſoldiers had permiſſion to attack the Jews with fire and ſword, and to apply the plunder to their own uſe: on the following morning, therefore, they ſet fire to the council-chamber, the caſtle, the regiſter-office, and a place named Ophlas; from whence the flames ſpread to queen Helen's palace in the middle of the mount, deſtroying a great number of dead bodies, which crouded the ſtreets and houſes in every part.

On this day, the ſons and brothers of king Izates, with divers other perſons of diſtinction, united in a petition to Titus to ſpare their lives: to which, though highly enraged at their conduct, he conſented. The ſupplicants, however, were all lodged in priſons; and the ſons and near relations of Izates, ſhortly after, were ſent as hoſtages to Rome.

CHAP. XIV.

The inſurgents kill upwards of eight thouſand perſons.

Proceedings of the faction.

THE inſurgents being thus made acquainted with what they had to expect, advanced to the royal palace, a place of great ſtrength, in which treaſure to an immenſe amount was depoſited. From this place they routed the Romans, killing about eight thouſand four hundred, and making prize of all the treaſure. In the courſe of this engagement two of the Roman ſoldiers being made priſoners; one of them of the cavalry, the other of the infantry; the latter was firſt put to death, and then dragged through the ſtreets of the city; as if the intention had been to deride the whole nation, by the inſult offered to one unhappy wretch. The other priſoner, pretending that he had a circumſtance of ſome conſequence to diſcloſe, was immediately conducted to Simon; but, on his arrival, he had nothing to mention that was deemed of the leaſt conſequence; wherefore Ardalas, one of Simon's officers, received orders to put him to death. Hereupon he was conducted from Simon's preſence, to be beheaded within view of the Romans; but juſt as the executioner was drawing his ſword, the priſoner ſlipped from him, and effected an eſcape.

The Jews routed from the lower town.

On the following day the Romans routed the Jews from the lower town; on which occaſion they ſet fire to all the buildings as far as Siloah: but they acquired no treaſure; the inſurgents having already ſafely depoſited this in the upper town.

Joſeph again exerts himſelf.

Joſeph, in the mean time, exerted his utmoſt endeavours for the preſervation of the few remaining inhabitants of a ruined and almoſt depopulated city. He applied himſelf to their paſſions by every art of invective, complaint, advice, and encouragement: but all that he could ſay anſwered no purpoſe; the Jews were inured to blood, and accuſtomed to ſmile on deſtruction.

Horrid tranſactions.

In this unhappy ſituation of affairs they diſperſed themſelves throughout the city, ſearching all the ruins, vaults, and other places, for ſuch as had deſerted. Great numbers of theſe being ſeized, were put to death; for they were ſo weak, that they could not ſeek their ſafety by flight; and the dead bodies were thrown to the dogs. However, famine ſtill threatened the moſt dreadful death. Many of the Jews at this time deſerted to the Romans, in mere deſpair, entertaining no other expectation than that of being immediately put to death, which would prevent the miſeries of ſtarving. The inſurgents likewiſe ſhared the ſame fate, having been inſtigated by the ſame motives. At this unhappy juncture there was not a ſingle ſtreet in the city but what was loaded with dead bodies, many of which had been ſtarved.

The ſtreets filled with dead bodies.

Progreſs of the famine.

The Jews who had taken poſſeſſion of the ſubterraneous retreats, were the authors of more calamity than the Romans, in ſetting fire to the place. They firſt robbed, and then murdered all who retired for ſafety to theſe places. The famine now raged to ſuch a degree, that violent contentions aroſe reſpecting the coarſeſt and moſt loathſome food: and I am of opinion that if it had continued much longer, thoſe who ſurvived would have made no ſcruple of feeding on the dead carcaſes.

CHAP. XV.

Titus directs new mounts. The common people ſold in the market like beaſts. Titus grants liberty to forty thouſand deſerters.

New mounts ordered.

TITUS, thinking it would be impoſſible to get poſſeſſion of the upper town, without the erection of new mounts, ordered that theſe works ſhould be commenced on the twentieth day of the month Loüs, notwithſtanding the ſcarcity of materials. The four legions threw up a mount on the weſt ſide of the city, oppoſite the royal palace; while the auxiliaries and the other forces threw up another near the gallery and the bridge, and fortified the place known by the name of Simon's tower, from having been conſtructed by him during his war with John.

Meaſure of ſome Idumean officers.

At this period ſome of the Idumean officers held a council, concerning how their whole body ſhould go over to the Romans.

Having fixed on their plan, they diſpatched five deputies to Titus, to make an offer of their ſervices; and by theſe they ſent a petition, imploring mercy in the name of their whole people. Titus, thinking that Simon and John would make no farther reſiſtance after ſo capital a deſertion, diſmiſſed the deputies with an anſwer, importing that he would grant the petitioners their lives; for the truth was, he deemed the Idumeans to be the moſt formidable of his opponents.

Simon orders the Idumean deputies to be put to death.

But Simon unluckily diſcovering this plot, gave orders that the five deputies ſhould inſtantly be put to death, and that impriſonment ſhould be the lot of thoſe from whom they had received their directions; of whom James, the ſon of Soſas, was deemed to be the principal. The leaders being thus in ſubjection, no great miſchief was apprehended from the common ſoldiers: but every effort proved ineffectual to prevent their deſerting to the Romans. It is true, that many of them were ſlain in the attempt; but ſtill great numbers effected their eſcape: all of whom were received by Titus, who declined to preſs the rigorous execution of his former orders.

Indeed, the common ſoldiers, partly ſatiated with the blood that had been ſpilt, and partly in the hope of obtaining booty, began now to conduct themſelves with more lenity and moderation.

The common people expoſed to ſale.

By this time there were none remaining but the inferior kind of people; and theſe, together with their wives and children, were publicly ſold, like beaſts, in the market; and at very low prices too, the purchaſers being but few in number. Titus reflecting on this circumſtance, and on the proclamation which he had previouſly iſſued, directing that no more of the Jews ſhould deſert to him ſingly, therefore determined to revoke his former order, and to receive as many of them as ſhould come to him ſeparately; but he would not receive any number together. He appointed proper perſons to enquire into their characters, to diſcriminate between the worthy and the unworthy, and to treat every man according to his deſerts.

A prieſt delivers up ſeveral ornaments belonging to the temple.

At this period there was a prieſt named Jeſus, the ſon of Thebuth, who compounded for his life with the emperor, on the condition of his delivering up ſeveral of the ornaments belonging to the temple, with ſome veſſels, and other articles that had been preſented thereto. In purſuance of this contract, he conveyed out of the temple, and handed over the wall, ſeveral tables, goblets, and cups, with a pair of candleſticks, all made of the fineſt gold. He likewiſe preſented the emperor with a conſiderable number of the veſſels uſed in ſacrifice, with precious ſtones, veils, and the habits uſed by the prieſts.

Phineas, keeper of the ſacred treaſure, taken.

About this time, likewiſe, Phineas, the keeper of the ſacred treaſure, being taken priſoner, he gave up a vaſt number of the habits and girdles belonging to the prieſts; together with ſcarlet and purple ſtuffs, which had been carefully laid by for future uſe. He likewiſe made a diſcovery of a quantity of cinnamon, caſſia, gums and perfumes, which were uſed for the incenſe daily offered; together with a number of ſacred ornaments, and effects which were the property of private perſons. Now though Phineas was a lawful priſoner, regularly taken in open war, yet, in conſideration of theſe diſcoveries, he was treated with as much lenity as if he had made them through the mere effect of his own inclination.

Is treated with lenity.

CHAP. XVI.

The Romans advance with their engines for battery. Simon and John abandon three forts. The ſucceſs of the Romans.

The mounts compleated.

AFTER the expiration of eighteen days, the erection of the mounts was compleated, on the ſeventh day of the month Gorpiæus, (that is, September) at which time the Romans advanced with their engines for battery. Many of the inſurgents now deſpairing to hold poſſeſſion of the place any longer, abandoned the walls, and retired to the caſtle; while others concealed themſelves in vaults, and ſubterranean paſſages. Still, however, there were ſome, more obſtinate than the reſt, who were determined to oppoſe thoſe who had the management of the batteries. In the mean time the enemy was greatly ſuperior to them in numbers and ſtrength; and the Romans had ſtill the farther advantage, that their troops were in full health and ſpirits, and animated with the ſucceſs they had obtained over an enemy that, having been unfortunate in their undertakings, were almoſt abandoned to deſpair.

The diſmay of Simon and John.

As often as any of the Jews obſerved a flaw in the wall, or that any of the turrets yielded to the impreſſion made by the battering engines, they ſought their ſafety by immediately flying from the place of apprehended danger; till, at length, even Simon and John were terrified, and fled before the Romans were advanced within ſuch a diſtance as to be able to do them any perſonal injury. Though theſe men were ſome of the moſt abandoned of the human race, yet the extreme calamity they endured could ſcarcely fail of exciting pity in the breaſts of thoſe who ſo lately knew them boaſting of their imagined conſequence, and triumphing in all the height of preſuming arrogance. The change in their affairs was indeed very great, and diſtreſſing in the higheſt degree.

John and Simon now made an attempt on the wall which had been erected round the city by the Romans. They ſucceeded, in fact, ſo far in this attempt, as to make a breach in it; and their intention was to have attacked the guards, and by that means to have effected their eſcape. But when they expected to have been properly ſupported in this attack, they found that all their friends had abandoned them: wherefore they retreated in confuſion, as they were led by their fears and apprehenſions.

Simon and John diſappointed.

In this diſtracted and wretched ſtate of affairs, every man told ſuch a tale as was inſpired by his own apprehenſions. While one brought intelligence that the whole of the wall to the weſtward was overthrown, others aſſerted that the Romans were at the foot of this wall; and a third party declared that they had entered the city, and that ſome of them were in actual poſſeſſion of the towers. Their imaginations appeared to realize their fears: they fell proſtrate on the ground, lamenting their unhappy fate, bewailing their follies; and remained in a ſtate of deſperation, of which no language can convey an idea.

The goodneſs and the power of God were remarkable, and likewiſe equally conſpicuous, on this ſingular occaſion: for the tyrannical leaders of the oppoſition were, eventually, the occaſion of their own deſtruction, by abandoning thoſe forts of their own accord, which could never have been taken, unleſs the beſieged had been ſtarved out: and this they did after the Jews had in vain ſpent much time on other erections of inferior ſtrength. By this providential turn of affairs, the Romans became maſters of three impregnable forts, which they could never have acquired in any other manner: for the three towers I have mentioned were abſolute proof againſt battery of every kind.

The Romans get poſſeſſion of three forts.

No ſooner had Simon and John, influenced by the impulſe of a judicial infatuation, abandoned the towers above-mentioned, than they hurried away to the vale of Siloah, where they repoſed themſelves for a ſhort time, after the fatigue they had undergone. Having refreſhed themſelves, and recalled their ſcattered ideas, they aſſaulted the new wall at the above-mentioned place: but their efforts were ſo feeble, that they were eaſily repulſed by the guards; for their miſery, deſpair, and fatigue, had ſo reduced them, that they had no ſtrength remaining, and were glad to creep away, with their adherents, and conceal themſelves in vaults and caverns.

Simon and John conceal themſelves.

The walls being now in poſſeſſion of the Romans, they hoiſted their colours on the towers, and exulted with the moſt cheerful acclamations, at the happy concluſion of a war which promiſed ſo little in the commencement: for they were compelled to believe that the war was at length ended, unleſs they had been diſpoſed to diſcredit the evidence of their own ſenſes.

By this time the ſoldiers had ſpread themſelves into every part of the city, ranging through the ſtreets with drawn ſwords, and ſacrificing to their rage every one they ſaw, without diſtinction. They ſet fire to the houſes, and burnt them, and all their contents to the ground. In many houſes into which they entered in ſearch of plunder, they found every perſon of the families dead, and the houſes in a manner filled with the bodies of thoſe who had periſhed through hunger; wherefore, ſhocked at ſuch a ſight, they frequently returned without ſeizing their intended booty. Yet, notwithſtanding this apparent reſpect they ſhewed to the deceaſed, they gave no proofs of their humanity to the living; for they put every man to the ſword who fell in their way, till at length the bodies of the dead filled up all the alleys and narrow paſſes; while their blood flowed to ſuch a degree, as to run down the channels of the city in ſtreams. Towards night they gave over the practice, but renewed their depredations by means of fire.

The cruel depredations of the ſoldiers in the city.

The conflagration of the city of Jeruſalem ended on the eighth day of the month Gorpiæus. Jeruſalem was a city that muſt undoubtedly have been the envy of the univerſe, if all the proſperity that attended it from its original foundation had borne any proportion to the misfortunes and calamities which befel it in the courſe of the ſiege above mentioned; and what aggravated theſe judgments was, that her own ſons proved her deſtruction; and that ſhe had nurſed a race of vipers to prey on the body of the parent.

Grandeur of Jeruſalem.

Titus employed himſelf in taking a ſurvey of the ruins of this diſtinguiſhed city: while admiring the works and fortifications, and particularly the fortreſſes, which the uſurpers, in the extravagance of their folly, had abandoned: while he was contemplating the ſituation, dimenſions, and elevation of the towers, with the elegance of the ſtructures, the curioſity of the deſign and workmanſhip, and the maſterly execution of the whole, he expreſſed himſelf in the following manner: "If our military operations had not been aided by the immediate interpoſition of Heaven, it would have been impoſſible that we ſhould have ever poſſeſſed ourſelves of theſe fortreſſes. In a word, it was God who fought for, and aided us, againſt the Jews: for a deed has been accompliſhed, which the hands of men, or the force of engines, could never have effected."

Titus having delivered himſelf to this effect, and ſaid much more to the ſame purpoſe, his next buſineſs was to reſtore to liberty all thoſe priſoners whom the oppreſſors had left in the towers. This being done, and the razing and the demolition of the city compleated, theſe towers alone excepted, he gave orders for the ſparing them, as a memorial of his good fortune and ſucceſs; for, unleſs they had been abandoned, this ſucceſs could never have ariſen.

By this time the ſoldiers were perfectly fatigued with the work of ſlaughter, notwithſtanding that much appeared yet to be done. However, Titus commanded his men to deſiſt, ſo far as to the ſparing all who ſhould not be found in arms, or offer to make reſiſtance: yet, notwithſtanding theſe directions, the ſoldiers exceeded their orders, and put to death the ſick and the aged, without pity or remorſe. Thoſe who appeared to be in full health, and fit for ſervice, were impriſoned in the temple, in that quarter heretofore deſtined to the uſe of the women. Fronto, one of the freed-men and friends of Titus, was deputed to enquire into the caſes of the priſoners, and to treat them according to their deſerts. The abandoned, the ſeditious, and thoſe who mutually charged each other with crimes, were put to death without mercy: but Titus reſerved the young and healthy, particularly thoſe of a comely appearance, to grace his triumph on his entrance into Rome. All thoſe who remained after this ſelection, and were above ſeventeen years of age, were ſent in chains into Egypt, to be employed as ſlaves; and thoſe who were under ſeventeen were expoſed to ſale; ſome only excepted, who were ſent into the various provinces of the empire, to be engaged as gladiators at the ſeveral theatres.

The obſtinacy of the Roman ſoldiers.

Eleven thouſand priſoners ſtarved to death.

In the interim, no leſs than eleven thouſand of the priſoners who were under the care of Fronto were ſtarved to death; partly owing to their own obſtinacy in the refuſal of proviſions, and partly to the ſeverity of their overſeers, who neglected to ſupply them in a proper manner: but one great cauſe which aggravated this calamity, was the want of ſufficient proviſions for ſuch an immenſe number.

CHAP. XVII.

John and Simon made priſoners. The remainder of the city burnt, and the walls thrown down by the Romans.

IN the war of which we are ſpeaking, no leſs than ninety-ſeven thouſand perſons were made priſoners; and the number of thoſe who loſt their lives during its progreſs was eleven hundred thouſand. Of theſe far the greater part were Jews, though not born in Judea: and as the event happened at a time when they had aſſembled, from all parts of the country, to celebrate the feaſt of the paſſover, at Jeruſalem, many of them were engaged in the war without having any ſuch intention. The multitude which had got together on this occaſion was ſo immenſe, and they were ſo crouded together, that the confined air occaſioned a peſtilence; and this calamity was ſoon followed by a famine. Yet, if the calculation of Ceſtius may be relied on, the city was quite large enough to have afforded accommodation to this amazing concourſe of people. Of this calculation it may be proper to take notice.

The emperor Nero entertained ſo great a degree of contempt for the Jews, that Ceſtius, with a view to convince the emperor that the Jewiſh nation was by no means ſuch an object of deriſion as he thought it, made application to the high-prieſt, to fix on a method of numbering the people. This computation was commenced at the time of the celebration of the feaſt of the paſſover; and the following mode was adopted. From the ninth to the eleventh hour of the day the people came to offer their ſacrifices; when they counted no leſs than two hundred and fifty-five thouſand ſix hundred oblations; and reckoning that ten perſons at leaſt was to eat of each lamb, (though in ſome inſtances there were twenty) the number would amount to two millions, five hundred and fifty-ſix thouſand perſons, all of them in perfect health: for neither perſons troubled with the ſcurvy or leproſy, nor men infected with a particular diſorder, nor women in certain circumſtances, nor any who were labouring under malignant diſtempers, were admitted to any ſhare in this ſolemnity: neither were any ſtrangers admitted ſo to partake, unleſs they came to Jeruſalem on motives of devotion.

Number of people in Jeruſalem.

Thus did the all-wiſe providence of God decree that theſe immenſe numbers of people who had come to Jeruſalem before the ſiege, ſhould be afterwards pent up within the city, as in a priſon: and the number of ſlain in the courſe of the ſiege gave proof of a divine judgment unequalled in the annals of hiſtory. Many of them were killed openly in the ſtreets; while great numbers, retreating to the vaults and ſepulchres, were purſued by the Romans, who put to the ſword all they could find. Excluſive of thoſe who periſhed in conſequence of the ſeverity of the famine, there were about two thouſand, who either died by their own hands, or mutually conſented to deſtroy each other. Not a few, likewiſe, were poiſoned by the putrid effluvia ariſing from the dead bodies: ſome bore the nauſeous ſmells as long as they could endure them, and then retired to conſult their own ſafety; but others, intent on acquiring all the booty in their power, rifled ſome of the bodies of the deceaſed, while they trampled on others which were in an abſolute ſtate of putrefaction : but avarice diſclaims all ideas of delicacy.

A great number of priſoners were releaſed, who had been laid in chains by the two uſurpers, whoſe cruelty continued as long as they had the leaſt power to exert it. But at length the vengeance of Heaven effectually purſued theſe monſters of iniquity: John and his aſſociates, who had ſecreted themſelves in the vaults, were reduced even to the point of ſtarving ; ſo that, at length, they were compelled to implore that protection from the Romans, which they had heretofore affected to deſpiſe : while Simon ſurrendered himſelf, after a long ſtruggle with the moſt pinching neceſſity ; as will be hereafter mentioned. John was committed to priſon for life, and Simon reſerved to grace the triumph. Soon after this the Romans demoliſhed the walls, and burnt the reſt of the city.

John and Simon ſurrender.

CHAP XVIII.

The utter deſtruction of Jeruſalem. The city and temple laid level with the ground.

IT was in the ſecond year of the reign of Veſpaſian, and on the eighth day of the month Gorpiæus, that Jeruſalem was thus finally taken and abſolutely deſtroyed. Before this, however, it had been taken five times ; viz. by the Ægyptian king Azochaus ; by the Syrian king Antiochus Epiphanes ; by Pompey ; and by Herod, aſſiſted by Soſius : but all theſe preſerved it after they had conquered it. The fifth capture of which I ſpeak was that of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who laid it waſte after it had been built one thouſand three hundred and ſixty years, eight months and ſix days.

Melchiſedec the firſt founder of Jeruſalem.

Melchiſedec, a king of Canaan, was the firſt founder of the city of Jeruſalem. In the Hebrew language the name Melchiſedec ſignifies an " Upright King ;" and this prince was ſo in a diſtinguiſhed degree. * He firſt dedicated this city to God ; built a temple therein, and officiated as a high-prieſt ; and changed its former name of Solyma to that of Jeruſalem.

In a ſeries of time, when David, the king of the Jews, drove out the Canaanites, he placed his own countrymen in Jeruſalem ; and after this, the Babylonians deſtroyed the city, at the expiration of four hundred and ſeventy-ſeven years and three months.

There elapſed eleven hundred and ſeventy-nine years between the reign of David in Jeruſalem, and the deſtruction of the city by Titus ; and this laſt event happened at the expiration of two thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-ſeven years from its foundation. But by this great event it is evident that the inevitable decrees of fate pay no regard to antiquity, riches, fame, or even the dignity of religion.

End of the ſiege.

Thus ended the important and melancholy ſiege ; and the Roman ſoldiers having no living object on which to wreak their farther vengeance, (for if they had, that vengeance would have been continued) Titus gave orders that they ſhould reduce the city and temple to a level with the ground ; and not to leave any building ſtanding, except the three diſtinguiſhed towers, ſo often mentioned, which bore the names of Hippocos, Phaſael, and Mariamne ; and a part of the wall to the weſtward of the city, on which he intended to erect a garriſon. The towers were ordered to remain as an evidence to future times of the ſkill and power of the Romans in becoming poſſeſſed of them. This order was executed with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs, and the reſt of the city totally demoliſhed, and razed even to the ground ; ſo that it ſcarcely appeared to have been the reſidence of human creatures. Thus the factious multitude, whoſe ſeditions had created all the misfortunes, were reduced : and thus likewiſe was reduced the moſt diſtinguiſhed city on the face of the earth.

CHAP. XIX.

The war being ended, Titus determines to encourage and reward thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the enterprize.

A Reſolution was now formed by Titus, to leave ſome ſquadrons and battalions of horſe and foot, together with the tenth legion, in garriſon at Jeruſalem. The duty of a careful and vigilant general having been fully diſcharged by Titus, he now conſidered how he ſhould moſt effectually encourage and reward thoſe whoſe ſervices had tended to contribute to his preſent glory. For this purpoſe he aſcended a tribunal in the front of his camp, and on an eminence where he might be heard to the greateſt advantage ; and being ſurrounded by a ſelect number of his principal officers ; he from thence made a ſpeech to his army, the ſubſtance of which is as follows :

Speech of Titus to the Roman troops.

" My gallant fellow-ſoldiers ! I have no language in which to expreſs the ſenſe of that gratitude I entertain for your faithful and reſpectful behaviour to me during the courſe of the late war. Your regular obedience and ſtrict diſcipline have been commendable beyond all example. You have been reſolute in your behaviour on every occaſion, and firm in all dangers, even the moſt alarming. You have acquired the higheſt degree of reputation, in having advanced the honour, and enlarged the territories, of your country. It is proper that all the world ſhould know, that neither the ſuperiority of numbers, the advantages of forts, the ſtrength of ſituation, the power of well-peopled cities, nor the deſperate zeal, and aggravated fury of the moſt brutiſh adverſaries, can ever be an equal match for the calm conduct and courage of the Romans.

---

* The learned Bochart ſays, that in the following lines are " almoſt as many errors as words."

"It is true, that ſome favourable and advantageous turns of fortune have occaſionally attended the Jews; but you have amply performed your duty in putting a happy end to a war of ſo long continuance, in a way as flattering to our wiſhes as could have been hoped for on its commencement. A circumſtance ſtill more happy than this ariſes, on which to congratulate you; for the choice that you have made of Roman emperors and generals is not only admitted, but univerſally approved and applauded. It is impoſſible that I ſhould ſufficiently admire and eſteem you, on account of what you have already ſo admirably performed. With regard to thoſe who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their ſingular bravery, and by their exemplary conduct in hazardous adventures, by which they have done honour to their private characters and public profeſſion, it ſhall be my particular care to ſee that they do not go unrewarded. Thoſe who have approved themſelves emulous to excel their fellow-ſoldiers ſhall be certain of meeting with an acknowledgment adequate to their merits: for I have leſs pleaſure in puniſhing the guilty, than in promoting and rewarding the meritorious."

As ſoon as Titus had ended this ſpeech, he addreſſed himſelf to the proper officers, demanding a liſt of the names of ſuch of the ſoldiers as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in an exemplary manner in the courſe of the war. Theſe being ſeparately called, and their names announced, Titus acknowledged their merit, ſaying he was as anxious for their welfare as for his own. Having addreſſed them in the moſt obliging terms, he proceeded to give them ſubſtantial proofs of his friendſhip, and princely bounty. He placed coronets of gold on their heads; adorned them with chains of gold; preſented them with lances pointed with the ſame metal, and with medals of ſilver and promoted every man in proportion to his rank. He alſo gave them gratuities of minted money in gold and ſilver: out of the treaſure that had been taken, and likewiſe preſented them with robes, and other valuable articles.

Titus rewards his ſoldiers.

Every man being thus rewarded according to his merit, by the proper diſtribution of the imperial bounties, Titus deſcended from his tribunal, amidſt the acclamations, vows, and prayers, of the whole army.

The next proceeding was to offer ſacrifices, and return thanks for the victory. A number of oxen had been previouſly provided, and brought near the altars, which were ſacrificed on this occaſion, and diſtributed to the army; and Titus feaſted his officers, at his own expence, for three days. Soon after this the troops were diſmiſſed to their reſpective quarters; and the tenth legion, which had been brought from the Euphrates, took poſſeſſion of the city of Jeruſalem.

Sacrifices made by the Romans

The affront which the Jews had offered the Romans under Ceſtius was yet freſh in the memory of Titus; wherefore he diſpatched the twelfth legion (which had formerely been ſtationed at Rapanæa) to Militence, which is ſituated near the Euphrates, on the borders of Cappadocia and Armenia. The fifth and the fifteenth legions he retained, as a guard to attend himſelf into Egypt. From Egypt he went a coaſting paſſage to Cæſarea: but as the winter was now ſet in, he did not think it prudent to proceed to Italy; wherefore, for the preſent, he depoſited his treaſure in Cæſarea, and ſecured his priſoners in the moſt effectual manner.

CHAP. XX.

During the ſiege of Jeruſalem by Titus, a number of ſea-ports are viſited by Veſpaſian. Domitian's birth-day celebrated with uncommon ſplendor and magnificence; and likewiſe that of Veſpaſian.

At the time that Titus was laying ſiege to Jeruſalem, Veſpaſian employed himſelf in viſiting the ſea-ports. Having embarked on board a trading veſſel for Rhodes, he engaged a galley at that place, in which he ſailed from Ionia to Greece, calling at all the towns on the coaſt, where he was received and entertained in a manner conſiſtent with his rank. Hence he went to Corcyra, and ſo on to Japygia; from whence he continued his journey by land.

The journey of Veſpaſian.

When Titus had returned from Cæſarea on the ſea-coaſt to the place called Cæſarea Philippi, he there remained a conſiderable time, amuſing himſelf with a variety of public entertainments; particularly combats between men and beaſts, likewiſe between one ſingle man and another; and engagements between different parties of men: and the lives of a conſiderable number of his ſlaves were ſacrificed in theſe amuſements.

About this period Simon, the ſon of Gioras, was made a priſoner, in conſequence of the following ſingular circumſtance. When Jeruſalem was ſo cloſely beſieged that Simon was compelled to take refuge in the upper town, and when the Romans had actually got into the city; he was almoſt diſtracted to know how to diſpoſe of himſelf: and at length he adopted the following plan. Having ſent for a number of ſtone-cutters, miners, ſmiths, and perſons well ſkilled in iron works; and having provided a great number of tools and materials proper for their purpoſe, and proviſions for a conſiderable time, they deſcended all together into a dark and private vault. In this place they worked their way as far as they were able; but finding the paſſage too narrow to anſwer their intentions, they began to dig and mine, with a view to open a paſſage through which they might effect their eſcape: but though they managed their proviſions in the moſt frugal manner poſſible, they fell ſhort before they had made any conſiderable progreſs in their work; by which the whole plan failed. Reduced to the utmoſt neceſſity, Simon had recourſe to a ſingular device to terrify the Romans. In purſuance of his plan, he dreſſed himſelf in a white garment, which was buckled round him, over which was thrown a purple cloak. Thus habited, he aſcended from the ground, under the ruins of the late temple, to the aſtoniſhment of the ſoldiers, and others who beheld the apparition. As he advanced towards them, the ſoldiers aſſumed ſufficient courage to demand his name and buſineſs; but Simon refuſed to anſwer their queſtions, and demanded to ſpeak with the captain of the guard. Hereupon they immediately ſent to Terentius Rufus, who at that time had the command; and he ſoon diſcovering who Simon was, ordered him to be immediately put in chains, and then related all the particulars of the affair to Titus.

Simon put in chains.

Thus did divine juſtice purſue and puniſh an execrable tyrant, who had, by the means of ſuborning falſe evidence, cauſed the deſtruction of ſo many of his own countrymen, on the pretence that they were about to deſert to the Romans: thus was he, by an act of his own, delivered into the hands of his enemies, without any contrivance on their part to take him priſoner. But the vengeance of Heaven will always purſue the guilty; juſtice and innocence will finally prevail: the puniſhment which is deferred is frequently felt the more ſeverely from that circumſtance; ſince the danger is then thought to be at an end, and the guilty deem themſelves ſecure. This was the ſituation of Simon, with reſpect to the Romans; and his aſcent from the vault, in the ſtrange manner above-mentioned proved the means of diſcovering the place where his companions were concealed.

When Titus had returned from Cæſarea, on the ſea-coaſt, Simon was preſented to him bound in chains: whereupon he gave orders that he ſhould be detained a priſoner, to grace his triumphal entry into Rome. Some ſhort time after his arrival, he appointed a day for the celebration of the nativity of his brother Domitian, with the utmoſt grandeur and magnificence. On this occaſion a great number of condemned priſoners were ſacrificed to the ſplendor of the ceremony: for of thoſe who were deſtroyed by beaſts, by fire, or in combats with each other, it was calculated that no leſs than two thouſand five hundred periſhed; yet ſuch was the inveteracy of the Romans againſt the Jews, that they thought even this number too ſmall.

Upwards of two thouſand Jews ſacriced on Domitian's birth day.

Some time after this Titus went to Berytus, a city of Phœnicia, and one of the Roman colonies. In this place he continued ſome time, and there celebrated the anniverſary of the birth of his father Veſpaſian, even with a greater degree of pomp and ſplendor than he had done that of his brother, both with reſpect to the article of expence, and the public ſhews exhibited.

CHAP. XXI.

Account of the Jews being diſperſed over the face of the earth. The city of Antioch ruined by Antiochus, the ſon of a Jew.

THE ſituation of the Jews in Antioch was at this time very uncomfortable; for the citizens were their determined enemies, on account of their former miſbehaviour, aggravated by ſome improper conduct of which they had been lately guilty. In this place it may not be improper to make mention of ſome particular circumſtances, by which the meaning of what is to follow will be the more readily comprehended.

There is ſcarcely a part of the habitable globe in which ſome of the Jewiſh people are not diſperſed; but they particularly abound in Syria, which borders on their own country; and there are immenſe numbers of them in Antioch: a circumſtance which ariſes not only from the city being very large and populous, but from the particular privileges with which they have been gratified in this place, from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, (as he was called) who totally reduced the city of Jeruſalem, and plundered the temple. All the brazen veſſels which had been taken from the Jews at Jeruſalem were reſtored to them by the immediate ſucceſſors of Antiochus, for the purpoſe of their being applied to the ſervice of their temple at Antioch. Theſe ſucceſſors likewiſe allowed the Jews to enjoy the ſame freedom of the city that the Greeks did; and the kings who followed thoſe above-mentioned behaved with a ſimilar degree of lenity and indulgence; ſo that the Jewiſh temple became rich and flouriſhing, and the numbers of their people continually encreaſed. Several of the Pagans, likewiſe, became proſelytes to their religion, and incorporated with the body of the people.

When the war was now compleatly ended, and Veſpaſian had gone by ſea into Syria, the Jews rendered themſelves extremely odious; of which the following circumſtance will ſerve as an inſtance. During a public aſſembly in the theatre, Antiochus came in, and, before all the company, charged his own father, and ſeveral other foreign Jews, whoſe names he mentioned, with a deſign of ſetting fire to the city during the night. This aſſertion occaſioned a violent inſurrection; and, during the diſturbance, the people procured fire, and burnt the ſuppoſed conſpirators in the midſt of the theatre. The mob were now diſpoſed to have burnt every man who was but ſuſpected, in order to ſave their country from an apprehended ruin. Antiochus did every thing in his power to aggravate the preſent malicious diſpoſition; and as a proof of the regard which he entertained for the Pagan worſhip, and his abhorrence of that of the Jews, he ſacrificed after the Pagan manner himſelf, and likewiſe iſſued orders that others ſhould do the ſame, or ſuffer death if they refuſed. In conſequence of this peremptory order, the people of Antioch in general complied, the Jews only excepted, great numbers of whom were put to death for refuſing their obedience to the mandate.

By this Antiochus had a command beſtowed on him by the governor, which enabled him ſtill farther to gratify his rage againſt the Jews; wherefore he began by infringing on the ſacredneſs of the ſabbath, compelling the people to labour on that day as they did on others; and he inſiſted on this point with ſuch rigid ſeverity, that the obſervation of this ſacred day was at length totally ſuppreſſed in Antioch; while other places were in danger of following the fatal example.

A fire breaks out in the market place.

It was not long before another misfortune ſucceeded this perſecution of the Jews at Antioch; the particulars of which are as follow. A fire happened to break out in the ſquare market, which burnt ſeveral magnificent buildings, and public offices for the regiſtering of records; and the flames raged ſo furiouſly, that the total deſtruction of the whole city was greatly endangered. Antiochus accuſed the Jews with being the authors of this conflagration; and the inhabitants of Antioch, already greatly prepoſſeſſed againſt thoſe people, were very fond of giving credit to the charge; in fact, ſo ſtrong were their prejudices againſt the Jews, that they were ready to ſwear that they ſaw thoſe people in the very act of ſetting fire to the city; wherefore, taking it for granted that all was true that their imaginations ſuggeſted, they made ſo ſudden and violent an attack on the accuſed parties, that it was with no ſmall degree of difficulty that Collega, vice-governor to Ceſennius Petus, kept the people in tolerable ſubjection till the particulars of the affair could be tranſmitted to the emperor. At this time Ceſennius had received his commiſſion as governor, but was not arrived to take on him the command. Collega having examined into the affair in the moſt careful and cautious manner, the innocence of all the perſons who had been accuſed by Antiochus was made indiſputably evident; and it appeared that the city had been ſet on fire by a few abandoned miſcreants, and men of deſperate fortunes, who thought the deſtruction of their creditors would be the moſt effectual way of ſcreening themſelves from the payment of their debts. Notwithſtanding the falſeneſs of the accuſation, the Jews were under great uneaſineſs of mind for fear of the conſequences.

The occaſion of the fire.

CHAP XXII.

The happineſs of Titus on receiving an account of his father's ſafe arrival in Italy.

AT this time Titus received the agreeable news that his father was happily arrived in Italy, and how magnificently he had been entertained in the ſeveral cities of that country, through which he paſſed: but what afforded him more ſatisfaction than any other circumſtance, was the ſincere affection and ſplendid dignity with which he was received at Rome; which prevented the ſon from having any farther anxiety on account of his father. In every place the people treated even the name of Veſpaſian with the utmoſt diſtinction; ſupplying the want of his preſence by their perfect reſpect.

The roads were crouded with the wives and children of the inhabitants, who flocked to ſee him. In fact, every one burſt into raptures of admiration at the elegance of his perſon, and the modeſty of his behaviour; and they called him by all the endearing names of Benefactor, Deliverer, Protector; extolling him as the only prince in the univerſe who was worthy of an imperial crown.

On this occaſion the whole city was decorated with garlands; and the ſtreets were crouded to ſuch a degree, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty the proceſſion could paſs to the palace. Veſpaſian now offered up ſacrifices of thankſgivings to his houſhold gods, in grateful acknowledgment of his ſafe return; and, in the mean time, the people in general indulged themſelves in feaſting, treating their families and neighbours, offering up their vows for a long and proſperous reign to Veſpaſian, and wiſhing that he might be ſucceeded in the imperial dignity by his ſon; and that there might never be wanting one of his illuſtrious family to ſway the ſceptre. Thus auſpicious was the entrance of Veſpaſian into Rome; and every kind of ſucceſs and happineſs ſucceeded this event.

CHAP. XXIII.

A revolt happens among the Germans. Petilius Cerealis puts a ſtop to the ſedition, and Domitian totally ſuppreſſes it. An incurſion of the Scythians.

AT the time that Titus was laying ſiege to Jeruſalem, and not long before Veſpaſian came to Alexandria, a very conſiderable revolt happened among the Germans, in which they were in a great degree incited and animated by their neighbours the Gauls, who wiſhed to free themſelves from the Roman yoke. The Germans being naturally of a vehement diſpoſition, bold, raſh, and inconſiderate, were forward enough to engage in an enterprize of this kind; inſtigated, beſides, by an inveterate hatred which they entertained for the Romans.

At this time two perſons, named Caſſius and Civilis, who had great influence among the Germans, took advantage of the diſtracted ſtate of affairs to promote the ſedition: though, in fact, it was but carrying on a plan which thay had concerted long before.

Account of the German tumult.

The particulars of this tumult are as follow: Veſpaſion had ſent letters to Petilius Cerealis, heretofore governor of Germany, by which he advanced him to the dignity of conſul, and directed that he ſhould immediately march into Italy, to execute the duties of his new office. But as Cerealis was on his journey, he received authentic information of the inſurrection above-mentioned; on which he immediately marched againſt the rebels, who were united in a body; and, attacking them with great vigour, they were totally routed: great numbers being ſlain in the action, the reſt were at once reduced.

When news of this inſurrection arrived at Rome, Domitian, the ſon of Veſpaſian, a young prince of the greateſt hopes and expectations, put himſelf at the head of an army, and advanced againſt the main body of the rebels; who no ſooner heard of the circumſtance, than they were ſo terrified as to ſurrender without bloodſhed.

When the affairs of Gaul were adjuſted, and there was no farther danger of another rebellion, Domitian loſt no time in returning to Rome; where he was received with the loudeſt acclamations.

Shortly after this, the Scythians, or Sarmatians, having privately tranſported themſelves over the Danube, with an immenſe number of men, broke into the country of Myſia, where they ſurprized ſeveral of the Roman garriſons, and put all the troops they found in them to the ſword. They ſlew Fontieus Agrippa, a perſon of the rank of lieutenant-general, and of conſular dignity, at the head of his troops: and they ravaged the whole country, burning, waſting, and deſtroying, wherever they penetrated. Veſpaſian, on being informed of theſe depredations, immediately ſent away Rubrius Gallus to chaſtiſe the offenders: a commiſſion which this officer executed ſo effectually, that he deſtroyed great numbers of them, and the reſt eſcaped with difficulty to their own habitations. So that this war was ſoon at an end: and the commanding officer gave ſuch orders for ſecuring the paſſes, as to prevent a repetition of ſimilar attempts.

The Scythians make an incurſion into Myſia.

CHAP. XXIV.

Proceedings of Titus in his march to Egypt. Veſpaſian dedicates a temple to peace.

TITUS having remained a little while at Berytus, on his return from that place, he exhibited the moſt magnificent ſpectacles as he paſſed through Syria. In this journey he took with him the priſoners that he had made, to add to the ſplendour of his triumph.

Properties of a remarkable river.

In the courſe of his journey this prince took particular notice of a certain river, ſituated betwixt the cities of Arce and Raphane, in the kingdom of Agrippa, diſtinguiſhed by ſome very remarkable properties. During the flowing of the river the ſtream is full, and the current ſets ſtrong: but the ſprings failing on a ſudden, it leaves the channel dry, even to the middle, for the ſpace of ſix days; and it fills again on the ſeventh, and flows as uſual, purſuing its former courſe, as if no interruption had happened. From theſe circumſtances it has obtained the name of the Sabbatical River, from the feſtival celebrated by the Jews on the ſeventh day.

Intelligence of Titus being on his journey having reached the city of Antioch, the people were ſo overjoyed, that immenſe numbers of both ſexes, and all ages, went out to meet him. Many went to the diſtance of thirty furlongs, being impatient to congratulate him. When he came near them they withdrew on each ſide, to make a paſſage for him, and thus conducted him into the city, with every poſſible mark of joy and reſpect; but, amidſt their ſhouts and acclamations, they ſolicited him in the moſt earneſt and importunate manner, to baniſh all Jews from the city. Titus heard all they had to ſay with ſuch apparent indifference, that it was impoſſible to diſcover his ſentiments on the ſubject; a circumſtance that gave the Jews great anxiety, as they were extremely apprehenſive for the event. Titus remained but a very ſhort time at Antioch, from whence he proceeded to Teugma, which lies towards the Euphrates. At this place he was waited on by ambaſſadors from Vologeſus, king of the Parthians, who ſent him a crown of gold, with his congratulations on his late victory. Titus received the preſent, entertained the ambaſſadors, and then returned to Antioch.

Titus viſits the theatre at Antioch.

Titus will not deprive the Jews of their privileges.

Immediately after his arrival, the ſenate and magiſtrates of the city gave him an earneſt invitation to honour the theatre with his preſence. With this he very readily complied, and there found a very great number of the citizens waiting in expectation of his arrival. Scarcely had he taken his place, when they began to re-urge him earneſtly on the ſubject of the expulſion of the Jews; to which, with equal prudence and generoſity, he replied, "Their own country is laid waſte, and they cannot find admiſſion into any other." The citizens then immediately ſolicited another favour; which was, that he would order the pillars of braſs, on which were engraven the inſcription reciting the privileges of the Jews, to be either taken away, or the inſcriptions erazed; but Titus paid no more regard to the latter requeſt than to the former; and departed towards Egypt, leaving the Jews of Antioch in poſſeſſion of their privileges.

While he was proceeding on his journey he reflected ſeriouſly on the deplorable ſituation of Jeruſalem, and all the adjacent country; and could not help drawing a compariſon between its preſent and former condition. It was heretofore one of the moſt glorious cities in the univerſe, and now a heap of ruins: it was in former times a paradiſe, and now a deſart.

Jeruſalem had been poſſeſſed of riches to an immenſe amount; and amazing treaſures of gold, ſilver, and other valuable effects, were buried in its ruins; great part of which had been ſecreted by the proprietors, to ſecure them from the Romans, who, notwithſtanding, diſcovered ſome; and the priſoners others.

He embarks for Italy.

In the interim, Titus arrived at Alexandria, at which place he took ſhipping for Italy; but previous to his embarkation he diſpatched the fifth legion to Myſia, and the tenth to Hungary. Simon and John, who had been the principal inſurgents, with about ſeven hundred other priſoners, diſtinguiſhed by the comelineſs of their appearance, were ordered into Italy, that they might dignify the triumph of Titus, on his entry into Rome.

Titus had a favourable voyage; and was received with great honour and reſpect by the people; excluſive of which, Veſpaſian went out in perſon to meet and congratulate him: a circumſtance highly grateful to the ſpectators, who now beheld the father and his two ſons meeting together in circumſtances of the moſt flattering nature.

Account of the triumphs in honour of Veſpaſian and Titus.

In a ſhort time after this the ſenate paſſed a decree for two ſeparate triumphs; the one in honour of the father, the other in that of the ſon; but, notwithſtanding this determination, Veſpaſian and Titus reſolved that the ſolemnity to their mutual honour ſhould be jointly celebrated. When the day was fixed on which it was to take place, ſo great was the multitude aſſembled together, that there was ſcarcely room enough left for the emperor and his ſon to paſs. Before break of day the ſoldiers marched to the palace gates near the temple of Iſis, in regular order, preceded by their officers, to wait the arrival of the princes, who had lodged the preceding night in the temple above-mentioned. Soon after the dawn of the morning, Veſpaſian and Titus came forward, being cloathed in purple robes, according to the cuſtom of their country, and having on their heads crowns of laurel. They proceeded to the Octavian walks; at which place the ſenate, nobility, and knights of Rome, waited their arrival. Before the portal there was erected a tribunal, on which they aſcended, and repoſed themſelves on ſeats of ivory placed there on the occaſion; and being thus ſituated, orations were made in their praiſe, while the ſurrounding multitudes teſtified their joy by loud acclamations. The princes at this time wore no arms; and while the orators were rapidly declaiming in their praiſe, Veſpaſian made a ſignal for ſilence, which being ſtrictly obeyed, he ſtood up; and, having thrown his robe over a part of his head, he offered up certain prayers, agreeable to the cuſtom on ſuch occaſions; and in this Titus followed his example. This being done, Veſpaſian addreſſed the company in a conciſe ſpeech, and then diſmiſſed the military to regale themſelves at his expence. In the next place, Veſpaſian and Titus proceeded to the triumphal gate, which received its name on account of the grand proceſſion paſſing that way. Here they took ſome refreſhment; and being then arrayed in their triumphal habiliments, they offered up ſacrifices at the gate; and then proceeded, in great pomp and ſolemnity, through the midſt of the crowd, that all the people might be gratified by a ſight of their perſons.

It is impoſſible for language to convey any adequate idea of the ſplendor and magnificence of this public exhibition; whether the expence and contrivance of it, or the novelty of its ornaments, be conſidered. On this occaſion all the moſt valuable curioſities which the Roman nation had been collecting through a long ſucceſſion of ages, were combined to furniſh the ſpectacle of one day. So great a number of very curious performances, in gold, ſilver, and ivory, equally valuable for their coſt and their admirable contexture, were now exhibited to the public view, that they ſeemed rather a confuſion than a regular diſplay of riches. There likewiſe appeared an amazing variety of purple garments, and Babylonian embroideries; together with jewels and other ſtones of great value, which were diſpoſed into the forms of crowns, and other devices. Images of the gods of the Romans were carried in proceſſion, which were extraordinary for their ſize and conſtructure; and beſides theſe there were reſemblances of various ſorts of living creatures, which were dreſſed after their characters.

People dreſſed in cloth of gold and purple, carried theſe pageants through the ſtreets; and thoſe who were immediately appointed to attend the pompous train were habited in garments of a ſingularly ſplendid appearance. Even the very priſoners that made a part of the train were dreſſed with unuſual decency, to hide the miſery of their condition, and conceal, as much as poſſible, the marks of ſlavery that appeared in their countenances: but in all the proceſſion nothing was ſo extraordinary as the carrying of the machines, many of which were three or four ſtories in height, ſo that it is aſtoniſhing how the bearers could ſupport them. The expence of theſe was proportioned to the contrivance; for the furniture and hangings were embroidered with gold, ivory, and other things of great value.

The priſoners dreſſed decently to grace the train.

In the proceſſion were likewiſe the moſt lively and pictureſque repreſentations of war, and all its attendant circumſtances. In one place was to be ſeen the appearance of a fruitful country totally laid waſte: in another the deſtruction of armies; ſome being killed, ſome flying, and others taken priſoners. There were reſemblances of walls levelled with the ground, forts deſtroyed, fortified cities entered through breaches, towns taken by ſurprize, and ſtreets ſtreaming with blood, while the vanquiſhed were imploring mercy. Houſes appeared to be falling on the heads of their owners; while temples were apparently in flames, and rivers found their courſe through the conflagrations, inſtead of refreſhing the fields and meadows with their ſtreams.

On each of the pageants was a repreſentation of the manner in which ſome town or city was taken, with a figure of the governor of the place. To theſe ſucceeded a view of the ſhipping; and then were exhibited the ſpoils that were taken in various places; of which the moſt conſiderable were the golden table, and the golden candleſtick, which were found in the temple at Jeruſalem. The firſt of theſe weighed ſeveral talents; and the latter was never applied to the uſe for which it had been deſigned. This candleſtick conſiſted of a large foot, from which there aſcended a ſort of pillar, and from that pillar, as from the body of a tree, there aroſe ſeven branches, the top of each branch reſembling a lamp; and the number was ſeven in reference to the eſteem in which the ſeventh day is held by the Jews. The next, and indeed the laſt trophy exhibited of the conqueſt which the Romans had made, was the code of Jewiſh laws; which was followed by figures of ivory and gold, intended as emblematical repreſentations of victory; and the proceſſion was cloſed by Veſpaſian, Titus, and Domitian, all mounted on fine horſes elgantly capariſoned, and appearing with a dignity becoming their high rank: and in this ſplendid manner they proceeded together to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, when the proceſſion cloſed.

The ſpoils taken from the Jews exhibited.

Deſcription of the golden candleſtick.

Cloſe of the proceſſion.

They remained at the temple a ſhort time, in conformity to an ancient cuſtom, which rendered it neceſſary that they ſhould ſtay in that place till they received advice of the death of the general who had commanded the army of the enemy. This fell to the lot of Simon Gioras, (who had been led in triumph through the ſtreets) round whoſe neck a rope being fixed, he was drawn through the market-place, thoſe who drew him putting him to death, agreeable to the laws and uſages of the Romans, in the caſe of notorious offenders.

Miſerable end of Simon.

When he was dead, the very air was almoſt rent with the ſhouts of the multitude. The people then offered up vows and ſacrifices; and this ſolemn buſineſs being diſcharged, Veſpaſian and his ſons returned to the palace, where they gave a moſt magnificent entertainment. Indeed, the whole city exhibited one general ſcene of joy and feſtivity: and public thanks were every where offered for the final victory which had now been obtained.

As ſoon as the peace of the empire was perfectly ſecured, Veſpaſian cauſed a temple to be erected, and dedicated to peace. This edifice was remarkable for its richneſs and elegance, and ſtill more ſo for the ſhort ſpace of time in which it was conſtructed. It was adorned with a great abundance of curious pieces of painting and ſculpture, which had been collected at an immenſe expence; and it was, on the whole, ſo magnificent and elegant a building, that perſons came from all parts of the world to view it. The golden table and the candleſtick, as articles of ineſtimable value, Veſpaſian cauſed to be placed in this temple. The code of Jewiſh laws, and the purple veſtments of the ſanctuary, were depoſited in the royal palace.

CHAP. XXV.

The ſituation of Macheras, which is beſieged by Baſſus. A diviſion between the native Jews and ſtrangers.

VESPASIAN having appointed Lucillius Baſſus lieutenant-general of Judea, he ſucceeded Cerealis Petilianus in the command of the army, and ſoon rendered himſelf maſter of the caſtle of Herodion by treaty. This being done, he collected his troops, which were ſtationed in different parts of the country; propoſing, by the aſſiſtance of the tenth legion, to reduce Macheras, as a work of indiſpenſible neceſſity; ſince that place was ſo remarkably ſtrong, that it was a kind of incitement to acts of rebellion; and its ſituation was ſuch as to inſpire thoſe in poſſeſſion of it with freſh courage; though, on the other hand, it was calculated to repreſs the ardour of an aſſailant.

Baſſus propoſes to reduce Macheras.

Macheras is ſituated on a mountain of immenſe height; and is of ſo ſtrong a nature that it is rendered almoſt impregnable. It is likewiſe in a manner inacceſſible; for nature has ſurrounded it with vallies that are almoſt impaſſable, and which cannot be filled up. Theſe vallies are of ſuch a depth as not to be ſurveyed from the mountain without horror. The mountain ſtretches ſixty furlongs to the weſt, and approaches almoſt cloſe to the lake Aſphaltitis; and the caſtle commands a very extenſive view of the diſtrict on that ſide. To the north and ſouth the vallies are very extenſive, and appear to be equally well calculated for the defence of the place. On the eaſt the depth of the valley is not leſs than an hundred cubits; and oppoſite Macheras is a mountain to which this valley extends. This place was originally fortified by Alexander, king of the Jews, who built a caſtle on it; but this caſtle was afterwards deſtroyed by Gabinius, when he made war on Ariſtobulus: but Herod the great, thinking this mountain well worthy his attention, particularly in caſe of any diſpute with the Arabians, who were remarkably well ſituated to annoy him, cauſed a ſtrong wall, fortified with turrets, to be built round it, and erected a handſome city, in which he placed a colony of inhabitants; and from the city he made a paſſage up to the caſtle. Round it at the top he built another wall; at the angles of which were turrets ſixty cubits in height; and in the midſt of the encloſure he cauſed a large and elegant palace to be erected, which was ſupplied with water from a variety of ciſterns; ſo that the ſituation and conveniences of this place ſeemed to have riſen from a happy conjunction of nature and art, each contributing in a liberal manner to its improvement. Herod likewiſe depoſited in the caſtle an immenſe ſtore of military arms, engines, arrows, &c. and ſtocked it with a great quantity and variety of proviſions; ſo that there could be little danger of the garriſon being reduced either by force or famine.

Deſcription of the Rue plant.

In this palace was a very extraordinary plant, which bore the name of Rue; the growth of which was ſo aſtoniſhing, that it equalled the height and breadth of a large fig-tree. It is ſaid that this plant had remained there ever ſince the time of Herod; but the Jews, when they took the place, tore it up by the roots.

The plant named Baaras

On the north ſide of Macheras is a valley called Baaras, where a plant is produced, which is likewiſe named Baaras. It is of a flame-colour; and, on the approach of evening, it reflects a light ſimilar to the beams of the ſun. It is difficult to draw the root from the ground; and the plant recedes on any offer to touch it. The method of fixing it is ſaid to be by ſprinkling it with female urine; but the touching of the plant will be fatal, unleſs the perſon holds a part of the root in his hand. But the following is ſaid to be a method of drawing it with ſafety. The ground muſt be dug round the root till it is laid almoſt bare, and then a dog muſt be tied to it; which being done, the maſter of the dog goes away; and being followed by the animal, the root is drawn out of the ground; but the poor dog dies on the ſpot, as if he ſacrificed his own life to the preſervation of his maſter's. The root being freed from the ground, the plant may be touched without the ſmalleſt danger. It is related, however, that this plant has a property more than equivalent to all its noxious qualities. It will not be diſputed, that to be poſſeſſed with evil ſpirits is one of the greateſt calamities to which human nature is ſubject. Theſe demons, or devils, are only the ſouls of men, who, during their mortal exiſtence, had abandoned themſelves to iniquity: having gained poſſeſſion of living bodies, they would inevitably deſtroy them, if their operations were not to be counteracted by preventive remedies. Now the Baaras poſſeſſes ſo ſovereign a virtue, that, upon only touching the patient with it, his affliction ceaſes.

In this valley there is an uncommon variety of ſprings and fountains, each differing from the other in quality and flavour, being ſweet, bitter, hot, &c. and there are likewiſe a number of cold ſprings in the loweſt parts of the valley. But nothing of all this is ſo extraordinary as a cave of ſmall depth, over which is a ſtone of a hard, rocky nature; and out of which appear two fountains in the ſhape of breaſts, from one of which hot waters flow, and cold from the other. Theſe waters, when intermixed, form a very pleaſant bath; and is a ſpecific in the cure of nervous and many other diſorders. Mines of ſulphur and allum alſo abound in this place.

Baſſus determines to beſiege Macheras.

When Baſſus had taken a careful ſurvey of Macheras, he came to a determination to beſiege the place; and for this purpoſe he intended to have filled up the valley to the eaſtward of the town, and to make his approach from that quarter. His firſt proceeding was to throw up a mount, oppoſite to the caſtle, with all poſſible expedition, as the readieſt way to enſure his ſucceſs. The native Jews of the city divided themſelves from the ſtrangers, whom they diſmiſſed as perſons unworthy notice, by ſending them into the lower town, to ſuſtain the firſt ſhock; taking poſſeſſion themſelves of the caſtle, which from its ſtrength they thought would be moſt defenſible; and a place from which, in caſe of neceſſity, it is probable that they might make the beſt terms with the Romans. In the mean time they exerted their utmoſt induſtry to repel the attacks of the beſiegers. There was not a day paſſed in which they did not ſally forth in a determined manner; when violent ſkirmiſhes enſuing, both parties loſt conſiderable numbers of men; but without gaining any decided advantage. A moſt ſingular accident, however, reduced the Jews to the neceſſity of ſurrendering.

In Macheras there was a young man, named Eleazar, of a ſpirit remarkably bold, daring, and enterpriſing: he exerted himſelf, in a very extraordinary manner, both by advice and example, to check the progreſs of the Romans. This Eleazar frequently ſallied forth in a moſt courageous manner, and was always the firſt man to begin an encounter, and the laſt to retreat, when retreat became abſolutely neceſſary.

Now it happened, after the concluſion of a ſkirmiſh, one day, when both parties were retired, that Eleazar, determined to evince his utter contempt of danger, and to prove that he was incapable of fearing any man, ſtopped without the gate of the city, and entered into an idle converſation with ſome of the Jews that were on the walls; ſeeming to pay no kind of regard to any thing that might paſs around him.

The capture of Eleazar cauſes a ſurrender of the caſtle.

But being within view of the Romans in their encampment, an Egyptian ſoldier, named Rufus, took an opportunity to run to him unnoticed; and, ſeizing him with all all his accoutrements, conveyed him to the Romans. Baſſus inſtantly directed that he ſhould be ſtripped, laid on theground, and be publickly whipped within view of thoſe in the city. The diſtreſsful ſituation of this youth afflicted the Jews to ſuch a degree, that the generality of them burſt into tears at his unhappy fate. Baſſus, finding how exceedingly concerned the people in general were for the misfortunes of Eleazar, a thought ſtruck him that, if he could but increaſe the ardour of their paſſions, they might be induced to purchaſe the life of this captive by a ſurrender of the caſtle: for which purpoſe a croſs was erected, on which it ſeemed to appear that Eleazar was to be immediately crucified.

Eleazar being of a diſtinguiſhed family, and having many friends and relations in the caſtle, their intereſt was exerted in his favour; ſo that, in the end, the beſieged, compaſſionating his caſe in a high degree, diſpatched deputies to the Romans, who were commiſſioned to offer the ſurrender of the caſtle, on condition that Eleazar's life and liberty ſhould be granted him, and that the garriſon ſhould be permitted to diſpoſe of themſelves as they thought proper.

Eleazar ſpared

Baſſus readily conſented to theſe terms; but the people in the lower town, enraged to think that they had not been previouſly conſulted, determined to ſecure themſelves by privately retreating in the night. Thoſe who were in the caſtle gave notice of this to Baſſus, as ſoon as the gates were opened; partly leſt themſelves ſhould be ſuſpected to have been concerned in the plot, and partly through envy. Hereupon Baſſus attacked them: but the moſt gallant of thoſe who firſt got out made their eſcape; while the reſt, in number no leſs than one thouſand ſeven hundred, were ſlain, and their wives and children made ſlaves. Baſſus, notwithſtanding, gave Eleazar his liberty, and diſmiſſed the garriſon, agreeable to his contract.

CHAP. XXVI.

Baſſus ſlays three thouſand Jews in the foreſt of Jardes.

BASSUS, having received information that great numbers of the Jews who had effected their eſcape during the ſieges of Jeruſalem and Macheras, had aſſembled together in the foreſt of Jardes, marched with his army immediately to that place; and iſſued orders that his cavalry ſhould inſtantly ſurround the whole wood; which were ſo punctually obeyed, that not a ſingle Jew could make his eſcape. At the ſame time the infantry were employed to cut down the trees and buſhes under which the Jews had taken ſhelter; ſo that by this means they were deprived of the poſſibility of concealment, and had no hopes of eſcaping but by cutting their way through the forces of the enemy: they therefore united in a body, and made a violent attack on thoſe who ſurrounded them; but the Romans ſuſtained the aſſault with great bravery. In a word, the raſhneſs excited by deſpair on the one ſide, and determined courage on the other, combined to render the engagement equally obſtinate. But in the end the Romans

mans obtained the advantage, with the loſs of only twelve men ſlain, and a ſmall number wounded; whereas every man of the Jews was killed in the action, amounting, in the whole, to the number of three thouſand. Among theſe was the commander in chief, named Judas the ſon of Jair. This Judas was an officer during the ſiege of Jeruſalem; and from whence he effected his eſcape, through a ſubterraneous paſſage.

At this juncture the emperor ſent a letter to his officer, Tiberius Maximus, commiſſioning him to expoſe the lands of the Jews to ſale; and declaring that he would not rebuild any of their cities, but meant to ſeize them all to his own uſe. Tiberius was directed to leave eight hundred ſoldiers in Emmaus, which is ſituated about ſixty furlongs from Jeruſalem. The emperor likewiſe iſſued orders that the Jews ſhould pay a poll-tax of two drachmas annually, into the capitol, as ſimilar taxes had been formerly paid at the temple.

The Jews ordered to pay a poll-tax.

CHAP. XXVII.

Antiochus, king of Comagene, repreſented as an enemy to Veſpaſian. A number of Scythians invade Media.

In the fourth year of the reign of Veſpaſian, Ceſennius Petus, at that time governor of Syria, ſent an expreſs to the emperor, informing him that Antiochus, king of Comagene, and his ſon Epiphanes, being determined to renounce their allegiance to the Romans, were in actual treaty with the king of Parthia: he therefore repreſented the neceſſity of putting a ſtop to the meaſure by an immediate interpoſition. Thoſe who heard of this information entertained great doubts of its being founded in fact: but as the two kings above-mentioned were near neighbours, it would have been imprudent in Veſpaſian to have ſlighted the advice; and the danger was conſiderably increaſed by Samoſata, the capital city of Comagene, being ſituated almoſt on the banks of the Euphrates; by which the Parthians could at all times paſs and repaſs, and be ſecure of a ſafe retreat.

Veſpaſian paid ſo much regard to this intelligence, that he left Ceſennius to act as he thought proper, directing that his own judgment ſhould be the rule of his conduct. Immediately hereupon Ceſennius began to exerciſe his authority: and calling to his aſſiſtance Ariſtobulus, king of Chalcis, and Sohemus, king of Emeſa, he made an incurſion into Comagene, with the ſixth legion, and ſeveral detachments of his cavalry and infantry, to the utter aſtoniſhment of Antiochus and the people, who had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of ſuch an invaſion. His entrance, therefore, met with no kind of oppoſition, for the inhabitants were wholly unprovided with means to repel the attack. It is not in the power of language to deſcribe how much Antiochus was ſurprized on receiving intelligence of this incurſion, for he had not entertained the ſlighteſt idea of forfeiting his good faith with the Romans.

In this extremity he came to the reſolution of abandoning his kingdom juſt in its preſent ſituation, and of taking with him his wife and children; which he thought would afford a full proof of his innocence, and that he had no intention of his departing from his allegiance. Thus reſolved, he retired to a plain at the diſtance of about one hundred and thirty furlongs from the city, where he encamped. In the interim, Ceſennius ſent a number of ſoldiers to keep garriſon at Samoſata; and marched in perſon, accompanied by other forces, in purſuit of Antiochus; who, notwithſtanding, did nothing but peaceably lament his misfortunes.

Antiochus abandons his kingdom.

But Epiphanes and Callinicus, the ſons of Antiochus, being in the prime of youth, and celebrated for their military ſkill and courage, thought they were bound in honour to have recourſe to arms: wherefore they muſtered all the forces in their power, and gave battle to the Romans. The conteſt continued the whole day; and the young princes ſuſtained very little loſs.

Though the iſſue of this day's encounter was greatly in favour of Antiochus, he ſtill held his reſolution of retiring; wherefore he departed with his wife and daughters into Cilicia: and this reſolute determination ariſing from a principle of integrity, and a ſenſe of conſcious innocence, afflicted his ſoldiers in the higheſt degree; who dreaded the thought of deſerting to the Romans, and leaving their prince in ſuch diſtreſs. With regard to Epiphanes and Callinicus, it now became them to conſult their own ſecurity: wherefore they took with them eight ſelect friends; and being well mounted they all croſſed the river Euphrates, into the dominions of Vologeſes, king of Parthia: on their arrival, this prince gave a proof of the magnanimity of his mind, by treating them with all thoſe marks of diſtinction and reſpect which their high birth and rank demanded.

His two ſons alſo retire.

No ſooner had Antiochus arrived at Tarſus in Cilicia, than Ceſennius ſent an officer to apprehend, and conduct him a priſoner to Rome: but Veſpaſian, having too much generoſity to permit a ſoverign prince to be treated in ſo ignominious a manner, determined rather to ſhew a regard to the former friendſhip that had ſubſiſted between himſelf and Antiochus, than to take advantage of an imagined injury: he therefore ſent orders that his chains ſhould be taken off; that his journey to Rome ſhould be delayed; and that he ſhould remain ſome time at

Lacedemon; at which laſt place he furniſhed him with an ample ſuply of money, that he might be enabled to ſupport the dignity of his rank.

The brothers, who had been in great anxiety on account of their father's capture, were not only relieved from their apprehenſions, by this liberal behaviour towards Antiochus, but likewiſe entertained hopes that they themſelves might be reconciled to the emperor; and in theſe hopes they were encouraged by Vologeſes, who ſolicited the permiſſion of Veſpaſian for their return to Rome: for though they had no reaſon to be uneaſy in their preſent ſituation, yet they were anxious to live within the pale of the empire. In a word, they went to Rome; and, ſoon after their arrival, their father was conducted thither; where they were all entertained in a manner expreſſive of the higheſt eſteem and regard.

The ſons of Antiochus go to Rome.

A number of the people formerly called Scythians, but who were at this period known by the name of Olanes, and reſided near the river Tanais, and the lake of Mæotis, confederated with the king of Hyrcania to invade and lay waſte the country of Media. Now this king was maſter of the only paſſage into that country; and it is ſaid that Alexander had ſo contrived that this paſſage ſhould be ſhut up with iron gates: but it being now laid open, and no ſuſpicion ariſing of what would happen, no reſiſtance could be made, and the invaders took poſſeſſion of the place, where, in cattle, and other effects, they poſſeſſed themſelves of immenſe property. This incurſion ſo terrified Pacorus, at that time king of the country, that he left his poſſeſſions to the mercy of the invaders, and fled for refuge among the rocks; but at length he redeemed his wife and concubines at the expence of a hundred talents.

The banditti now continued to preſs forward, ravaging and deſtroying through the whole courſe of their progreſs, without meeting with any oppoſition, till they came to the confines of Armenia, which was at that time governed by a king named Tiridates. In conſequence of this Tiridates advanced and attacked them; but had a narrow eſcape from being taken priſoner, for during the battle the nooſe of a halter was thrown over his head, and his opponents were juſt on the point of dragging him away, when he had the preſence of mind to cut the rope with his ſword, by which means he effected an eſcape. The invaders met with ſuch ſucceſs in this atgagement that they became more violent and blood-thirſty than before; and were ſo encouraged in their depredations, that deſtruction marked their ſteps: they depopulated the country; and took away with them a great booty in cattle, and an incredible number of priſoners.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Jews never ſo abandoned as at this period. Character of Simon, ſon of Gioros. Maſſada beſieged by Silva. Eleazar's recital of particular ſufferings of the Jews. The Jews joining in a reſolution not to ſurvive their laws and liberties, ſlay each other.

BASSUS dying in Judea, Flavius Silva ſucceeded to his government. Silva being informed that all the country was in due ſubjection, the caſtle of Maſſada only excepted, collected all the forces he was able, with a determination to make an attack on it. This caſtle was under the command of Eleazar, the leader of the Sicarii. He was the lineal deſcendant of Judas, who, at the time that Cyrenius diſcharged the office of cenſor in Judea, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by oppoſing the Jews entering their names on the roll, as hath been before mentioned.

Now the Sicarii were the determined enemies of all thoſe who exhibited any proofs of friendſhip towards the Romans; for they robbed perſons of this deſcription of their effects, drove away their cattle, and burnt their houſes. Their argument was, that thoſe men were to be conſidered as ſtrangers and enemies, who would rather reſign their liberties than contend for them, and who choſe a ſtate of ſlavery rather than freedom. But this was a kind of language uſed only to diſguiſe their barbarity and avariciouſneſs; for when thoſe very men who had been thus branded as traitors to their country, afterwards united in the common cauſe againſt the Romans, they were treated even with more ſeverity than before; particularly thoſe who had courage and reſolution to oppoſe the hypocriſy and baſe practices of the Sicarii.

Deſperation of the Sicarii.

The Jews were never ſo totally abandoned to all kinds of vice as at preſent. They had practiſed ſuch variety of wickedneſs, that invention itſelf was loſt in the contrivance of new crimes. Corruption ſtalked at large, both in public and private; there appeared to be a harmony of evil: and if there was any emulation, it was who ſhould be guilty of the moſt atrocious acts. Perſons in power oppreſſed the vulgar by every extravagant exertion of their authority; while the common people, in return, plundered them of their effects as often as they could find an opportunity.

This licentious courſe of proceeding was firſt encouraged by the Sicarii, who, being determined on doing all the miſchief within their power, loſt no opportunity, either by word or deed, of exciting others to acts of deſperation.

mans obtained the advantage, with the loſs of only twelve men ſlain, and a ſmall number wounded; whereas every man of the Jews was killed in the action, amounting, in the whole, to the number of three thouſand. Among theſe was the commander in chief, named Judas the ſon of Jair. This Judas was an officer during the ſiege of Jeruſalem; and from whence he effected his eſcape, through a ſubterraneous paſſage.

At this juncture the emperor ſent a letter to his officer, Tiberius Maximus, commiſſioning him to expoſe the lands of the Jews to ſale; and declaring that he would not rebuild any of their cities, but meant to ſeize them all to his own uſe. Tiberius was directed to leave eight hundred ſoldiers in Emmaus, which is ſituated about ſixty furlongs from Jeruſalem. The emperor likewiſe iſſued orders that the Jews ſhould pay a poll-tax of two drachmas annually, into the capitol, as ſimilar taxes had been formerly paid at the temple.

The Jews ordered to pay a poll-tax.

CHAP. XXVII.

Antiochus, king of Comagene, repreſented as an enemy to Veſpaſian. A number of Scythians invade Media.

IN the fourth year of the reign of Veſpaſian, Ceſennius Petus, at that time governor of Syria, ſent an expreſs to the emperor, informing him that Antiochus, king of Comagene, and his ſon Epiphanes, being determined to renounce their allegiance to the Romans, were in actual treaty with the king of Parthia: he therefore repreſented the neceſſity of putting a ſtop to the meaſure by an immediate interpoſition. Thoſe who heard of this information entertained great doubts of its being founded in fact: but as the two kings above-mentioned were near neighbours, it would have been imprudent in Veſpaſian to have ſlighted the advice; and the danger was conſiderably increaſed by Samoſata, the capital city of Comagene, being ſituated almoſt on the banks of the Euphrates; by which the Parthians could at all times paſs and repaſs, and be ſecure of a ſafe retreat.

Veſpaſian paid ſo much regard to this intelligence, that he left Ceſennius to act as he thought proper, directing that his own judgment ſhould be the rule of his conduct. Immediately hereupon Ceſennius began to exerciſe his authority: and calling to his aſſiſtance Ariſtobulus, king of Chalcis, and Sohemus, king of Emeſa, he made an incurſion into Comagene, with the ſixth legion, and ſeveral detachments of his cavalry and infantry, to the utter aſtoniſhment of Antiochus and the people, who had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of ſuch an invaſion. His entrance, therefore, met with no kind of oppoſition, for the inhabitants were wholly unprovided with means to repel the attack. It is not in the power of language to deſcribe how much Antiochus was ſurprized on receiving intelligence of this incurſion, for he had not entertained the ſlighteſt idea of forfeiting his good faith with the Romans.

In this extremity he came to the reſolution of abandoning his kingdom juſt in its preſent ſituation, and of taking with him his wife and children; which he thought would afford a full proof of his innocence, and that he had no intention of his departing from his allegiance. Thus reſolved, he retired to a plain at the diſtance of about one hundred and thirty furlongs from the city, where he encamped. In the interim, Ceſennius ſent a number of ſoldiers to keep garriſon at Samoſata; and marched in perſon, accompanied by other forces, in purſuit of Antiochus; who, notwithſtanding, did nothing but peaceably lament his misfortunes.

Antiochus abandons his kingdom.

But Epiphanes and Callinicus, the ſons of Antiochus, being in the prime of youth, and celebrated for their military ſkill and courage, thought they were bound in honour to have recourſe to arms: wherefore they muſtered all the forces in their power, and gave battle to the Romans. The conteſt continued the whole day; and the young princes ſuſtained very little loſs.

Though the iſſue of this day's encounter was greatly in favour of Antiochus, he ſtill held his reſolution of retiring; wherefore he departed with his wife and daughters into Cilicia: and this reſolute determination ariſing from a principle of integrity, and a ſenſe of conſcious innocence, afflicted his ſoldiers in the higheſt degree; who dreaded the thought of deſerting to the Romans, and leaving their prince in ſuch diſtreſs. With regard to Epiphanes and Callinicus, it now became them to conſult their own ſecurity: wherefore they took with them eight ſelect friends; and being well mounted they all croſſed the river Euphrates, into the dominions of Vologeſes, king of Parthia: on their arrival, this prince gave a proof of the magnanimity of his mind, by treating them with all thoſe marks of diſtinction and reſpect which their high birth and rank demanded.

His two ſons alſo retire.

No ſooner had Antiochus arrived at Tarſus in Cilicia, than Ceſennius ſent an officer to apprehend, and conduct him a priſoner to Rome: but Veſpaſian, having too much generoſity to permit a ſoverign prince to be treated in ſo ignominious a manner, determined rather to ſhew a regard to the former friendſhip that had ſubſiſted between himſelf and Antiochus, than to take advantage of an imagined injury: he therefore ſent orders that his chains ſhould be taken off; that his journey to Rome ſhould be delayed; and that he ſhould remain ſome time at

Lacedemon; at which laſt place he furniſhed him with an ample ſuply of money, that he might be enabled to ſupport the dignity of his rank.

The brothers, who had been in great anxiety on account of their father's capture, were not only relieved from their apprehenſions, by this liberal behaviour towards Antiochus, but likewiſe entertained hopes that they themſelves might be reconciled to the emperor; and in theſe hopes they were encouraged by Vologeſes, who ſolicited the permiſſion of Veſpaſian for their return to Rome: for though they had no reaſon to be uneaſy in their preſent ſituation, yet they were anxious to live within the pale of the empire. In a word, they went to Rome; and, ſoon after their arrival, their father was conducted thither; where they were all entertained in a manner expreſſive of the higheſt eſteem and regard.

The ſons of Antiochus go to Rome.

A number of the people formerly called Scythians, but who were at this period known by the name of Olanes, and reſided near the river Tanais, and the lake of Mæotis, confederated with the king of Hyrcania to invade and lay waſte the country of Media. Now this king was maſter of the only paſſage into that country; and it is ſaid that Alexander had ſo contrived that this paſſage ſhould be ſhut up with iron gates: but it being now laid open, and no ſuſpicion ariſing of what would happen, no reſiſtance could be made, and the invaders took poſſeſſion of the place, where, in cattle, and other effects, they poſſeſſed themſelves of immenſe property. This incurſion ſo terrified Pacorus, at that time king of the country, that he left his poſſeſſions to the mercy of the invaders, and fled for refuge among the rocks; but at length he redeemed his wife and concubines at the expence of a hundred talents.

The banditti now continued to preſs forward, ravaging and deſtroying through the whole courſe of their progreſs, without meeting with any oppoſition, till they came to the confines of Armenia, which was at that time governed by a king named Tiridates. In conſequence of this Tiridates advanced and attacked them; but had a narrow eſcape from being taken priſoner, for during the battle the nooſe of a halter was thrown over his head, and his opponents were juſt on the point of dragging him away, when he had the preſence of mind to cut the rope with his ſword, by which means he effected an eſcape. The invaders met with ſuch ſucceſs in this atgagement that they became more violent and blood-thirſty than before; and were ſo encouraged in their depredations, that deſtruction marked their ſteps: they depopulated the country; and took away with them a great booty in cattle, and an incredible number of priſoners.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Jews never ſo abandoned as at this period. Character of Simon, ſon of Gioros. Maſſada beſieged by Silva. Eleazar's recital of particular ſufferings of the Jews. The Jews joining in a reſolution not to ſurvive their laws and liberties, ſlay each other.

BASSUS dying in Judea, Flavius Silva ſucceeded to his government. Silva being informed that all the country was in due ſubjection, the caſtle of Maſſada only excepted, collected all the forces he was able, with a determination to make an attack on it. This caſtle was under the command of Eleazar, the leader of the Sicarii. He was the lineal deſcendant of Judas, who, at the time that Cyrenius diſcharged the office of cenſor in Judea, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by oppoſing the Jews entering their names on the roll, as hath been before mentioned.

Deſperation of the Sicarii.

Now the Sicarii were the determined enemies of all thoſe who exhibited any proofs of friendſhip towards the Romans; for they robbed perſons of this deſcription of their effects, drove away their cattle, and burnt their houſes. Their argument was, that thoſe men were to be conſidered as ſtrangers and enemies, who would rather reſign their liberties than contend for them, and who choſe a ſtate of ſlavery rather than freedom. But this was a kind of language uſed only to diſguiſe their barbarity and avariciouſneſs; for when thoſe very men who had been thus branded as traitors to their country, afterwards united in the common cauſe againſt the Romans, they were treated even with more ſeverity than before; particularly thoſe who had courage and reſolution to oppoſe the hypocriſy and baſe practices of the Sicarii.

The Jews were never ſo totally abandoned to all kinds of vice as at preſent. They had practiſed ſuch variety of wickedneſs, that invention itſelf was loſt in the contrivance of new crimes. Corruption ſtalked at large, both in public and private; there appeared to be a harmony of evil: and if there was any emulation, it was who ſhould be guilty of the moſt atrocious acts. Perſons in power oppreſſed the vulgar by every extravagant exertion of their authority; while the common people, in return, plundered them of their effects as often as they could find an opportunity.

This licentious courſe of proceeding was firſt encouraged by the Sicarii, who, being determined on doing all the miſchief within their power, loſt no opportunity, either by word or deed, of exciting others to acts of deſperation. However, all that they did, or cauſed to be done, fell far ſhort of the outrageous cruelties of John of Giſchala, who ordered many of the citizens to be put to death, as if they had been enemies, merely becauſe they recommended ſuch modes of proceeding as would tend to the advantage of the public: in fact he committed every poſſible outrage on his unhappy countrymen. And indeed what better could be expected from a man who made no ſcruple of conſcience of affronting even the Deity? And this he did, by the uſe of meats that were forbidden; by abandoning the laws and cuſtoms of our anceſtors; and by renouncing the purity of his original profeſſion. It is therefore not in the leaſt ſurprizing, that a man who could deſpiſe his God, ſhould behave with inhumanity to his neighbours.

Simon, the ſon of Gioras, was not leſs diſtinguiſhed by every ſpecies of vice that could diſgrace the name of a man: he inflicted the moſt horrid barbarities on thoſe very perſons who had raiſed him to power; who, having been born freemen, ſubmitted to the ignominy of becoming his ſlaves. In a word, the men above-mentioned were loſt to all thoſe affections ariſing from the ties of conſanguinity, and dead to every ſentiment of friendſhip. Their conduct was the moſt cruel to thoſe who had a prior right to their compaſſion; and they diſdained to exerciſe their tyranny over ſtrangers, while they had, what they thought, a more agreeable opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on their own friends and countrymen. Such was the unfeeling diſpoſition of their minds.

Nor were the crimes of the Idumeans much leſs atrocious. Theſe execrable villains aſſaſſinated the high-prieſts, in order, as far as lay in their power, to ſtrike at the very root of religion: they likewiſe confounded all good management in the city, deſtroyed even the appearance of juſtice and civil government, and eſtabliſhed tyranny and oppreſſion in their ſtead.

Thoſe who were called Zelotes were particularly active in promoting the confuſions above-mentioned; and indeed their conduct gave them a juſt title to their name; for they were the moſt violent patrons and promoters of vice that ever exiſted, at the ſame time pretending to the utmoſt virtue, and the moſt conſummate piety. In fact, they impoſed on all that liſtened to their doctrines, making evil appear as good, and good as evil.

In the end, however, the righteous vengeance of Heaven overtook, and puniſhed their crimes; for they ſuffered every calamity that human nature is capable of enduring; and theſe calamities continued during the whole courſe of their lives. It may poſſibly be ſaid that the puniſhment they ſuſtained was inadequate to the crimes they had committed; and that no puniſhment could equal their offences: but as I do not intend to enter into the hiſtory of thoſe unhappy wretches who ſuffered by the vices of theſe monſters of iniquity, I ſhall here reſume the thread of my narrative.

Silva marches to Maſſada.

The Roman general Silva now marched to lay ſiege to Maſſada, in which was a garriſon of the Sicarii, commanded by Eleazar, who was the chief of the people bearing that name. Silva ſoon poſſeſſed himſelf of the adjacent country, and with very little difficulty: he then diſpoſed of his troops in the moſt commodious manner poſſible, and ran up a wall round the caſtle, at once to ſecure his ſoldiers, and to prevent the eſcape of the enemy. He now looked out for a place the moſt convenient for the ſtation of his camp, which he found to be on the ſpot where the adjacent mountain communicated with the rock on which the caſtle ſtood. One great inconvenience now attended Silva; for the proviſion with which his army was ſupplied by the Jews were brought from a very great diſtance; and the procuring of water was likewiſe attended with very great difficulty.

As ſoon as this diſpoſition of affairs had taken place, Silva prepared to commence the ſiege, which, as will appear from the ſituation of the caſtle, was likely to be attended with great difficulty. This caſtle is ſituated on a large and high rock, which is ſurrounded by deep and craggy precipices. Thoſe who ſtand at the top cannot ſee the bottom, on account of the higher rocks hanging over thoſe that are beneath. Even the beaſts cannot climb this rock, ſo difficult is the acceſs, except by two paſſages, one of which is from the eaſt ſide, from the lake Aſphaltitis; and the other from the weſt ſide; the former being much more dangerous than the latter. One of theſe paſſages bears the name of the Snake, from the number of turnings that there are in the aſcent: for in many parts of it the ſtones ſo interſect each other, that paſſengers are obliged to go backwards and forwards to paſs them; and the road is ſo narrow that the traveller cannot keep both his feet on the ground at the ſame time. Excluſive of all this, one falſe ſtep would plunge a man to the bottom of a moſt horrid precipice. This road is deemed thirty furlongs from the bottom to the top of the mountain; and on this eminence there is a plain, on which the high-prieſt Jonathan cauſed a caſtle to be built, to which he gave the name of Maſſada; and claimed the honour of being the founder of this caſtle, which was afterwards fortified and adorned, with immenſe labour, and at a large expence, by

Herod the great: a wall being alſo built round it by Herod, eight cubits in breadth, and twelve in height, with white ſtones of conſiderable value. Herod likewiſe cauſed ſeven and twenty turrets, each of fifty cubits high, to be erected; and made a communication between theſe turrets and the buildings on the interior ſide of the wall. The nature of the ſoil of the plain being found to be extremely rich, Herod gave orders that it ſhould be well cultivated with a view that thoſe who might, in future times, have occaſion to take refuge in the caſtle, might be certain of being ſupplied with the neceſſaries of life. Within the limits of the caſtle he cauſed a ſumptuous and magnificent palace to be erected for his own accommodation. The entrance of this palace was ſituated ſo as to front the north-weſt; the walls of it were of great ſtrength, and remarkably high; and at each of the four corners was a tower, of the height of ſixty cubits. The variety, decorations, ornaments, richneſs and ſplendor of the ſeveral apartments, baths, and galleries, exceed all deſcription. The whole was ſupported with pillars, each of one entire ſtone; and ſo diſpoſed, as to give proof of the ſtrength of the ſtructure, and the judgment of the architect. The pavement and the walls were diverſified with ſtones of a variety of colours. A great number of large ciſterns hewed out of the rock, for the preſervation of water, were diſperſed in the different quarters of the palace to the caſtle, which was quite inviſible from the outſide; and, as hath been heretofore obſerved, the other paſſage was rendered altogether impaſſable; and with regard to the weſtern paſſage, it was totally blocked up by a tower that was erected in the narroweſt part of it, at about the diſtance of a thouſand cubits from the caſtle. This will ſerve to ſhew how ſtrongly the place was fortified by art as well as nature; and how difficult the conqueſt of it muſt have been, even with the ſlighteſt oppoſition.

Thus fortified, this caſtle had the appearance of being proof not only againſt force; but was not likely to be ſubdued by famine; for when it was ſurprized by Eleazar and the Sicarii, there were found in it great treaſures of corn, wine, oil, pulſe, dates, &c. equal to the conſumption of many years; and which were as freſh as if they had been but newly depoſited, though they had been treaſured up a hundred years. Perhaps this circumſtance might be owing to the extreme purity, and ſalubrious quality, of the air in ſo elevated a ſituation.

Agreeable to the king's order there was likewiſe laid up a magazine of various kinds of arms for the accommodation of ten thouſand men; and alſo an immenſe quantity of unwrought iron, braſs, lead, and other articles, which it is preſumed were intended for ſome very capital enterprize.

Herod's reaſons for erecting the caſtle at Maſſada.

Tradition has handed down to us a report that Herod provided this caſtle for a retreat, in caſe of neceſſity, from two evils which he thought threatened him: the one was that his ſubjects might depoſe him, and reſtore the Aſmonæan family to the throne: but the other was an affair of which there was much danger; for Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, had formed a deſign againſt the life of Herod, of which ſhe made little ſecret. In ſeveral converſations which ſhe had with Anthony on this ſubject, ſhe avowed her deſign, and repeatedly urged him to give private orders for the deſtruction of Herod, and to permit her to govern the Jews in his ſtead, in the character of queen.

I have already obſerved that the Jews were now ſo cloſely pent up within the walls of Maſſada, that it was utterly impoſſible to effect an eſcape; whereupon Silva advanced with his machines, to the only place which he could fill up, in order to raiſe a mount. Beyond the tower which blocked up the weſtern paſſage to the palace and caſtle, there was a large rock, which bore the name of Leuce: this rock was larger than that on which the caſtle of Maſſada ſtood, but not ſo high by about three hundred cubits. Silva had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of this rock, than he iſſued orders to his ſoldiers to raiſe a mount upon it; and they were ſo diligent in this buſineſs that they ſoon got it up to the height of two hundred cubits; but finding that it was not of ſufficient ſtrength to ſupport the machines, they raiſed on it a kind of platform, compoſed of large ſtones, fifty cubits in height, and of the ſame breadth. On this platform they built a tower of the height of ſixty cubits, which they fortified with iron. Excluſive of their common machines, they had another kind, which had been invented by Veſpaſian, and were afterwards improved by Titus.

From the tower above-mentioned the Romans aſſailed the beſieged with ſuch impetuous ſhowers of ſtones and flights of arrows, that they were afraid to appear on the walls. In the interim Silva directed his battering-rams againſt the wall, till at length it was damaged in ſome places. In conſequence hereof the Sicarii inſtantly ran up another wall behind it, which was compoſed of ſuch materials as to deaden the ſtroke, and ſuſtain no kind of damage. This wall was built in the following manner. A row of large pieces of timber was mortiſed into another of equal ſize, and a ſpace was left between them equal to the thickneſs of the wall. This ſpace was filled with the earth of the nature of clay, and boards were nailed acroſs the frame, to prevent the earth from falling. Thus prepared, it was as ſtrong as the wall of a houſe; and the more violently it was battered the ſtronger it became, the earth being more firmly cloſed by each ſtroke it received.

Silva finding that the battering with his machines did not produce the conſequence he expected, ordered his ſoldiers to provide themſelves with firebrands to deſtroy the works of the enemy. The new wall being hollow, and chiefly compoſed of timber work, it immediately took fire, and the flames raged with the utmoſt violence: but the wind being at north, it drove the fire with ſuch rapidity on the Romans, that they expected the almoſt inſtant deſtruction of their machines: but, juſt at this juncture, the wind veered to the ſouth, and beat ſo violently on the wall, that the whole of it was in flames in a moment. The Romans, grateful for this providential ſtroke in their favour, returned to their camp full of ſpirits, and with a fixed determination to attack the enemy by break of day on the following morning; and, in the mean time, to place ſtrong guards, that their opponents might not eſcape in the night.

The Romans ſet fire to a wall of the caſtle.

However, Eleazar had no idea of departing himſelf, or of permitting any of his people to evacuate the place: but as the wall was now totally conſumed, and there appeared to be no longer any chance either of relief or ſecurity, it became neceſſary now to conſider how their wives and children might be moſt effectually preſerved from the violence to be expected from the Romans, on their taking poſſeſſion of the place. Having ſeriouſly reflected on this affair, Eleazar determined in his own mind that a death of glory would be greatly preferable to a life of infamy; and that the moſt magnanimous reſolution they could form would be to diſdain the idea of ſurviving their liberties. His own ſentiments being thus formed, he reſolved to endeavour to inſpire others with the ſame; and for that purpoſe he ſummoned a number of his friends and aſſociates, whom he addreſſed to the following effect.

Eleazar's ſpeech.

"It has been, my friends, the uſual cuſtom with the people of our nation, to deny the authority of every other lord than the great Sovereign of the univerſe, the eternal God; and this not with any particular exception to the Romans, or any other people. The period haſtily advances when we ſhould demonſtrate our ſincerity by our conduct: wherefore let us act like men of reſolution. Till this time we have run every riſk in preſervation of our freedom; but we muſt now expect thraldom and tormenting puniſhments if the enemy take us alive; ſince we firſt departed from their dominion, and have been the laſt to reſiſt them. This being the caſe, we may deem it a favour if we are permitted to chooſe the death we would die; a favour that has been refuſed to many of our people. We ſhall all be made ſlaves to-morrow, if we obtain not our liberty this night; but this we may do in a way that our enemies cannot prevent. The utmoſt of their ambition is to make us priſoners; and it is in vain for us to ſtruggle againſt them any longer. It is poſſible ſomething effectual might have been done, if the aſſerters of our liberties had properly reflected on our ſituation; they would have ſeen that we could not have ſuffered from our enemies, and from our internal diviſions; nor would our principal people have been deſtroyed, and our ſacred city fallen a ſacrifice to fire and ſword, if God had not abandoned us, though we were formerly his choſen people. How happens it now that we alone, of all our people, contend for our liberties, as if we were innocent of the crimes in which we have inſtructed others? You may now be convinced of the vanity of your hopes, and the extremity of your diſappointments. We have here a fortreſs that has been deemed impregnable, with a great number of arms, and ample proviſions for our ſupport; but theſe avail nothing, ſince Providence hath decreed our deſtruction. The wind and the fire that combined to deſtroy our new wall furniſh a proof of the juſtice of this obſervation; for you cannot think but the ſudden turning of this wind was intended as a puniſhment of the crimes of which we have been guilty towards each other. Admitting, then, that our puniſhment is at once juſt and inevitable, what remains but that we rather execute juſtice on ourſelves, than leave it to the victorious Romans to pour down on us the vengeance of Heaven; thus acting, we ſhould ſecure the honour of our wives, and protect our children from ſlavery. Let us copy the magnanimity of the Romans, make our own terms, and die free. But let us firſt ſet fire to the caſtle, and melt down our gold and ſilver; and thus the Romans, neither taking us priſoners, nor obtaining our treaſure, will even regret the poſſeſſion of the place. I adviſe, however, that we leave the neceſſaries of life undeſtroyed; to ſerve as a proof that we were not driven to this violent procedure by famine, but maintained our firſt reſolution of dying rather than ſubmitting to ſlavery.

This ſpeeech of Eleazar was received in a very different manner by his different auditors; ſome of whom were charmed with his propoſal, and ready to execute it, deeming death an object of deſire, in their preſent ſituation; while others from the tenderneſs of their nature, were equally terrified at the thoughts of deſtroying their friends, or becoming their own executioners. They regarded each other with looks of the utmoſt anxiety, while their flowing tears teſtified the ſentiments of their minds. Eleazar was greatly chagrined at what he deemed a weakneſs that degraded the dignity of his plan, and might tempt thoſe who had appeared to be determined to abandon their reſolutions. He therefore purſued his plan of exhorting the people; but in a different manner; for he now diſcourſed on the immortality of the ſoul; and addreſſing himſelf particularly, and with the utmoſt earneſtneſs, to thoſe who were weeping, he ſpoke to the following effect:

Eleazar's arguments to perſuade the Jews to deſtroy themſelves.

"I find that I have been greatly miſtaken in the opinion that I had formed, that brave men would rather loſe their lives than their liberties. In you, at leaſt, have I been miſtaken; ſince you fear to die, to extricate yourſelves from a calamity that is worſe than death; and this too, while you are ſo ſituated that delay cannot be admitted; nor have you time to confer on your affairs. It is an opinion confirmed by all antiquity, by the ſacred ſcriptures, by the doctrine and practice of our anceſtors, and the laws and cuſtoms of our country, that death renders a man abundantly more happy than life. It is death that gives freedom to the ſoul, and permits it to range through eternal regions of purity and bliſs. But while the ſoul is in conjunction with the body, it partakes of all the evils incident thereto; its powers are in a great degree ſuſpended, as there can be no affinity between divine and mortal natures. It is true, that much is effected by the ſecret conjunction and operation of ſoul and body; for the latter is but the inſtrument of the former. But when the ſoul is once diſcharged of the incumbrances that oppreſs it, and regains its proper ſtation, it enjoys the moſt unbounded liberty; a liberty that is as inviſible to human eyes as the Deity himſelf; and the ſoul is likewiſe inviſible while connected with the body. It enters us unſeen, and departs in the ſame manner. It cauſes various changes in the body, though incorruptible in itſelf: it gives life and vigour as long as it is preſent, but death immediately follows its departure. The ſoul, however, at all times retains its immortality. When the body reſts from its labours in ſleep, the ſoul enjoys the moſt perfect and delightful freedom. All this evidently proves that the felicity of the ſoul is concentered within itſelf, and that it has ſome kind of communication with the Deity, in the knowledge of future events. It is abſurd that any man ſhould fear death who is not averſe to repoſe. What man in his ſenſes would abridge any part of his eternal happineſs, for the ſake of a ſhort reſidence in this world? The laws and inſtitutions of our nation, my brethren, have taught us not only to deſpiſe the fear of death, but to endeavour to inſpire others with the ſame degree of magnanimity.

"On this ſubject it cannot, ſurely, be neceſſary that I ſhould refer to the practice of ſtrangers, or I might inſtance the conduct of the Indian philoſophers and Brachmans, who were diſtinguiſhed by their wiſdom and virtue. Theſe people deemed life a burden that muſt neceſſarily be borne; though they were anxious to be rid of the incumbrance: not becauſe they felt any ſingular uneaſineſs, pain, or inconvenience, in this life; but becauſe they looked forward to that life of immortality in which the happineſs of the bleſſed ſhould be eternal. Theſe people take a ſolemn farewel of their friends, and ſpeak with pleaſure of the country to which they are travelling. No one preſumes to offer any objections to their deſign, but wiſhing them the perfection of happineſs, ſend meſſages to their acquaintance in the other world, in the full confidence that they will be delivered. Thoſe who are about to depart, having received the neceſſary inſtructions, commit their bodies to the fire, and are conſumed, amidſt the applauſes and acclamations of the ſurrounding multitude; for among theſe people it is cuſtomary for friends to follow each other to death with more pleaſure than they would attend them on a common journey; rejoicing that they are about to enter on a ſtate of eternal bliſs, and only commiſerating the fate of thoſe who are to remain behind.

Indian philoſophers anxious to quit their mortal bodies.

"Will any one who is not deſtitute of the common ſpirit of a man wiſh to view the riſing of another ſun? Nay, would he wiſh it, even if he might live in ſafety? Can any one have ſo little regard to his country; ſo mean, ſo contracted a ſoul; as not to regret that he has ſurvived to behold this fatal day? Happy would it have been for us if we had been all ſacrificed, rather than to have witneſſed this ſacrilegious deſtruction; and to have beheld Jeruſalem itſelf become a pile of ruins. While hope remained, however, our courage did not fail, and we deſpaired not of a happy change in our affairs. But as we have now no farther reaſon to expect ſo auſpicious a circumſtance, and as we are urged by an invincible neceſſity to the ſtep we ought now to take, it becomes us to have ſome regard to our wives, our children, and ourſelves; and in the plan of our proceeding we ſhould be expeditious, while the means are yet in our power. All men are equally deſtined to death; and the ſame fate attends the coward as the brave. Can we think of ſubmitting to the indignity of ſlavery; can we behold our wives diſhonoured, and our children enſlaved? Nature has not made this neceſſary; and if the evil ariſes, it muſt be from the force of cowardice, and the fear of dying when we have it in our power. We had courage to abandon the Romans; to defy thoſe who called themſelves our maſters; to reject their offered terms of quarter and pardon, and to refuſe an indemnity when they beſought us to accept of it. Will any one think that theſe circumſtances will be forgotten, if they ſhould take us priſoners?

"It is a melancholy reflection to conſider the ſituation of our old people or our youth when we are ſubjected: the former will die beneath their torments, and the latter languiſh under them while ſtrength remains. The huſband muſt expect to be an eye-witneſs of the diſhonour of his wife, and the parent to behold his children begging for relief from their chains. Yet, while freedom is our own, and we are in poſſeſſion of our ſwords, let us make a determined uſe of them to preſerve our liberties. Let us die freemen, glorioully ſurrounded by our wives and children. Expedition, in this caſe, muſt be uſed; and we ſhall obtain eternal renown by ſnatching the prize from the hands of our enemies, and leaving them nothing to triumph over but the bodies of thoſe who dared to be their own executioners."

Concluſion of Eleazar's ſpeech.

Thus far had Eleazar ſpoken, and would have proceeded, but that the people interrupted him with the warmeſt expreſſions of their readineſs to adopt the plan he had recommended, each being ambitious to excel the other in giving this diſtinguiſhing proof of his wiſdom and courage: thus paſſionately were theſe people devoted to the deſtruction of themſelves and their families! It was very extraordinary that, when they came to give proof of their reſolution, not a man of them failed in the arduous trial. They retained their kindeſt affections for each other to the laſt moment, conceiving that they could not render a more acceptable proof of their regard.

While they embraced their wives and children for the laſt time, they wept over, and ſtabbed them in the ſame moment; rejoicing, however, that this work was not left to be performed by their enemies. They conſidered the neceſſity of the action as their excuſe, and reflected that they only deſtroyed their deareſt friends to prevent their falling by the hands of the Romans. In a word, there was not one man who wanted the neceſſary courage on the occaſion, and they killed their deareſt friends and relations without diſtinction; and they thought the deſtruction of their wives and children far preferable to the evils to which they would otherwiſe be expoſed.

Thoſe who had been the principal agents in the ſlaughter above-mentioned, penetrated as they were with grief for the neceſſity reſolved not to ſurvive thoſe they had ſlain, and immediately collecting all their effects together, they ſet them on fire. This being done, they caſt lots for the ſelection of ten men out of their number to deſtroy the reſt: and theſe being choſen, the devoted victims embraced the bodies of their deceaſed friends, and then ranging themſelves near them, chearfully reſigned themſelves to the hands of the executioners. When theſe ten men had diſcharged the diſagreeable taſk they had undertaken, they again caſt lots which of the ten ſhould kill the other nine, having previouſly agreed that the man to whoſe lot it might fall, ſhould ſacrifice himſelf on the bodies of his companions; ſo great was the truſt that theſe people repoſed in each other. The nine devoted victims died with the ſame reſolution as their brethren had done; and the ſurviving man, having ſurveyed the bodies, and found that they were all abſolutely dead, threw himſelf on his ſword, among his companions, but not till he had firſt ſet fire to the palace.

The Jews in the caſtle of Maſſada ſlay themſelves.

This melancholy ſcene, which happened on the 15th day of the month Xanthicus, was now concluded; and the deceaſed had imagined that not a ſingle Jew would fall into the hands of the Romans: but it afterwards appeared that an old woman, and another woman who was related to Eleazar, together with five children, had eſcaped the general maſſacre, by concealing themſelves in a common ſewer. Including women and children, no leſs than nine hundred and ſixty perſons were ſlain on this occaſion.

On the dawn of the following morning the Romans prepared their ſcaling-ladders, in order to make an attack; but they were aſtoniſhed in the higheſt degree on not hearing any noiſe but the crackling of the flames, and were totally at a loſs what conjecture to form. On this they gave a loud ſhout, ſuch as is cuſtomary when a battery is played off, in expectation of receiving an anſwer. This noiſe alarmed the women in their place of retreat, who immediately coming out, related the truth to the Romans, as it really had happened. The ſtory, however, appeared ſo extraordinary, that they could not give credit to it: but they exerted themſelves in extinguiſhing the fire; and being employed in this ſervice till they came to the palace, they there found the bodies of the deceaſed lying in heaps. Far, however, from exulting in the triumph of joy that might have been expected from enemies, they united to admire the ſteady virtue and dignity of mind with which the Jews had been inſpired, and wondered at that generous contempt of death by which ſuch numbers had been bound in one ſolemn compact.

The Romans take poſſeſſion of the caſtle.

CHAP. XXIX.

The factious diſpoſition of the Sicarii.

WHEN the Roman general Silva had made a compleat conqueſt of Maſſada, he ſettled a garriſon in the place, and then proceeded with his army to Cæſarea, leaving the country behind him in a ſtate of the moſt perfect tranquillity. By this time the continuance and expence of the war had ſo reduced and broken the ſpirits of the Jews of Judea, that no ſuch thing as oppoſition was to be heard of in all that diſtrict: yet the conſequence of the war was felt as far as Alexandria in Egypt, where a number of the Jews were put to death. It may not be improper to relate ſomething reſpecting this affair.

Numbers of the factious Sicarii had fled for refuge to Alexandria, where their reſtleſs diſpoſitions would not permit them to live at eaſe; but they were continually inciting the citizens to acts of diſobedience, by advancing a number of arguments in defence of univerſal liberty, and decrying the doctrine of ſubmiſſion. They aſſerted that the Romans were by no means their ſuperiors, and that they would own no lord but the Sovereign of the univerſe. When any perſons, even the moſt reſpectable, of their own profeſſion, oppoſed their arguments, they did it at the hazard of their lives. Some of theſe they murdered; and others they induced to abandon their allegiance; while a third ſort were tempted ſo to do, but in vain. Theſe practices were carried to ſuch a length, that the principal men among them were afraid to make an example of them; but they ſummoned a general meeting of the Jews, in which they arraigned the raſh and obſtinate conduct of the Sicarii, whom they repreſented as the great ſource of all their calamities; which ſo opened the eyes of the Jews to their own danger, that they made an inſtant attack on the Sicarii, ſix hundred of whom they made priſoners; while the reſt fled to Egypt, Thebes and the adjacent country; but they were ſoon taken and brought back; on which occaſion they gave evident proofs of their obſtinate reſolution. They bore the ſevereſt torments rather than acknowledge the authority of the emperor; nor did any of them heſitate on the part they were to act; but they all combined in ſentiment with ſuch a degree of firmneſs, as if they had not felt the tortures that were inflicted on them: but the moſt incredible part of the ſtory is, that the boys, and even mere children, ſuſtained their ſufferings like the older people: and ſtill not one of theſe people would acknowledge the authority of the emperor, notwithſtanding the extremity of ſufferings they endured; for inſtead of feeling their torments, they appeared to deſpiſe them.

Depredations of the Sicarii.

They are attacked by the Jews.

CHAP. XXX.

Ptolemy grants the Jews leave to build a temple; which, after being compleated, was afterwards rifled and ſhut up.

ALEXANDRIA was at this time under the government of Lupus, who ſent early intelligence to the emperor of the commotion above-mentioned; and the emperor being well apprized of the ſeditious temper of the Jews, thought it adviſeable to prevent their meetings and conferences, leſt they ſhould be divided into parties, and factions ſhould enſue; wherefore he commanded Lupus to deſtroy the temple of the Jews in the city of Onion in Egypt; of which temple, and its founder, I ſhall now ſpeak.

At the period of the war betwixt Antiochus, king of Syria, and the Jews at Jeruſalem, Onias, the ſon of Simon, one of the high-prieſts, was obliged to quit that city; whereupon he retired to Alexandria, where Ptolemy, king of Egypt, treated him in a friendly manner; partly on account of his being an enemy to Antiochus, and partly in reference to the following contract which was made between them. Onias made one requeſt to Ptolemy, and engaged that, on condition he would comply with it, he would bring over all the Jews to his intereſt. Ptolemy promiſed his concurrence to the utmoſt of his power; on which Onias named his requeſt, which was, that the Jews might be permitted to build a temple in ſome part of Egypt; where they might worſhip God, and enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion: and Onias diſplayed the advantages that would thence ariſe; that Antiochus would ſtill become more obnoxious to the Jews, and Ptolemy altogether their favourites; adding, that immenſe numbers, tempted by the opportunity of enjoying their religious rights undiſturbed, would put themſelves under the protection of the latter.

Onias's requeſt to Ptolemy.

This propoſal proving agreeable to Ptolemy, he preſented the Jews with a piece of ground which was well adapted for their intended deſign, ſituated in the diſtrict of Heliopolis, and one hundred and eighty furlongs from Memphis. On this ſpot Onias cauſed a caſtle to be erected, and when that was finiſhed, he built a temple; not indeed to be compared with that at Jeruſalem; though it had a tower on the ſame plan, ſixty cubits high, and was compoſed of ſtones of an immenſe ſize. It had likewiſe an altar built in the ſame form as that at Jeruſalem, and adorned with a number of valuable things which had been preſented thereto: it is true that there was no candleſtick; but in its ſtead there was a golden lamp of amazing brightneſs, which hung before the altar, ſuſpended by a chain of

A temple built for the Jews.

of gold. A wall of brick was built round this temple, the gates of which were of ſtone. And a large income in land and money was appropriated to its ſupport, that the ſervice of God might be celebrated in the moſt ſolemn manner. Now in this procedure Onias was inſpired, not by mere motives of religion, or unaffected goodneſs of heart; but animated, in a great degree, by the enmity he bore to the Jews of Jeruſalem, who had obliged him to quit that place. By the erection of this temple he hoped to entice to him many of thoſe who had abandoned him; and he was encouraged by reflecting on a prediction of the prophet Iſaiah, reſpecting a temple to be erected in future time in Egypt by a Jew; and on another prophecy of nine hundred and ſeventy years old, which would well bear a ſimilar interpretation.

The Jewiſh temple rifled.

This is the hiſtory of the building of the temple. But Lupus having received the commands of the emperor, as above-mentioned, went immediately to the place, ſeized on a number of the valuable preſents and offerings, and then ſhut up the temple. After the death of Lupus, Paulinus ranſacked the temple, threatening to puniſh the prieſts in the moſt exemplary manner, if they concealed a ſingle article. He aboliſhed all divine worſhip, made faſt the doors, and would not permit any perſon to repair thither on religious motives. This event happened at the end of three hundred and thirty-three years after the temple was firſt built.

CHAP. XXXI.

Concluſion of this hiſtory.

Jonathan, an enthuſiaſtic, ſeduces a number of people to follow him.

THE whole country of Cyrene now felt the ill effects of the ſingular inſolence of the Sicarii. An enthuſiaſtic weaver, named Jonathan, making his eſcape into that country, enticed great numbers of weak and credulous people to follow him into the woods and deſarts, pretending that he would ſhew them viſions and wonderful prodigies: but ſeveral of the moſt eminent Jews of Cyrene traced the affair to its ſource; and, having learnt what rout the deluded people had taken, and the real ſtate of the caſe, they ſent immediate intelligence thereof to Catullus, governor of the Pentapolian Lybia; who diſpatching a body of cavalry and infantry, intercepted them, and, as they were unarmed, they were made an eaſy conqueſt. Many were taken priſoners, and conveyed to Catullus; but conſiderable numbers were killed on the ſpot.

They are routed.

Jonathan, the leader of theſe unhappy people, effected his eſcape: but diligent ſearch being made after him, he was at length apprehended, and ſent priſoner to Catullus. However he found a method of ingratiating himſelf with the governor; and to divert the ſtorm from falling on his own head, he charged the richeſt Jews of the place with being the contrivers and promoters of the plot. Catullus was charmed with this accuſation, and reflected on it till he had in a manner declared war againſt the Jews in his own mind. There was one Alexander, a Jew, to whom Catullus had long been a determined enemy; and having inſtructed falſe witneſſes to accuſe him, and his wife Berenice, they were both put to death. Soon afterwards no leſs than three thouſand perſons ſhared a ſimilar fate, at one time, through the arts of perjury.

Jonathan ingratiates himſelf with Catullus.

Three thouſand Jews ſacrificed by means of perjury.

Catullus, being now apprehenſive that the capital Jews in other parts might detect the vile plot of which he had been guilty, inſtructed Jonathan, and ſome other priſoners, to exhibit articles of complaint againſt ſuch of the Jews of Rome and Alexandria, as were moſt diſtinguiſhed for their unblemiſhed reputation. Among the perſons thus accuſed was the writer of this hiſtory. Catullus now repaired to Rome, taking with him, in chains, Jonathan and the reſt of his priſoners. He entertained no doubt but that all enquiry was at an end, and that every thing he had aſſerted would obtain full credit: but the event of the affair proved that his contrivance had not ſucceeded as he could have wiſhed: for Veſpaſian, entertaining great ſuſpicion, enquired diligently into the circumſtances of the caſe, in which he was aſſiſted by Titus, who adviſed him to declare the innocence of Joſeph and the other perſons accuſed. This was accordingly done, and they were ſet at liberty; while orders were given that Jonathan ſhould be whipped, and then burnt alive; and this ſentence was executed in its utmoſt rigour.

Jonathan burnt alive.

Veſpaſian and Titus were ſo merciful to Catullus, that for the preſent they permitted him to eſcape unpuniſhed: but ſoon after this event he was attacked with a variety of diſeaſes. His limbs were filled with pain, and his bowels with tormenting gripes: but the aggravated horrors of his mind greatly exceeded his bodily ſufferings. He was haunted by the ghoſts of thoſe he had murdered, beheld their apparitions, and heard their outcries. He would frequently ſtart from his bed, and ſhriek out, as if he were burnt in the fire, or tortured on the rack. His torments encreaſed, till at length his bowels putrified, and fell from his body. Thus ended the life of this wicked man, who fell an exemplary ſacrifice to the rigour of Divine vengeance.

Miſerable end of Catullus.

Whatever may be the manner in which I have conducted the preceding narrative, I can without the ſmalleſt heſitation declare, that an adherence to truth has conſtantly marked my endeavours.

END OF THE WARS OF THE JEWS.

PHILO'S EMBASSY

FROM THE

JEWS OF ALEXANDRIA,

TO THE

EMPEROR CAIUS CALIGULA.

The AUTHOR's PREFACE.

WILL the time never arrive when the experience and knowledge of age will ſuperſede the folly of youth! When we have attained to venerable fourſcore, ſhall we continue to act like children! What can be more abſurd than to place a dependance on fortune, which is ſubject to continual variation, and neglect the dictates of nature, which is fixed in abſolute immutability? Is it not to invert and confound the juſt order and value of things to conſider thoſe as certainties which are every moment liable to change, and neglect thoſe which in their nature are incapable of alteration and decay. The eye of the ſoul is by far more penetrating and quick than that of the body, excepting when its power is deſtroyed by an intemperate indulgence of luxury, or, which indeed may be juſtly conſidered as the greateſt misfortune, by ignorance and ſtupidity, naturally proceeding from the neglect of rouſing the mental faculties from a ſtate of ſhameful inactivity.

So numerous and wonderful have been the events that have occurred in our own days, that it is unneceſſary to recur to the hiſtory of ancient times to prove the exiſtence of an over-ruling providence, which protects all people of virtue and piety, but particularly thoſe who adore and ſerve the Almighty with due humility and veneration. The Chaldeans call ſuch people Iſraelites, ſignifying that they are the beholders of the Lord; which is a bleſſing infinitely ſuperior to all the riches of the univerſe.

It is not poſſible for words to give an adequate deſcription of the Supreme Being, who is ſo far above our weak conception that, if we advance, by the ſcale of his attributes, with a view to ſearch into the nature of the great origin of things, the myſtery ſtill appears utterly incomprehenſible. If the ſentiments of the whole creation were to be declared by one tongue, no juſt explanation could be given of his omnipotence; his ſupreme dignity and providential wiſdom; and his unerring juſtice in the diſtribution of puniſhments and rewards. The divine vengeance even operates often to the benefit of mankind; for it affords a conſciouſneſs of our delinquency, and often deters us from regulating our conduct by wicked examples.

CHAP. I.

The great and uninterrupted felicity of the firſt ſeven months of the reign of the emperor Caius Caligula, the ſucceſſor of Tiberius.

ON the deceaſe of Tiberius, the imperial dignity devolved to Caius Caligula. When this prince aſſumed the throne, the Greeks and Barbarians, ſoldiers and burghers, lived in a ſtate of brotherhood, and in the mutual interchange of affection and friendſhip; and a profound tranquillity prevailed in all the provinces in the different quarters of the globe. The happineſs of Caligula was ſo extraordinary as almoſt to exceed credibility; he poſſeſſed an immenſe treaſure in coin, gold, and ſilver, manufactured into articles of uſe and ornament, and a great quantity of thoſe valuable metals unwrought. His force, by ſea and land, was prodigious; and his revenues were almoſt inexhauſtible, every inhabited part of the world contributing towards the expences of his government. The Euphrates and the Rhine formed the boundaries of his empire; the firſt bordering upon Germany and other barbarous nations, and the other upon the countries of the Parthians, the Sarmatians, the Scythians, &c. who were people equally uncivilized with thoſe of Germany. Upon the continent, as well as in the iſlands, nothing was known but the moſt perfect happineſs; for the people of Rome and Italy, and thoſe of the ſeveral provinces of Europe and Aſia, paſſed their time in a kind of uninterrupted feſtival. In the ſeveral villages, towns and cities, altars, victims, ſacrifices, men clothed in white and adorned with garlands, horſe-racing, and muſical concerts, merry-meetings, dancing to the lute and harp, and all other kinds of entertainment and recreations, were to be continually met with. Such was the abundance of all the neceſſaries of life, and ſo univerſal was contentment and pleaſure, that debtors and creditors, domeſtics and ſuperiors, were equally happy; and it appeared as if the poetical deſcription of Saturn's golden age was realized. This ſtate of general felicity continued during the firſt ſeven months of the reign of Caligula.

CHAP. II.

The illneſs and recovery of Caligula.

IN the eighth month of his reign, Caligula was attacked by a violent and dangerous diſeaſe, having addicted himſelf to ſeveral violent exceſſes; for, not ſatisfied with immoderate eating and drinking, it was his cuſtom to take emetic draughts, in order that, by clearing his ſtomach, he might the ſooner return to the indulgence of luxury. He was violently addicted to every ſpecies of the moſt abominable ſenſuality, and practiſed uncleanneſſes with either ſex. In ſhort, his ungovernable, vulgar appetites, led him into every kind of debauchery that could tend to the deſtruction of the union between the ſoul and body.

The emperor's diſtemper ſeized him in the beginning of autumn, at which ſeaſon the ſhips employed in trading to different quarters of the globe, which could not winter in foreign parts, were under the neceſſity of ſailing for their reſpective countries. By this means intelligence of the emperor's dangerous indiſpoſition was in a ſhort time communicated to all parts of the world; in conſequence whereof a general mourning and lamentation took place, proportioned to the great happineſs they had before enjoyed; for they feared that a new prince might involve them in freſh wars.

But the emperor, after a ſhort time, began to recover his former ſtate of health; and the happy news of this event was immediately tranſmitted to the moſt diſtant quarters of the univerſe. This grateful information created in the people the utmoſt impatience for the news of his perfect recovery; and, at length, by divers expreſſes they learnt that he was entirely reſtored to his former ſtate of health and vigour; in conſequence of which the ſeveral provinces immediately recovered their tranquillity and happineſs; and this was the caſe with the inhabitants of the iſles as as well as the people upon the continent. In fine, the memory of man could not produce an inſtance where the preſervation of a particular prince had been productive of ſuch univerſal tranſports of joy to any people or nation, as were manifeſted on occaſion of the recovery of Caligula. It appeared as if, by a momentary tranſition, the people had been removed from a ſtate of barbariſm to that of ſociable and civil life; from the diſorder and confuſion of deſarts, to the regularity of political communities.

CHAP. III.

Unexpected alteration in the conduct of Caligula.

THE profuſion of bounties and favours which Caligula had diſtributed in all parts of Europe and Aſia, had acquired him the reputation of being the moſt illuſtrious character that had hitherto been known, whether conſidered as a public or a private benefactor: but this prince now ſo far degenerated from that ſpecimen he afforded in the early part of his reign, whence it was univerſally concluded that he would prove a moſt glorious example to all future ſovereigns, as to become a moſt execrable monſter of tyranny and cruelty: or, perhaps, it would be moſt proper to ſay, he diveſted himſelf of the maſk of hypocriſy, and betrayed to the world his natural tyrannical, malevolent, and cruel diſpoſition.

The emperor Tiberius had a grandchild, the offspring of his ſon Druſus; and this grandchild received the name of Tiberius; and Caius Caligula, the nephew of the emperor Tiberius, was the deſcendant of Germanicus. In preference to the young Tiberius, the emperor nominated Caligula to the imperial ſucceſſion, on the condition that he ſhould acknowledge the great obligation of his advancement to the throne by obſerving a due reſpect and attention towards his kinſman. But Caligula, inſtead of being touched with gratitude upon his advancement by adoption to that dignified ſtation, which Tiberius had a right to enjoy in virtue of his birth, carried his inhumanity to ſuch an exceſs, as to cauſe the death of his near kinſman, the coheir of the throne and the immediate ſucceſſor of the emperor Tiberius, under the pretext that the youth had engaged in a conſpiracy for depriving him of life. The tender age of Tiberius conſtituted a ſufficient proof that the accuſation adduced againſt him was founded in utter improbability. It was the generally received opinion, that had Tiberius been but a few years older, he would indiſputably have been appointed the ſucceſſor of his grandfather, who, it was alſo ſuppoſed, would have removed Caligula, againſt whom he had already conceived ſome jealouſy.

With a view to effect the deſtruction of young Tiberius, Caligula ſummoned him into his preſence, and aſſembled a council of his friends, to whom he addreſſed a diſcourſe to the following purport:

"Towards Tiberius I entertain not only that regard which is due to him as being my couſin-german, but I even eſteem him with the tenderneſs of a brother; and there is nothing I more anxiouſly deſire than to admit him to an equal ſhare of the ſovereignty, in compliance with the laſt will and teſtament of his grandfather. But, alas! we are all fully ſenſible that youth and inexperience are unequal to the weighty cares of government. The tender age of Tiberius renders it neceſſary that he ſhould be placed under the direction of a governor. Would it not then be an inſtance of extreme imprudence to inveſt the youth with a commiſſion for the exerciſe of authority over others? Was it not for this I ſhould relieve myſelf from one part of the laborious office of governing ſo many nations, and render leſs formidable the danger I am continually expoſed to of ſinking under the burthen of public adminiſtration. So great is my affection for Tiberius, that I here ſolemnly pledge myſelf to receive him as a ſon and pupil, and faithfully acquit myſelf towards him in the characters of a father and a governor; and, let it be obſerved, that from this moment he is to be conſidered as being under my immediate protection."

This artful addreſs effectually removed every obſtruction to the abominable deſign which Caligula had conceived of deſtroying the young prince, the Roman law inveſting parents with an abſolute authority over their children, and giving to the ſupreme magiſtrate an equally abſolute and uncontroulable power over the people.

At a convenient opportunity Caligula accuſed Tiberius of being an enemy, and conducted himſelf towards the youth accordingly; and it is related, that in the accompliſhment of his cruel deſign againſt Tiberius, he commanded the youth to become his own executioner in the preſence of a number of tribunes and centurions, who were prohibited from aſſiſting him in the action: and the pretence of the barbarous tyrant on this occaſion was, that it would prove injurious to the imperial dignity, if the blood of the deſcendants of royalty was permitted to be ſhed by any but royal hands. Caligula endeavoured to conceal the enormity of this tranſaction, in pretending that he acted under the influence of a religious intention.

This unhappy young prince, who had never been witneſs to the ſpilling of blood, either in real engagements or the repreſentations of battles, which during the times of peace are practiſed by the military people, preſented his throat to the ſpectators, entreating them reſpectively to put an end to his life: but they all declined a compliance; in conſequence of which he took a poniard, and requeſted to be informed to what part of his body he could moſt effectually direct the weapon to put a ſpeedy period to a miſerable exiſtence. They inſtructed him where to ſtrike, and he inſtantly followed their directions, repeating his ſtrokes while any ſtrength remained.

CHAP. IV.

Macro, commander of the Pretorian troops, expoſtulating with Caligula on the impropriety of his conduct, he puts both Macro and his wife to death.

CALIGULA imagined that there now remained no man of ſufficient conſequence to raiſe a party againſt him, or to interrupt him in the tyrannical exerciſe of government: and he determined that Macro, the commander of the Pretorian bands, ſhould be the next object of his cruelty and ingratitude.

Caligula was indebted to Macro for many important ſervices after his advancement to the throne; but his zealous endeavours in favour of the emperor are not to be conſidered as any evidence of extraordinary attachment, ſince it will be found that court paraſites are ever attendant upon perſons in exalted ſtations, whoſe incſinations it is the buſineſs of their lives to conſult and gratify. While Caligula remained in a private ſituation, he received many inſtances of friendſhip from Macro; and it was principally through his influence that Tiberius was induced to nominate Caligula as the ſucceſſor to the imperial dignity.

The emperor Tiberius being a man of long experience in the world, and of an uncommon ſagacity and depth of penetration, it will conſequently be ſuppoſed that he poſſeſſed a knowledge of the human heart; and indeed he was in this point inferior to no man of his time. Tiberius conceived a very ſtrong ſuſpicion and jealouſy that Caligula was an inveterate enemy to the whole Claudian family, and that if he entertained any tenderneſs or regard towards any of thoſe with whom he was connected by ties of conſanguinity, his affection was confined entirely to his relations on his mother's ſide: and hence he became exceedingly diſtreſſed on account of his grandchild, whom after his deceaſe he feared might be expoſed to great difficulties and danger. He conſidered Caligula as wholly unequal to the important office of governing ſo extenſive an empire.

But Macro uſed every poſſible means to remove theſe unfavourable impreſſions, by aſſerting that Caligula cheriſhed a moſt tender regard for his kinſman, and had repeatedly declared that he would gladly reſign in his favour every poſſible pretenſion to the right of ſucceeding to the throne; adding that it was the misfortune of Caligula to have the natural modeſty and reſerve of his temper interpreted into a want of ſpirit and diſcernment. Theſe perſuaſions not operating with the deſired effect on the emperor, Macro propoſed to engage his own perſon as a ſecurity that Caligula would not prove unworthy.

Inſhort, he was ſo indefatigable in promoting the intereſt of Caligula, that he availed himſelf of every opportunity of influencing Tiberius in his favour, by aſſiduouſly endeavouring to defend him againſt a variety of ſuſpicions and prejudicial reports. Many, however, were of opinion, that Macro exerted his intereſt with the emperor in conſideration of the great deference and reſpect obſerved toward him by Caligula: but a ſtill greater number ſuppoſed Macro's conduct to proceed from the perſuaſions of his wife, alledging that, being engaged in a private amour with Caligula, ſhe was therefore induced to urge her huſband to let no occaſion eſcape of rendering proofs of friendſhip to the young man.

Being entirely ignorant and unſuſpicious of his wife's infidelity, Macro believed her careſſes to be proofs of the violence of her affection; and the inſinuating artifices practiſed upon him operated ſo powerfully, that he conſidered the very perſons who were treacherouſly labouring to deſtroy his happineſs as bearing towards him the moſt ſincere and exalted friendſhip.

Macro, having repeatedly afforded Caligula relief in great extremities, wherein his life was in the moſt imminent danger, conceived that he might preſume to ſpeak with more freedom than would be conſiſtent with the ſituation of any other perſon. He was exceedingly anxious to prevent him from indulging vicious inclinations.

When he perceived him aſleep at table, it was his cuſtom to rouſe him; when dancers and tumblers ſo engroſſed the emperor's attention, that he could not refrain from an imitation of their geſtures and attitudes; when he gave way to violent burſts of laughter at the groſs conceits and vulgar jokes of a ſtage-buffoon; or condeſcended to accompany the ſingers or performers on muſical inſtruments; Macro, on theſe occaſions, if ſeated near him, never omitted his endeavours to diſcourage him by a wink expreſſive of his meaning, touching him with his elbow, or by ſome other private intimation.

But theſe friendly efforts ſerved only to encreaſe the enmity of Caligula; which at length arrived to ſo high a degree, that he formed the barbarous reſolution of ſacrificing Macro to his revenge. He therefore employed himſelf in ſuggeſting the means to execute his horrid deſign; and while he was revolving this ſubject in his mind, he conceived that an expreſſion uſed by Macro afforded him a favourable opportunity of advancing a criminal charge againſt him which would bear a plauſible appearance, and effectually anſwer his purpoſe. Theſe are the words on which Caligula determined to found his accuſation.

"Caligula is an emperor of my own making; and the obligations he owes to me are far greater than what he owes even to his father. Thrice did Tiberius reſolve to put him to death; but as often did I exert my influence, whereby the emperor's rage was averted. After the deceaſe of Tiberius, I ſurrendered to Caligula the Pretorian bands, over whom I held the command, exhorting them to obſerve a rigid obedience to him, and admoniſhing them that the empire could not be preſerved entire and in perfect ſecurity, unleſs the ſovereign authority were inveſted in one perſon.

Many perſons bore teſtimony that Macro had, in their preſence, ſpoken to the above purpoſe, but were entirely ignorant of the intentions of Caligula. In ſhort, a few days after this he cauſed the death of the unhappy Macro and his wife. To heighten his revenge, he cauſed them to be their own executioners, notwithſtanding the criminal intimacy which was ſaid to have exiſted between himſelf and Macro's wife. Caligula even carried his cruelty to ſuch exceſs, as to cauſe all the domeſtics of this unhappy man to be put to death.

CHAP. V.

Caligula cauſes Marcus Sylanus to be put to death. This murder followed by ſeveral others.

CALIGULA now meditated a third act of cruelty, the accompliſhment of which he thought would require the utmoſt exertion of his ſkill and addreſs.

Marcus Sylanus, father in law to Caligula,

gula, was a man of great bravery, generous ſentiments, and noble extraction. His daughter died at an early period of life; but he ſtill continued to obſerve an equal degree of affection towards Caligula; not doubting but he ſhould experience a due return of kindneſs and eſteem, being entirely ignorant and unſuſpicious of the real diſpoſition of his iniquitous ſon-in-law. Sylanus, being naturally of a frank and open temper, frequently addreſſed Caligula on the ſubjects of morality and politics, recommending to him a juſt and equitable adminiſtration of government, and an irreproachable conduct in private life, being ſtill deeply ſenſible of a tender affliction conſequent on the unhappy circumſtance of his daughter's death, imagined that his friendly expoſtulations could not be interpreted into the cauſe of offence, ſince it was ſcarcely poſſible that, in ſo ſhort a time, the ſenſe of affinity could be obliterated from the mind of Caligula.

But the emperor flattered himſelf that his wiſdom, moderation, valour, juſtice, and other qualifications, had rendered his character ſo diſtinguiſhed, that it was incapable of greater perfection: he therefore conſidered friendly council as reproach and inſult, ſince it implied the poſſibility of his amendment; and hence he deemed his moſt firm and faithful friends to be his moſt inveterate enemies. He conceived, in particular, a moſt violent averſion to Sylanus, as being a kind of check to the indulgence of his extravagant and unruly paſſions; and his enmity encreaſed to ſuch an outrageous degree, that he renounced all regard to the memory of his deceaſed wife, and determined on the unnatural ſcheme of ſacrificing the life of Sylanus, who had inconteſtibly proved himſelf a moſt tenderly affectionate father-in-law, and a ſincere and diſintereſted friend.

The death of Sylanus was followed by that of many of the moſt conſiderable perſons of the empire: and when the news of theſe murders was propagated among the public they conſidered them with aſtoniſhment and horror; but they ſuppreſſed a public declaration of their ſentiments, leſt they ſhould incur the reſentment of the cruel tyrant. Many, however, being of unſteady tempers, and liable to impoſition, could not entertain an idea that a prince who had ſhewn ſuch remarkable inſtances of humanity and moderation, could, by a momentary tranſition, become a moſt bloody and mercileſs tyrant; and hence they endeavoured to juſtify the iniquitous conduct of which he had been guilty, by arguments to the following effect:

" No cenſure can juſtly fall upon Caligula for his behaviour to young Tiberius, ſince the nature of things will not admit that a divided ſovereignty can be conſiſtent with the ſafety of a ſtate: and therefore the removal of the youth was a preventive meaſure indiſpenſably neceſſary; eſpecially if it be conſidered that, had Tiberius poſſeſſed the power, he would unqueſtionably have taken away the life of the emperor. Caligula is by no means deſerving to be reprobated as a cruel murderer; but, on the contrary, is to be conſidered as the inſtrument of Divine Providence, by whoſe decree he put an end to the life of Tiberius, in order to ſecure the ſafety and happineſs of mankind.

The ſame perſons thus argued in extenuation of the murder of Macro.

" Macro proved himſelf a man of an imperious and preſuming diſpoſition; he became wholly regardleſs of the Delphic oracle, which commands every man to *know himſelf*; from which admirable leſſon we are to underſtand that we cannot be unhappy while we ſtrictly conform to it, nor fail to be miſerable when we hold it in contempt. Can it be ſaid that to interfere in the province of ſovereignty is conſiſtent with the duty of a ſubject; or that he is excuſeable for obtruding upon a prince inſtructions for the diſcharge of the fuctions of his high office?"

They ſuggeſted the following excuſes reſpecting the cruelty of Caligula towards Sylanus:

" The conduct of Sylanus was extremely abſurd in aſſuming over a ſon-in-law an authority ſimilar to that which men have a right to exerciſe over their immediate deſcendants. It is uſual among private citizens to relinquiſh the paternal authority when their children are engaged in offices of truſt, or meet with honourable preferment. Sylanus could have no claim to the honour of being father-in-law to the emperor; for the affinity ceaſed with the death of his daughter; but he, notwithſtanding, had the preſumption to expoſtulate with Caligula on affairs of adminiſtration, wherein he could not juſtly pretend to have even the leaſt concern. It is beyond contradiction that marriage connects families in a ſtate of alliance: but it is equally certain that the alliance is temporary; for the diſſolution of all relationſhip neceſſarily takes place upon the deceaſe of either of the contracting parties."

In the above manner did people endeavour to reſcue Caligula from the imputation of criminal actions. They were ſo prepoſſeſſed in favour of the ſuppoſed extraordinary generoſity, moderation, juſtice, tenderneſs of diſpoſition, and other perfections in the character of this prince, that they could not conceive him capable of a conduct that could merit cenſure; nor that it was poſſible, after having moſt glorioully diſtinguiſhed himſelf beyond the example of former ſovereigns, he could degenerate, by ſo ſudden a change, to the oppoſite extreme of wickedneſs.

CHAP. VI.

The extravagant vanity of Caligula.

THE cruel murders of Tiberius, Macro, and Sylanus, were conſidered by Caligula as ſo many victories over the moſt formidable enemies he had in the empire. The death of Tiberius relieved him from all apprehenſion of his right to the ſovereignty being conteſted; he was eaſy reſpecting the ſoldiery, ſince Macro, who had poſſeſſed a great influence over them, was now effectually removed; and he judged himſelf perfectly ſecure with reſpect to the ſenate, in conſequence of the death of Sylanus, who commanded a great intereſt in, and had been eſteemed one of the moſt glorious ornaments of, that illuſtrious aſſembly. Having then effected the deſtruction of every perſon whom he apprehended might prove an obſtacle to the unlimited indulgence of his extravagant humours, he conceived the vain deſign of aſſuming the character of a demi-god, and exacting the honours and obedience obſerved towards the deities: and to reconcile himſelf to this ridiculous ſcheme, he argued in the following manner:

"Since thoſe who have the command of beaſts in the fields, as goatherds, ſhepherds, herdſmen, and people of other denominations, are neither goats, ſheep, nor oxen, but are of a very different ſpecies, being creatures endowed with rational faculties, and infinitely ſuperior, in every reſpect, to the animals under their direction; on the ſame principles, it may be preſumed that the ſovereign of the univerſe has an equitable claim to an exaltation beyond the ſcale of human nature, and to exact the veneration of a deity."

Having determined upon this abſurd and vain deſign, his diſtempered imagination repreſented the employment which he was preparing to undertake as being worthy the imperial character; and he proceeded by degrees to the gratification of his ambitious views. His firſt imaginary exaltation was in aſſuming the character of demi-gods; ſuch as Hercules, Bacchus, Caſtor, Pollux, Amphiaraus, Amphilochus, Trophonius, and others. He turned the oracles and ceremonies of theſe deities into ſubjects of ridicule, but ſtill claimed a right to the enſigns and privileges belonging to them, with the view of advancing the honor of his own character.

It was the cuſtom of this man, like a theatrical performer, to be continually changing habits, intending thereby to render his appearance exactly conformable to that of the parties whom he was deſirous to perſonate. At one time he would ſtrive at an imitation of Hercules, being habited in the ſkin of a lion, and carrying a club in his hand; ſometimes he would aſſume the appearance of Caſtor or Pollux, wearing a cap upon his head ſimilar to thoſe uſed by the illuſtrious brothers: and to perſonate Bacchus he would wear the ſkin of a faun, and provide himſelf with a thyrſis wreathed with ivy.

The circumſtance that moſtly attracted the admiration of the public was, not that Caligula, like Geryon, had three bodies, but that he poſſeſſed the wonderful power of aſſuming ſuch an extenſive variety of characters as nearly to rival Proteus.

What value didſt thou, Caius, imagine would be added to thy character by a vain reſemblance of the figures of the demi-gods, when you wholly neglected an imitation of their virtues, which would have been an employment whence you might have derived immortal honour? Hercules engaged in his laborious and hazardous undertakings from the noble motive of delivering the univerſe, both by ſea and land, from the monſters that infeſted it, to the great interruption of the happineſs and ſecurity of mankind. Vines were planted and cultivated by Bacchus, who extracted from their fruit a beverage highly grateful to the palate, and poſſeſſed the quality of improving the corporeal ſtrength and natural vigour of the mind: beſides adding to our bodily power, the juice of the grape has the virtue of giving us greater activity, and contributing towards the encreaſe and preſervation of health: it charms our cares to ſleep, renders us inſenſible to afflictions, and inſpires us with the hope of a more auſpicious fortune; a chearful draught relieves us from the languor and fatigue of long continued labour. The ſalutary effects of wine are not experienced alone by people in a civilized ſtate, but even by the moſt barbarous nations. Feaſts, entertainments, muſic, dancing and merry-meetings, would no longer be attractive if the ſpirits of the company were not to be occaſionally exhilarated by the generous juice expreſſed from the fruit of the vine. But it is unneceſſary any longer to dwell on the virtues of wine, which can never prove injurious while it is made uſe of with moderation.

Caſtor and Pollux are repreſented as being the twin ſons of Jupiter: one of them is ſaid to have been immortal, but that he ſhared with his brother the privilege of not being ſubject to the common lot of humanity, becauſe his fraternal affection was ſo great that he could not ſupport the idea of being left eternally to deplore the irreparable loſs he ſhould ſuſtain in the death of his tenderly-beloved brother. The noble behaviour of this man is unparalleled; for what greater ſacrifice can be imagined than that of one brother reſigning in favour of the other a part of his privilege of enjoying an eternal exiſtence, and rendering himſelf, in a proportionate degree, ſubject to the power of death. The contemporaries of theſe heroic brothers paid them great deference and veneration; nor has their juſtly acquired renown yet ſuffered the leaſt diminution. By the great benefits which they conferred upon mankind, and their exemplary virtues, theſe worthies acquired to themſelves the honour of being conſidered as demi-gods.

But have you, Caligula, purſued a conduct that you could reaſonably expect would entitle you to divine honours? Let us firſt ſpeak of Caſtor and Pollux. Can an inſtance be produced of a greater diſſimilarity of character than what will appear upon drawing a compariſon between yourſelf and thoſe illuſtrious brothers? So far from being inſpired with a noble emulation of their unbounded friendſhip, and heroic generoſity, you have cruelly bathed your hands in the blood of an innocent youth, whom it was your duty to treat with the utmoſt tenderneſs of a brother; for, excluſive of his alliance to you by the ties of blood, he had a juſt and indiſputable claim to a co-partnerſhip in the imperial dignity. With a view to ſecure yourſelf in the quiet poſſeſſion of the throne, you condemned the ſiſters of Tiberius to perpetual baniſhment.

In what reſpect is it that you have acted in conformity to the example of Bacchus? Of what diſcoveries are you the author, whereby the world derives any kind of advantage? Have you, in any one inſtance, contributed towards the peace or happineſs of mankind? It muſt, indeed, be allowed that you are not deſtitute of invention; but your inventions, like epidemical diſeaſes, convert joy into affliction, and render life inſupportable. To gratify your inſatiable avarice your coffers are daily repleniſhed with immenſe treaſures from the four quarters of the globe: but inſtead of paying grateful acknowledgments for the readineſs and punctuality with which the people combine to raiſe ſo conſiderable a revenue as you enjoy, you continually oppreſs them by exacting the payment of heavy and unprecedented taxes. In ſhort, the unrelenting cruelty of your diſpoſition has diſtinguiſhed you as an object of public abhorrence, and your tyrannical and oppreſſive meaſures in the magiſterial capacity have rendered your government wholly intolerable. Theſe facts are incontrovertable; therefore you in no ſingle inſtance bear the leaſt reſemblance of Bacchus.

Hercules engaged and perſevered in ſuch heroic and laborious undertakings as appeared utterly impoſſible for human power to accompliſh; and in theſe he proved at once indefatigable and ſucceſsful. His glorious actions proceeded from the public ſpirited deſire of enacting ſuch laws as ſhould operate to the general advantage of mankind by cauſing a plenty, and eſtabliſhing peace and promoting commerce throughout the world. This is a conciſe account of the real character of Hercules. So far from imitating the virtues of this hero, Caligula is of an inactive, dull, and heavy diſpoſition; and ſo faſely grounded are his pretenſions to bravery, that in the whole human race there cannot be found a more timorous creature: this man ſeems to delight in baniſhing good order and happineſs from ſociety, and introducing in their place tumults, ſeditions, and every ſpecies of miſery, that can interrupt the felicity of mankind. There cannot be imagined a greater diſparity than appears on a compariſon of theſe two characters: and yet Caligula has the effrontery to declare himſelf the rival of Hercules, and to claim public veneration as being a demi-god.

CHAP. VII.

Caligula perſonates Mercury, Apollo, and Mars.

THE vanity and preſumption of Caligula encreaſed, at length, to ſuch an immoderate degree, that he could no longer be contented in the idea of being conſidered as a demi-god, but became ambitious of exacting the honours paid to the deities of the ſuperior order, as Mercury, Apollo, and Mars. He firſt determined to perſonate Mercury; and cloathed himſelf in a mantle, reſembling the garment of that deity, carried a white rod in his hand, and wore buſkins with wings affixed to them. He now diveſted himſelf of the ornaments and enſigns of Mercury, and aſſumed the appearance of Apollo, wearing a radiant crown repreſenting the beams of the ſun upon his head; and to convey an intimation that he would be ſlow to puniſh offences and zealous to execute benevolent offices, he carried a bow and arrows in his left and the graces in his right hand.

After this he cauſed holy ſongs to be ſung, and dances to be exhibited in honour of the new deity, though but a ſhort time had elapſed ſince he had been contented with being diſtinguiſhed by the names of Liver, Evius, and Lycæus. In order to counterfeit Mars, he provided himſelf with a coſtly headpiece, ſword and buckler, and marched with prieſts and bravoes attending him on each ſide, ready to obey his inhuman commands; for he ridiculouſly imagined that by ſpreading deſtruction, and an indiſcriminate ſpilling of blood, he ſhould gain a more near reſemblance to the god of war. This ſpectacle ſtruck the ſpectators with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment and horror; they were unable, calmy and unmoved, to behold an audacious impoſtor arrogating to himſelf the honour of the deities, to whoſe virtues he was an abſolute ſtranger, and to whom he bore not the leaſt ſimilarity in any reſpect but in a ridiculous imitation of their habits, which conveyed no other meaning than that the gods are bountiful to thoſe who bear towards them an unaffected love and veneration.

The moral implied by the winged buſkins of Mercury is only that, being the ambaſſador or meſſenger of the gods, according to the import of the Greek word, and the bearer of happy intelligence (for we cannot ſuppoſe that either gods or good and wiſe men would willingly be the propagators of unfortunate events) rapidity of motion is neceſſary in the conveyance of intelligence requiring diſpatch. The wand, or white rod, of Mercury, is to be underſtood as the enſign of one who is commiſſioned to make a league or reſtore peace; for it is the office of the herald, by agreement or truce, to ſtop the progreſs of hoſtilities; and but for this mediation there would be no end to the horrors and devaſtation of war.

What motive could induce Caligula to affix wings to his buſkins? Did he thereby expect to diſperſe throughout the empire an idea of the abominable wickedneſs of his life, and the execrable profligacy of his manners? Inſtead of publiſhing his crimes to the world, he ſhould have followed the dictates of prudence in burying the recollection of them in perpetual oblivion. What reaſon had he for adopting the enſign of a ſpeedy paſſage, ſince, without changing his ſituation, he might be conſidered as the inexhauſtible ſource from which the ſtreams of miſery were inceſſantly to flow, till they had overwhelmed the whole univerſe? Is not his bearing a white rod a moſt palpable evidence of abſurdity, ſince his words and actions have ſo invariably militated againſt every idea of good order, tranquillity, and happineſs? In all his concerns both with the Greeks and Barbarians, whether in private families, towns, or cities, he has conſtantly proved himſelf the promoter of diſagreements, inſurrections, and civil hoſtilities. It will, then, become this fictitious deity to relinquiſh the appellations, and diveſt himſelf of the honourable enſigns, which are in every reſpect ſo highly inconſiſtent with his character.

Caligula bears not a nearer reſemblance to Apollo than to Mercury. He wears, indeed, a radiant crown upon his head, and his ornament exhibits a very ingenious repreſentation of the beams of the ſun; but we are ſenſible that the ſun and light are not favourable witneſſes to the perpetration of the moſt horrible iniquities. Virtuous actions cannot have too many ſpectators, and will bear the light of the ſun in the fulneſs of his meridian luſtre; but let thoſe who are guilty of impious deeds, which are the works of night and darkneſs, ſeek to conceal themſelves in the regions of perpetual obſcurity. To afford a nearer emblem of his real diſpoſition, Caligula ſhould carry the bow and arrow in his right, and the graces in his left, or, indeed, it would be more proper if he were to caſt the latter entirely from him; for it has been his conſtant practice to effect the deſtruction of men, women, children, families, and even whole cities; and that he has no kind of pretenſion to the credit of benevolence, bounty and tenderneſs, which are intimated by the figures of the graces, is notoriouſly evident from the intolerable oppreſſions of which he has been guilty for the gratification of his inſatiable avarice.

As to the article of phyſic, the counterfeit bears no greater reſemblance to the real Apollo than in other reſpects. So far from being the author of ſalutary medicines, or exerting a benevolent deſire of affording aſſiſtance to mankind by preventing or removing bodily afflictions, he infects thoſe in perfect health, makes cripples of men whoſe limbs are ſound, and by treacherouſly poiſoning, and other means, babarouſly deſtroys people without regard to ſex, age, or rank in life. His rage has been moſt particularly directed againſt the people of wealth and diſtinction in Italy; and had not Divine juſtice put a check upon his iniquitous proceedings, a virtuous and rich inhabitant of that country would ſcarcely have been ſuffered to ſurvive; for his avarice and cruelty were equally without bounds, and a greater profuſion of gold and ſilver had been amaſſed in Italy than in all the other parts of the globe together.

But no part of Caligula's conduct excites greater wonder than his extravagant vanity in pretending to the ſtrength and courage of Mars; for both his mind and body are effeminate and debilitated; but he makes no ſcruple of impoſing the moſt groſs deceptions upon the multitude; for which purpoſe he transforms himſelf into a variety of appearances. There cannot exiſt a greater contrariety than will be found on drawing compariſon between Caligula and the god of war. I mean not the fabulous Mars, but that which ſignifies a promptitude for exertion of bravery and power in favour of the innocent and oppreſſed, according to the meaning of the Greek word, *Ares* from *Aregein*, to help, or aſſiſt. Two names are given to the fabulous Mars; he receives one of them as being the friend and promoter of peace as far as it operates to the advantage of the public; and the other as being equally ſanguine for the proſecution of war, wherein blood, confuſion, and horror, muſt neceſſarily prevail.

CHAP. VIII.

The Jews refuſe to venerate the emperor as a divinity.

THE Jews, who had before enjoyed the moſt perfect felicity, ſeverely experienced the effects of Caligula's unexampled wickedneſs. Being a people educated by parents and preceptors to a rigid adherence to the doctrines of the holy ſcriptures, a due obſervance of the law of nature, a belief in the exiſtence of but one God, the Father, Creator, and Preſerver of the whole world, the emperor imagined that the principles they ſo unanimouſly profeſſed would naturally induce them to oppoſe his deſigns; but he was not in the leaſt apprehenſive of obſtruction from any other quarter.

In compliance with the humour of the deteſtable tyrant, many of the Romans combined in offering a moſt degrading affront to the liberties of their country by introducing into the empire the modes of worſhip practiſed by the barbarous nations. But Caligula was convinced that, rather than violate the religious rites of their country, the Jews would chearfully ſurrender their lives, cheriſhing the firm belief that they ſhould be tranſlated into the regions of eternity.

Indeed, they were the people againſt whom he particularly directed his vengeance: he reduced them to a ſtate of the moſt vile and abject ſlavery that has ever diſgraced human nature; and therefore they had ſufficient reaſon to reprobate him for having infamouſly neglected to act as the common father and protector of his ſubjects.

CHAP. IX.

Horrid cruelties exerciſed upon the Jews. Statues dedicated to the honour of Caligula.

THE inhabitants of Alexandria having gained intelligence of the implacable enmity of Caligula towards their brethren, entered into a conſpiracy, determining to add every poſſible aggravation to the miſery of thoſe unhappy people who were already ſinking under the weight of intolerable perſecution.

Our enemies were ſo unanimous, and the injurious treatment we received was offered in ſo open and daring a manner, that it appeared as if the emperor actually gave encouragement to thoſe who were labouring to effect our deſtruction. Our habitations were forcibly entered; and men, women, and children, cruelly driven from thoſe hoſpitable retreats; and all our moſt valuable effects were ſeized. Our oppreſſors entertained not the leaſt dread of being apprehended and rendered amenable to juſtice, and therefore ſought no means for the concealment of their atrocious crimes, but continued their depredations in open day; and their audacity was ſuch, that they oſtentatiouſly expoſed to each other the property which they had ſo infamouſly obtained. Many who had formed themſelves into companies, and agreed equally to divide the ſpoil they ſhould gain, aſſembled in the public market for the purpoſe of allotting and receiving their reſpective portions of the booty; and the real proprietors of the effects ſo ſurreptitiouſly acquired were the melancholy witneſſes to this infamous buſineſs; and they were groſsly inſulted under their misfortunes with contemptuous reflection and virulent abuſe.

In addition to theſe villainous proceedings, many thouſands of our people, men, women and children, were confined in a ſmall ſpace, like beaſts in a pound; and as they were entirely deſtitute of proviſions, it was expected that they would periſh in a ſhort time, either through want of nouriſhment, or the corruption of the air, which could not fail of being rendered of a very impure quality by paſſing through the lungs of ſuch a number.

The miſerable people confined in the above-mentioned manner being unable to exiſt for want of freſh air, ſome of them eſcaped to the ſea ſhore, ſome to the deſarts, and others to lonely cemetaries: thoſe who ventured to remain in any part of the city excepting the ſmall place allotted to them, were furiouſly aſſaulted with cudgels, tiles, bricks, and other weapons, which were directed againſt thoſe parts of the body where it was ſuppoſed wounds and bruiſes would be moſt likely to deprive the unhappy ſufferers of life; and thoſe who came into the city, being unconſcious of the popular fury that prevailed, were treated with equal ſeverity. A ſtrict guard was kept on that narrow quarter of the city where the miſerable wretches were confined; and ſuch as were detected in attempting to eſcape were put to death, after ſuffering the moſt excruciating tortures that it was poſſible for human cruelty to ſuggeſt.

A numerous party of our enemies ſtationed themſelves upon the banks of the river, in order to ſeize the Jewiſh merchants who came to trade at Alexandria. They made fires of the timbers belonging to the veſſels, and caſt the merchants alive into the flames, and made ſpoil of all their effects. Other Jews ſuffered in a ſtill more cruel manner in the middle of the city; where bruſhwood

wood being provided inſtead of billets, the fuel was kindled, and the unhappy victims were thrown into the fire: the wood being green, and conſequently moiſt, the ſmoke operated more powerfully than the flames, whereby the ſufferings of the people were rendered more terrible and laſting. Many of our people were drawn through the ſtreets and acroſs the market-place by means of ropes; and ſo implacable was the rage of our enemies that, after putting them to death in this manner, with more than ſavage barbarity they inſulted the dead carcaſes by cutting and quartering them to pieces, after which they trampled them under their feet, ſuffering no parts of the bodies to remain in a ſtate that would entitle them to interment.

The Alexandrians, finding that the governor of the province adopted no meaſure for the ſuppreſſion of the popular tumult, interpreted his conduct on this occaſion into an encouragement of theſe abominable practices; and in this confidence they proceeded to the exerciſe of more daring crimes. There were great numbers of oratories, or places of prayer, ſituated in divers parts of the city; and againſt theſe buildings the rage of the enemy was now directed with the greateſt violence. The flames communicated to the adjacent habitations; and the gilt ſtatues, with their titles and inſcriptions, the crowns, bucklers, garlands, and other illuſtrious memorials, which ſeveral of the Roman emperors had eſtabliſhed in teſtimony of the honour and virtue of the Jews, and which were held in high veneration, were entirely conſumed in this conflagration.

The rioters had not yet ventured to attempt the burning or otherwiſe deſtroying a great number of the oratories, on account of their being attended by very ſtrong parties of Jews, with whom they judged it would be dangerous to engage; but with a deſign to interrupt our religious worſhip, offer a groſs indignity to our holy law, and, at the ſame time, ingratiate themſelves with the emperor, they determined to erect his ſtatue in all thoſe places for religious meetings which they had not deſtroyed. In the principal of theſe buildings they placed the ſtatue of Caligula in a chariot with four horſes of braſs. This was an example that many of the Alexandrians were anxiouſly deſirous to copy; and being unable to procure perfect figures of horſes, they took from the gymnaſium, or place of exerciſes, thoſe mutilated ones which are ſaid to have been dedicated to the honour of Cleopatra, the great grandmother of the laſt queen of that name.

The Alexandrians are more remarkably addicted to flattery than any other people in the univerſe; and it is their cuſtom to cultivate the favour of princes according to the good fortune they enjoy, without regard to their perſonal virtues or merits.

The circumſtances of the Jews were as auſpicious under the dominion of Tiberius as under that of Auguſtus; although Sejanus exerted his utmoſt endeavours to effect the ruin of ſuch of our people as reſided in the city of Rome, by groſsly calumniating them to the emperor. Soon after the miſerable death of Sejanus, Tiberius diſcovered that the injurious reports which he had communicated reſpecting the Jews, were entirely deſtitute of a foundation in truth, and calculated to anſwer no other purpoſe than that of violently irritating him againſt them, becauſe Sejanus had found them to be a people whom, of all others, he had moſt reaſon to apprehend would vigorouſly oppoſe the impious deſign he had meditated of ſacrificing the life of his prince. Hereupon Tiberius diſpatched immediate orders to the governors of the ſeveral provinces, enjoining them to treat the Jews with great lenity, excepting only ſome few who had been concerned in Sejanus's conſpiracy; and that no interruption ſhould be offered to them in the exerciſe of their religion; for that he conſidered them as people whoſe laws, lives and manners, were by no means repugnant to the inſtitutions of government, or dangerous to the public tranquillity.

CHAP. X.

The Alexandrians comply with Caligula's deſire of being venerated as a deity.

THE phrenſy of Caligula now arrived to ſo immoderate a degree, that he not only claimed divine honours, but actually believed himſelf a divinity; and neither the Greeks, the Barbarians, or any other people were ſo ready to encourage his extravagant pretenſions as the Alexandrians. A proper idea of the religious principles of theſe people will be formed, when it is conſidered that they pay adoration to their ibes, aſps, and divers other animals; and thus they deceive people who are not apprized of the abominable impiety of the Egyptians.

Caligula was vain enough to believe that the Alexandrians believed him a god in reality; for they hailed him with the acclamations, and obſerved towards him the external formalities, uſual in the religious ceremonies of their country: and there was ſo great a plauſibility in their manner, that the emperor could not perceive the difference between a falſe and a true worſhip. Thus infatuated, he conſidered the veneration paid him by the people, and the ſacrileges they had committed in the oratories, as evident proofs of their great zeal and affection towards his perſon. Accounts of theſe adorations were conveyed by his own domeſtics, who were admirably qualified to gratify the inclinations of their maſter; for they extravagantly praiſed whatever he approved, and as ſeverely condemned every thing to which he expreſſed an averſion. Theſe domeſtics were principally Egyptians, an abject, and in every reſpect a contemptible people, educated from their infancy in the abominable practice of paying adoration to ſerpents and crocodiles. The chief of theſe people was an Egyptian, named Helico, a man of obſcure birth and abandoned principles, who had inſinuated himſelf into favour at court by unjuſtifiable practices. Helico had acquired ſome literary knowledge while in the capacity of a ſlave to his firſt maſter, by whom he was preſented to the deceaſed emperor Tiberius Cæſar. Upon the ſucceſſion of Caligula to the imperial dignity, Helico determined to accommodate himſelf to the diſpoſition of his new maſter, whom he obſerved to be a prince wholly abandoned to the unlimited indulgence of his inordinate and vicious deſires.

Helico's thoughts were now wholly engroſſed by the plan he had conceived of exaſperating Caligula againſt the Jews; he paid no regard to proper times or ſeaſons, but either by day or night, as his inclinations happened to dictate, interrupted the emperor in his moſt private retirements, and during the hours dedicated to pleaſure, and adopted every ſpecies of artifice that was likely to encreaſe that averſion which he already entertained againſt the people of our nation; and his wicked and malicious inſinuations had the greater effect, as they were delivered in a ſtile of ironical pleaſantry. He judged it not good policy openly to declare himſelf the enemy of the Jews, but ſo artfully diſguiſed his meaning, and conducted his treacherous ſcheme with ſo much addreſs, that he involved our people in greater calamities than he could poſſibly have done had his intention been obvious.

The ambaſſadors appointed by the people of Alexandria had no ſooner diſcovered that Helico was a man capable of rendering them eſſential ſervice, than they purſued every poſſible means for attaching him to their intereſt; for which purpoſe they preſented him with very conſiderable ſums of money, and promiſed to procure him diſtinguiſhed honours upon the emperor's arrival at Alexandria; where he was expected in a ſhort time; and he engaged to fulfil their requeſts.

The means of defending ourſelves againſt our open and profeſſed enemies had hitherto entirely engroſſed our attention, ſo that we entertained not the leaſt ſuſpicion that meaſures were purſuing for our deſtruction by an inveterate and concealed enemy in the perſon of Helico. But upon diſcovering that he was violently prejudiced againſt us, we exerted our utmoſt endeavours to incline him to our intereſt, conſidering him as a man from whom we had the greateſt reaſon to apprehend danger; for he attended Caligula at feaſtings, balls, wreſtlings, and all other entertainments and exerciſes, and was his companion in his ſenſual debaucheries. Being firſt gentleman of the bed-chamber, he could on no occaſion be at a loſs for the opportunity of engaging the emperor in converſation. He purſued his infamous machinations with the moſt conſummate art, connecting his miſrepreſentations together with ſuch ingenuity, that they mutually ſerved to elucidate and add force to each other. In ſhort, his artifices proved ſo ſucceſsful, that their effects were never to be eradicated from the mind of the emperor.

CHAP. XI.

The Jews of Alexandria deſpair of ſucceeding with Helico, and therefore appoint deputies to repreſent their caſe to the emperor, Philo being the chief of the embaſſy.

HAVING aſſiduouſly laboured to the utmoſt extent of our abilities to influence Helico in our favour, and having experienced the mortifying diſappointment of finding him to be a man of an inſufferable arrogant and haughty diſpoſition, and ſo difficult of acceſs that it was not poſſible to gain his attention to our cauſe, we deemed it neceſſary to ſeek redreſs by other means, not knowing but ſome particular and perſonal pique or enmity might be the cauſe of his prejudicing us in the opinion of Caligula. It was deemed expedient to preſent a memorial to the emperor, repreſenting the grievances we ſuffered, and ſupplicating redreſs. When king Agrippa was going to Syria, not long previous to this time, he ſtopped at Alexandria; and we then preſented to him an addreſs, of which the above-mentioned memorial was an abſtract.

We departed in order to repair to Rome, cheriſhing the flattering belief that we ſhould find Caligula a benevolent prince and an equitable judge: but we were miſerably deceived in our opinion; for fatal experience convinced us that he entertained a moſt inveterate and implacable enmity againſt the people of our nation. He received us in the field of Mars, adjacent to Tyber, and diſguiſed the real ſentiments of his heart by ſaluting us with great complacency and apparent good-will, ſignifying by a motion of his right hand that we were perfectly welcome; and he diſpatched ed Homulus, the introducer of ambaſſadors, to inform us, that on the firſt opportunity of leiſure he would take our cauſe into mature conſideration.

I had the honour to be appointed chief of the embaſſy from the Jews of Alexandria to Caligula; and the experience and knowledge which I had acquired in the world enabled me to avoid the error of judging from ſuperficial appearances; and therefore what afforded ſatisfaction to other people, juſtly inſpired me with jealouſy and apprehenſion.

CHAP. XII.

Caligula orders his ſtatue to be erected in the temple of Jeruſalem. Account of the deaths of Helico and the tragedian Apelles.

WE had followed the emperor to Puteoli, whither he had repaired for the purpoſe of enjoying the freſh air on the banks of the ſea: entertaining himſelf with a view of the palaces and other magnificent buildings which abound in that neighbourhood. We waited in daily expectation of being admitted to an audience, in the laſt degree of anxiety leſt our petition ſhould be rejected.

We were accoſted by a man trembling, and ſo out of breath that he was at firſt unable to ſpeak: wildneſs and diſtraction appeared in his eyes, and all his features were expreſſive of the utmoſt horror. He retired a little, that he might not be overheard by the ſtrangers who were preſent, and then, in a low tone of voice ſaid, "Hark ye; have you not heard the dreadful news?" He endeavoured to proceed, but burſt into tears, and was unable to articulate another ſentence. After a ſhort pauſe he prepared again to ſpeak, and frequently renewed his attempts, but his voice was as often interrupted by the ſame cauſe. We were greatly ſurprized at this very extraordinary ſpectacle, and earneſtly entreated the man to inform us what was the motive of his conduct. At length, he made another effort to ſpeak; and, after many tears, ſighs and other expreſſions of grief, he ſaid, "Our temple is inevitably ruined; for the emperor has iſſued an expreſs order for his ſtatue, with the name of Jupiter inſcribed thereon, to be erected in the holy ſanctuary." This intelligence operated ſo powerfully upon all who heard it, as nearly to deprive them of all ſenſe and motion; and in a ſhort time we received a fatal confirmation of its authenticity. We now ſecluded ourſelves in an apartment, where we condoled each other on the calamitous ſituation of affairs; for grief is naturally eloquent, and we had ample cauſe for lamentation.

"We muſt not, for a moment, (we reaſoned) be ſo inſenſible of the great duties which we owe to our country as to entertain the thought of abandoning the cauſe of the Jews of Alexandria, who have inveſted us with powers to negotiate an affair on the iſſue of which depends the ſafety and welfare of the whole Jewiſh nation, who are now in moſt imminent danger of being entirely extirpated from the face of the earth, by the violent and barbarous perſecutions and oppreſſions of the inhuman tyrant Caligula."

In the above manner we conſoled ourſelves on ſo melancholy and unexpected an event. After remaining ſilent for a ſhort time, addreſſing ourſelves to the perſon who had communicated the afflicting intelligence, we ſpoke to the following purpoſe:

"How happens it that you appear to be ſatisfied with having ſimply related to us the matter of fact, which has involved us in extreme miſery; as a ſingle ſpark may occaſion the moſt terrible conflagrations? We ſtill remain wholly ignorant of the motive of the impious reſolution which you ſay the tyrant has adopted."

"It is a matter of public notoriety (replied he) that the emperor is ambitious of being diſtinguiſhed as a divinity. Conceiving the Jews to be the only people who would endeavour to fruſtrate his blaſphemous deſign, he determined to exert every poſſible effort for obviating the oppoſition which he apprehended from them. He judged that he could not proceed in a more effectual manner towards facilitating the execution of his purpoſe than by wreaking vengeance upon the Jews by offering indignities and profanations to the holy temple of Jeruſalem, which is univerſally allowed to be the moſt magnificent and beautiful ſtructure that has ever been formed by human invention and labour, and which contains immenſe treaſures, donatives, and oblations, that have been conſtantly accumulating during the ſucceſſion of many ages; and theſe ſacred articles Caligula had the effrontery to claim for his own private uſe.

"Capito, who enjoyed the office of queſtor, and a commiſſion for receiving the tributes of Judea, wrote letters to the emperor, which exaſperated him to an additional rage againſt the people of our nation. Capito came into Judea in very indigent circumſtances, but by fraudulent and corrupt meaſures he amaſſed conſiderable wealth, though not without rendering himſelf the object of univerſal abhorrence to the inhabitants of the ſeveral provinces. Apprehending that the Jews would exhibit juſt complaints againſt him, and call him to an account for the notorious delinquency of his conduct, he judged that it would be a ſeaſonable ſtroke of good policy to irritate the emperor againſt them, that their expected accuſations might operate with the leſs power; and he availed himſelf of the following occaſion for carrying his treacherous purpoſe into execution:

"Jamnia is one of the moſt populous cities in Judea; and, excepting ſome few ſtrangers, who removed from the neighbouring countries, and, unhappily for us, came to reſide there, it is inhabited entirely by the people of our perſuaſion. Theſe ſtrangers have ever been violent enemies to the laws, cuſtoms and manners, of the Jews; and they had no ſooner gained information that Caligula was ambitious of the character of a deity, and that he harboured a mortal and unconquerable hatred towards the people of our nation, than they determined to exert every poſſible effort for involving us in deſtruction, conceiving that a more favourable opportunity was not likely to occur for the execution of their treacherous and iniquitous purpoſe. They cauſed the utmoſt expedition to be uſed in the erection of an altar, formed of clay wrought into bricks; and this meaſure they ſuppoſed would be underſtood by us as a ſufficient indication of their hoſtile principles; and they were not deceived in the conjecture that a quarrel would enſue.

"In a ſhort time the Jews aſſembled, and laid the altar in ruins; in conſequence of which the faction exhibited complaints before Capito, and requeſted that he would grant them redreſs for the injury and affront they had received. Capito, who originally concerted the ſcheme, induſtriouſly aided its operation; and when it had arrived to maturity, he congratulated himſelf on the ſucceſs of his invention, and tranſmitted to the emperor an account of the affair, including every aggravation that appeared likely to inflame him to an exceſs of rage and indignation. The intelligence being received by the impetuous Caligula, he immediately commanded that, in revenge for the deſtruction of the brick altar in Jamnia, his ſtatue, of the ſize of a coloſſus, and richly decorated with gold, ſhould be placed in the temple of Jeruſalem. In this matter the emperor followed the advice of thoſe reſpectable counſellors, Helico, who had ſo greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf as the buffoon of the court, and the tragedian named Apelles. Having ſignalized himſelf by the profligacy of his manners in the early part of life, Apelles afterwards engaged in the theatrical profeſſion. Helico and Apelles are the preceptors of Caligula: it is the buſineſs of the firſt to qualify him in the arts of raillery, and that of the latter to inſtruct him in ſinging and the manner of reciting poetry. Thus, like a ſcorpion, did Helico diſcharge his Egyptian venom againſt the Jews; as did Apelles that of an Aſcalonite, which word ſignifies an irreconcileable enemy to the people of our nation."

The above relation ſo grievouſly afflicted us, that we could not have been ſenſible of more acute pain had a poniard been ſtruck to our hearts at every word. The execrable adviſers of Caligula, however, ſurvived not long before they received the retribution of their abominable impiety. Apelles being apprehended and committed to priſon, was heavily laden with chains, and ſubjected to the moſt excruciating tortures, which were inflicted at certain intervals, that his ſufferings might be prolonged, and at length they produced his death. Helico was put to death by order of Claudius, who ſucceeded Caligula in the imperial dignity.

CHAP. XIII.

Babylon and other provinces attached to the intereſt of the Jews. Petronius determines to comply with the orders of Caligula, for erecting the ſtatue in the temple.

THE emperor now diſpatched orders to Petronius, the governor of Syria, for erecting and conſecrating a ſtatue to his honour in the temple of Jeruſalem; and every poſſible precaution was inſerted in the commiſſion, leſt the ſacrilegious ſcheme ſhould fail of being carried into execution. He commanded Petronius to ſummon half the troops forming the army ſtationed on the river Euphrates, for the purpoſe of repelling the oriental kings and nations, in caſe of their attempting inroads or other enterprizes, and to employ them in attending the ſtatue: the deſign of Caligula, however, was not to give an appearance of ſolemnity to the ceremony of conſecration, but that a ſufficient force ſhall be ready to deſtroy ſuch of the Jews as ſhould preſume to oppoſe the extravagant meaſure.

"Alas, (exclaimed Petronius) is it thus, inhuman prince, that you declare hoſtilities againſt the Jews, who, you are conſcious, will ſubmit to the moſt violent and cruel deaths rather than live to be the miſerable witneſſes of an infringement of their laws, and a profanation of their temple? What purpoſe will be anſwered by employing the military power but that of conſecrating the ſtatue with the blood of ſo numerous a body of innocent people as will looſe their lives on this unhappy occaſion?"

The order which Petronius had received for erecting the ſtatue of the emperor in the temple of Jeruſalem, proved exceedingly diſtreſſing to him: he anxiouſly revolved the matter in his mind, and advanced a variety of propoſitions and objections before he could determine on the line of conduct that it was moſt eligible to purſue. The reſult of his deliberations was, that he muſt carefully avoid any kind of innovation in points of religion; and his reaſons were—

1ſt. Becauſe the introduction of a change in the cuſtomary manner of the Jewiſh worſhip would be contrary to juſtice and piety: and—

2dly. Becauſe the vengeance of an incenſed Creator was to be dreaded, beſides the conſequences that would probably enſue from irritating the paſſions of a violent and determined people, and driving them to a ſtate of deſperation.

He reflected on the immenſe multitudes compoſing the great body of the Jewiſh nation; a people not, like others, confined to any particular provinces, but diſperſed throughout every part of the univerſe, in the iſlands as well as upon the continent, and in ſuch numbers that they were ſuppoſed, upon computation, to be nearly equal to all the other inhabitants; and he thus argued with himſelf:

"In my preſent ſituation it will certainly be prudent to defer taking any meaſures until I ſhall have taken them into mature deliberation."

Petronius was greatly apprehenſive of danger from the troops reſident on the other ſide of the river Euphrates, in Babylon, and divers other provinces, who he was confident were ſtrongly attached to the intereſts of the Jews. "Theſe people (ſaid he) have regularly tranſmitted their annual contributions, which they call holy treaſure, to the temple of Jeruſalem, under the denomination of firſt-fruits; and ſo great is their piety, that, notwithſtanding the danger and difficulty of the paſſage, they have never entertained the apprehenſion that the treaſure would not arrive in ſafety. Upon gaining intelligence of the dedication of the ſtatue of Caligula, there is every reaſon to believe that they will immediately take the field, and then we muſt expect that they will ſurround us, and ſacrifice our lives to their revenge."

CHAP. XIV.

The Roman officers under Petronius are diſpoſed to war. Petronius employs artificers in forming the ſtatue of Caligula, and endeavours to prevail upon the principal people among the Jews to conſent to the placing it in the temple of Jeruſalem.

IN order to avoid the fury of the emperor, which they dreaded would fall upon them as a puniſhment for their diſobedience to the expreſs command reſpecting the dedication of the ſtatue, the Roman officers who aſſiſted in the government of Syria, under Petronius, recommended the engaging in the war as a meaſure highly expedient. But it proved a happy circumſtance that the time employed in preparing the ſtatue afforded an opportunity of mature deliberation; for orders were not iſſued either for conveying a ſtatue from Italy, or for making uſe of the beſt that could be procured in Syria. Thus it appeared as if a providential interference operated in favour of God's people; for had not the delay happened, the war would have taken place before we could have made the neceſſary proviſion againſt the terrible calamities with which we were threatened.

Having formed the reſolution of carrying the emperor's orders into effect, Petronius ſent to Phœnicia for the moſt celebrated artiſts to repair to him. Upon the arrival of theſe people he conſulted with them reſpecting the buſineſs they were to undertake, for which he furniſhed them with all neceſſary materials, and appointed Sidon as the place where they were to perform the work. He diſpatched intelligence of the intended dedication to the high-prieſts, magiſtrates, principal officers, and other leading people among the Jews, exhorting them to a ready obedience to the emperor's pleaſure, as the only means of avoiding the grievous calamities that otherwiſe muſt inevitably enſue; adding, that in caſe of an oppoſition, death and deſtruction would univerſally prevail in all their variegated forms of horror; for ſtrict orders had been iſſued to the Syrian troops to employ fire and ſword in laying the whole country in a ſtate of abſolute deſolation if the Jews ſhould make the ſlighteſt attempt to obſtruct the dedication of the ſtatue in their temple.

Petronius proceeded in the above manner, hoping that he ſhould be able to prevail upon the leading people to acquieſce in the meaſure, and that their example would be readily followed by the multitude: but he was greatly deceived in his expectation. The matter being intimated to the people, they were ſtruck with inexpreſſible aſtoniſhment and horror; their grief was ſo exceſſive as to deprive them of the power of ſpeech; and they wept to ſuch exceſs, that their tears ſeemed to proceed from an inexhauſtible ſource: their paſſions then became more violent, and they tore the hair from their heads and beards, and by other extravagant actions proved that they were driven to the verge of diſtraction. Having, at length, recovered the power of utterance, they vented exclamations to the following effect:

"Alas, how deplorable is our fortune, to have ſurvived till this time to experience miſeries, of which our anceſtors could not form the leaſt conception! But we will never ſubmit to be the miſerable witneſſes of the profanation of our holy temple; for rather than behold the abominable impiety, we will deprive ourſelves of the organs of ſight, and at the ſame time put an end to our exiſtence."

The above reſolution ſoon reached Jeruſalem, and was circulated throughout the country of Judea; and the Jews, as if by a common conſent, deſerting their cities, towns, caſtles, and other places of habitation, collected themſelves into one body, and directed their march towards Phœnicia, in order to make application to Petronius. Upon the appearance of ſuch an immenſe concourſe of people, the friends of Petronius urged him to be careful of his ſafety; adding, that a powerful army was on the march to attack him; for they did not conceive it to be poſſible that the Jews alone could form ſuch an innumerable multitude.

Upon the nearer approach of the Jews they appeared to cover the whole ſpace of ground as far as the ſight could extend; but they were entirely deſtitute of arms, either for aſſault or defence. The air reſounded with the moſt terrible outcries and lamentations; and when their complaints were ſuſpended, the ſound was for a long time continued by the echo. At length they had recourſe to ſuch earneſt prayers and ejaculations as were deemed proper on the melancholy occaſion. Theſe unhappy people arranged themſelves into ſix claſſes; the old men, young men and boys, forming the three diviſions on the one ſide; and the old women, young women and virgins, compoſing the three on the other.

Being arrived within view of Petronius, who, in order to receive them, had placed himſelf upon an elevated ſeat, they caſt themſelves upon the earth, ſtill keeping their ranks with the utmoſt regularity, and conducting themſelves in every reſpect perfectly conſiſtent with the character and ſituation of earneſt ſupplicants. That they were deeply penetrated by affliction was apparent from their whole behaviour, which was exceedingly pathetic, and attended with ſuch an uncommon degree of harmony, that they appeared to be actuated by one mind. The governor ordered them to riſe and approach nearer to him; but ſuch was their humility, that it was not without the greateſt difficulty that they were able to perſuade themſelves to comply. At length, however, they roſe and advanced towards Petronius, being in ſack-cloth and aſhes, their eyes bathed in tears, and their hands bound behind them, like thoſe of priſoners under condemnation; and one of the ſenators, in the name of the whole people, addreſſed the governor in terms to the following purport:

"Behold, powerful Sir, the unhappy people who now preſent themſelves before you: leſt it ſhould be apprehended that we entertain hoſtile deſigns, we come entirely unarmed; and even our hands are confined, ſo that we have voluntarily deprived ourſelves of all power of making uſe of offenſive weapons; and we ſubmit ourſelves entirely to your mercy. We have abandoned our habitations, and brought with us our wives, children and families, to unite in ſupplications to the emperor, through the agency of Petronius, to grant us a common preſervation, or ſuffer us to fall in a common deſtruction.

"A powerful military force is in readineſs to attack ſuch of our people as ſhall preſume to oppoſe the conſecration of the emperor's ſtatue; but we are not ſo thoughtleſs and imprudent as to harbour the moſt diſtant notion of offering reſiſtance to our lawful maſter. The ſoldiers may aſſault us, and even cut us into pieces without ſubjecting themſelves to any kind of danger; for, be aſſured, no oppoſition will be offered on our paat. It was unneceſſary to draw out ſo powerful an army for the ſlaughter of our people, who will, on no conſideration, attempt a defence of their lives. We will even execute the functions of our own prieſts; and in offering our ſacrifices, the victims ſhall be our wives, ſons, daughters, brothers and ſiſters; nor, in ſo deſperate an extremity, will we regret to incur the appellation of the ſlayers of men, women, and children; and having ſpilt the blood of ſo great a number of innocent people, it will be our next buſineſs to deprive ourſelves of exiſtence, mingling our blood with that of our friends. Our lives will be concluded with a ſupplication to the Almighty that he will not be offended with us for a conduct to which we were actuated by a regard to the authority of the emperor, and the ſacred laws and religion of our country. Thus ſhall we behave, if we have ſufficient virtue to perſevere in the reſolution of holding a life in contempt, by the preſervation of which all good men would think themſelves degraded.

"Suffer me, Petronius, to requeſt that you will picture in your imagination the circumſtance of our people being ſpectators of the dedication of the emperor's ſtatue in the holy temple, (but this event may gracious Heaven avert!) Do you not ſuppoſe that ſhocking ſpectacle would give them the appearance of men transformed into lifeleſs marble? Their eyes would be fixed in their ſockets with aſtoniſhment and horror, nature would receive a ſhock, and all the functions of life be ſuſpended.

"Permit us then to do ourſelves juſtice by repreſenting to Caligula the truth; for that we may not be condemned unheard is all the favour we have to requeſt. Suppoſing we would find it impoſſible to prevail upon the emperor to comply with our deſire,

ſire, our endeavours will not deprive him of the power of carrying his purpoſe into execution. And now, that we may come to a concluſion, we moſt earneſtly ſupplicate that you will extend your goodneſs and generoſity ſo far as to grant your permiſſion for us to diſpatch an embaſſy to plead the cauſe of our miſerable people before the imperial Caligula. By a refuſal you will blaſt all the hopes of this vaſt multitude of people, whoſe lives entirely depend on the iſſue of the preſent cauſe. Permit me to add, that we have no view to private advantage in our preſent requeſt, but are wholly impelled by ſentiments of piety; and that we mean not to promote our own intereſts any farther than as they are connected with the intereſts of our religion."

CHAP. XV.

Petronius writes on the behalf of the Jews to the emperor.

PETRONIUS, who was of a diſpoſition naturally humane and benevolent, was greatly affected by the preceding diſcourſe, as indeed were all who heard it; and the tenderneſs of their feelings was evident from the expreſſion of their features, their geſtures, and, in ſhort, from their whole deportment. The governor was a man of great moderation, and ſteady friend to, and advocate for, honour, truth, and juſtice. He conſidered the requeſt made by the Jews as being perfectly reaſonable, and commiſerated them as labouring under misfortunes peculiarly ſevere. In a diſcourſe with the perſons appointed to aſſiſt Petronius in the government, he obſerved that the ſeverity of thoſe who had entertained the moſt violent prejudices began now greatly to relax; and this change afforded him no inconſiderable ſhare of ſatisfaction. Petronius was perfectly acquainted with the ſavage barbarity and unforgiving diſpoſition of the emperor: but he conducted himſelf as if he was influenced by a pious regard to the religion of the Jews. Being a man of literature, perhaps his knowledge enabled him to form a right judgment; or he might be inclined in favour of our people by the natural benevolence of his diſpoſition; by the information he acquired after his advancement to the government in Aſia and Syria, where all the towns abound in Jewiſh inhabitants; or by the juſt ſentiments with which the Almighty inſpires virtuous people, for the good both of themſelves and the public: and the latter, indeed, appears to have been the caſe on the preſent occaſion.

Orders were given to the ſtatuaries to employ their utmoſt attention for rendering the image of the emperor as compleat a performance as it was poſſible for the joint efforts of art and induſtry to produce: they were not enjoined to uſe expedition, but inſtructed to take time ſufficient for the full diſplay of their ingenuity.

Petronius conſidered that by ſending ambaſſadors to Caligula, the Jews would expoſe themſelves to the mercy of a powerful, vindictive, capricious, and oppreſſive prince; and that granting his full conſent to, or putting an abſolute negative upon, their requeſt, would be equally productive of unhappy conſequences; and therefore he adopted a meaſure that ſeemed likely to obviate the danger of either extreme. He diſpatched a letter to Caligula, wherein he omitted to mention the late proceedings of the Jews, but contented himſelf with obſerving that the delay of conſecrating the ſtatue was to be entirely attributed to the conſiderable ſpace of time which the artificers muſt neceſſarily employ in producing a piece of workmanſhip executed in ſo maſterly a manner as to be worthy the glorious purpoſe for which it was deſigned.

Thus did Petronius act with the view of gaining time; and he hoped that Caligula might in the interim alter his reſolution; for this being the ſeaſon for reaping the harveſt, there was reaſon to apprehend that if the Jews were to be driven to deſpair by the profanation of their temple, they would become wholly regardleſs of their lives and all other conſiderations, and ſet fire to their corn and other products of the earth, in revenge for the abrogation of their laws and religious rites and ceremonies. In order to guard againſt the apprehended miſchief, Petronius took an early opportunity of cauſing the fruits to be gathered, and the grain to be reaped; and he was partly induced to this meaſure by a deſire of providing for a ſupply in caſe of a public exigency.

At this time a report univerſally prevailed that Caligula entertained a deſign of going to Alexandria in Egypt: but indeed it did not appear very probable that the emperor, attended by ſo great a concourſe of people as thoſe who compoſed his retinue, would expoſe himſelf to the great dangers and unavoidable difficulties of a long voyage; ſince he might, with much greater convenience and ſafety have proceeded by the way of the coaſts of Aſia and Syria; for, by purſuing the latter route, he might have had the advantage of diſembarking and embarking according to his inclination, having, excluſive of the veſſels of burden, two hundred long boats, purpoſely adapted to the uſe and ſervice of the coaſts.

It became neceſſary to furniſh the ſeveral towns of Syria with a great ſupply of proviſions, but particularly thoſe ſituated on the ſea coaſts, on account of the amazing concourſe of people that had reſorted to that country from all quarters of the globe. The multitude was compoſed of men of wealth and diſtinction, military and naval commanders, civil officers, and perſons of every other denomination, and the number of domeſtics was nearly equal to that of the ſoldiers.

It was the generally received opinion that the letter would meet with the entire approbation of the emperor, and that he would applaud the prudential meaſures ſuggeſted by Petronius, and approve of the delay in erecting the ſtatue in the temple; though it was not expected that this moderate behaviour would proceed from any tenderneſs that he entertained towards the Jews, but merely from the conſideration that, by ſecuring the corn and fruits, a material advantage would be obtained. The latter, then, having received full approbation, a fair tranſcript of it was ordered to be made, with which a meſſenger was diſpatched with expreſs commands to uſe all poſſible expedition in conveying it to the emperor.

Upon peruſing the letter from Petronius, the emperor's colour deſerted his cheeks, his eyes ſparkled with fury, and his geſture was expreſſive of the utmoſt violence of rage and indignation: claſping his hands together, he violently exclaimed againſt Petronius, and vowed that his life ſhould, at a convenient opportunity, be the forfeit of his tardineſs.

The enraged emperor, after a ſhort pauſe, dictated to one of his ſecretaries a letter in reply to that he had received from Petronius: but judging it expedient to avoid all meaſures that might tend to irritate the different governors, and induce them to excite the people to inſurrections, and particularly thoſe commanding in the extenſive and populous provinces, containing powerful armies, as was the caſe in that immenſe territory extending along the banks of the river Euphrates, he carefully concealed his violent diſpleaſure, and highly applauded the foreſight and prudent conduct of Petronius. But after diſſembling the rancour of his heart under the appearance of reſpect and approbation, he ſtrictly enjoined him to ſuffer all other buſineſs entirely to ſubſide rather than prolong the period for conſecrating the ſtatue in the temple of the Jews; adding, that ſince the harveſt was now concluded no pretext could poſſibly be adduced to juſtify a farther procraſtination.

CHAP. XVI.

King Agrippa writes an expoſtulatory letter to Caligula on the ſubject of the intended dedication.

SOON after this period king Agrippa repaired to Rome in order to pay his reſpects to the emperor, according to his uſual manner. He was an entire ſtranger as to the letter written by Petronius, and the anſwer returned by Caligula. Upon making his ſalutations he obſerved that the emperor's countenance was expreſſive of great anger; and therefore he employed his thoughts in examining into his own conduct; but finding, upon the moſt ſtrict ſcrutiny, that he was unconſcious of any action that could be interpreted into the cauſe of offence, he juſtly concluded that Caligula's diſpleaſure muſt be pointed towards ſome other object. But his apprehenſion was renewed upon remarking that the fierceneſs of the emperor's eyes ſeemed to be more violent when they regarded him than when they were directed any other way, and on this account he ſeveral times intended to aſk the reaſon of ſo ſingular an alteration; but he ſuppreſſed this deſire, fearing that he might incur the diſpleaſure of the prince by an imprudent indulgence of his curioſity.

No man poſſeſſed a greater ſkill than Caligula in penetrating into the ſentiments of people from the expreſſion of their countenances; and judging of the painful ſtate of Agrippa's mind, he addreſſed him in the following manner:

"I am convinced, Agrippa, that you are perplexed with anxiety and doubt; and I will now relate to you the matter of which you are ſo deſirous to be informed. The period of our acquaintance has, ſurely, been of ſufficient duration for you to have convinced yourſelf that I make uſe of my eyes, as well as my tongue, to expreſs my meaning. Thoſe of your nation are the only people of the univerſe who have the preſumption to refuſe acknowledging me as a divinity: and from their inſolent diſregard of my ſovereign pleaſure, they ſeem to be deſirous of precipitating themſelves into irretrievable deſtruction. I have iſſued my expreſs commands for placing the ſtatue of Jupiter in the ſanctuary of the temple; and in conſequence of this, immenſe numbers of people have abandoned their reſpective places of reſidence, and collected themſelves into a body in order to make application to me under the character of humble ſupplicants: but their deſign is to ſhew in what contempt they hold my commands."

The emperor was proceeding in his addreſs, but ceaſed upon obſerving that Agrippa had on a ſudden changed colour, and evidently appeared to be greatly diſordered. A violent trembling pervaded the whole frame of the king; and his legs being no longer able to ſupport him, he was conveyed to the place of his reſidence in a ſtate of perfect inſenſibility. The emperor, ſo far from being ſenſible of any degree of tenderneſs on account of the alarming accident that had happened to king Agrippa, was inflamed to a more extravagant degree of rage againſt the people of our nation; as he had flattered himſelf, that Agrippa, to whom he had ſhewn ſome marks of friendſhip, would not have proved ſo zealous an advocate for the religious rites of his country.

The indiſpoſition of Agrippa continued till towards the evening of the following day, when his ſpirits ſomewhat revived; and, raiſing his head a little, with much difficulty he opened his eyes, and caſt them towards thoſe who were about him, but without being able to recollect their perſons. In a ſhort time after this he fell into a ſounder ſleep, his reſpiration being leſs interrupted, and his body ſeeming to be gradually acquiring its former temperature. Having remained ſome time in this ſituation, he awaked; but, before he recollected himſelf, was under ſome apprehenſion leſt the emperor was preſent: on being aſſured of of the contrary his mind became more calm; and, obſerving the great ſolicitude of thoſe about him, he begged that no extraordinary trouble might be taken on his account, and ordered that his diet in particular ſhould be very plain. Having finiſhed a repaſt, ſerved in this manner, for the firſt time ſince his recovery, he ſaid that he now found himſelf in a condition to reflect on meaſures that ſhould beſt tend to reſcue his unhappy country from the dreadful calamity with which it was threatened.

He then ordered a tablet to be brought, and wrote to the emperor in the following manner:

KING AGRIPPA to the emperor CAIUS CALIGULA.

SIR,

"You are ſenſible, imperial Sir, that nature inſpires men with an ardent affection for the place of their nativity, and an awful veneration for the laws to which they have been taught to yield a perfect obedience. The juſtice of this obſervation is fully confirmed by an eminent example which is ſhewn in your own perſon; for you piouſly adhere to the exerciſe of the duties of religion, and are careful to exact a ſtrict conformity to the legiſlative inſtitutions of your country. It is the natural diſpoſition of man to continue his attachment to the principles which he has early imbibed, and to reſpect the laws, cuſtoms and manners, to which he has been long familiariſed, however erroneous and undeſerving his preference; for there are certain inſtances wherein we are rather influenced by our paſſions and prejudices than directed by judgment and reaſon.

"You are not ignorant, Sir, that I am by birth a Jew, and that the place of my nativity is Jeruſalem, in which city ſtands the glorious edifice dedicated to the honour of the moſt high and almighty God. I am deſcended from anceſtors who were inveſted with the regal authority. Some of them were high-prieſts; and they conſidered themſelves as deriving infinitely more honour from that dignified ſtation than from the poſſeſſion of ſovereignty: they conſidered that as the Almighty is ſuperior to man, ſo the ſacerdotal character muſt neceſſarily be more exalted than that of royalty; the exerciſe of the former being directed towards divine matters, and the other having relation only to things of a ſublunary tendency.

"So nearly am I intereſted in the fate of this nation, country and temple, to which I am indebted in great and manifold obligations, that I cannot ſuppreſs the deſire of imploring your imperial majeſty with earneſtneſs, mixed, however, with deference and humility, that you will be graciouſly pleaſed to extend to them your royal favour. Permit me, Sir, to ſupplicate that you will not compel the people of our nation to violate that religion which they have received from their anceſtors, the free exerciſe of which they conſider as a privilege infinitely more dear to them than the preſervation of life. Reflect, Sir, on the truth, loyalty and zeal, that the Jews have on every occaſion manifeſted towards the princes of your illuſtrious family. It cannot be advanced that the people of any other profeſſion have been ſo liberal of vows and ſupplications to Heaven for the proſperity of your empire, or ſo attentive to the performance of ſacrifices and oblations, which they have conſtantly obſerved; not upon ſolemn feſtivals alone, but upon all other days without intermiſſion: and they have fully teſtified that their ceremonies did not conſiſt of an idle parade of words and external formalities, but that their expreſſions of piety, veneration and affection, proceeded from them in the ſincerity of their ſouls: and from this line of conduct they have never deviated, except when, on particular occaſions, they were compelled by a reverential obedience due to the holy laws and religion of their country.

"I muſt intreat permiſſion of your imperial majeſty to obſerve that Jeruſalem, wherein I received my nativity, is not to be conſidered merely as the metropolis of Judea, but of many conſiderable colonies which have been peopled from that holy city; for inſtance, thoſe of Egypt, Phœnicia, the upper and lower Syria, Pamphylia, Cilicia, and ſeveral other parts of

Aſia, extending as far as Bithynia and Pontus; in Europe, Theſſaly, Bæotia, Macedonia; Ætonia, Athens, Argos, Corinth, and the greateſt part of Peloponneſus; and likewiſe the moſt celebrated of the iſlands; as Eubæa, Cyprus, and Crete. Reſpecting the country on the other ſide of the Euphrates, I may ſafely aſſert that, excepting a ſmall part of the province of Babylon and ſome other governments, there is ſcarcely a city of any conſideration that is not occupied by Jewiſh inhabitants. Hence then it appears that I do not intercede in favour of my own country in particular, but for the general advantage and happineſs of Aſia, Europe and Africa, the people inhabiting the iſlands as well as the continent.

" What action can be more conſiſtent with the exalted character of the great and illuſtrious Cæſar than that which will gratify the deſires, and procure the felicity, of all mankind, and conſequently ſecure to him the tribute of admiration, eſteem and reverence, from the moſt diſtant generations?

" In compliance with the interceſſions of ſome particular friends, you have been graciouſly pleaſed to conſtitute the inhabitants of whole towns free citizens of Rome, thereby advancing to the character of maſters thoſe who were before in a ſtate of ſervitude; and on theſe occaſions your royal beneficence was as great to thoſe who ſolicited the bounty as to thoſe on whom it was conferred. Of all the princes who acknowledged you as their maſter, there are but few who can juſtly claim a ſuperiority to me in point of dignity, and none who bear towards your ſacred perſon a more profound and ſincere reſpect, eſteem, and veneration. The inſtances of friendſhip which you have been graciouſly pleaſed to confer upon me have been great and numerous; and both honour and gratitude have hitherto prompted, and will ever continue to excite, my moſt ſincere acknowledgments.

Jeruſalem was the firſt place that congratulated you on your ſucceſſion to the imperial dignity; and ſhe communicated the joyful event to the adjacent provinces. May we not reaſonably expect that ſome favour will be ſhewn to our holy city, in acknowledgment of the loyal and zealous principles ſhe expreſſed when ſhe hailed Caligula in the character of her lawful ſovereign?

" Having thus ſpoken concerning my nation and my country, it now remains for me moſt humbly to implore your majeſty's clemency towards the holy temple of Jeruſalem. The glorious ſtructure of which I now mean to ſpeak, is conſecrated to the honour of the Almighty God, who reſides therein. The productions of ſtatuaries and painters only repreſent the viſible deities: but to attempt the repreſentation of the inviſible and eternal God whom we adore, is conſidered by the people profeſſing the Jewiſh religion as a moſt abominable impiety.

" Our temple was held in a high degree of veneration by Agrippa, your majeſty's grandfather. Auguſtus expreſsly commanded that the ſacred building ſhould be ſupplied with the oblations denominated firſt-fruits from the ſeveral quarters of the globe, and that daily ſacrifices ſhould be offered therein. The empreſs, your great grandmother, entertained a pious eſteem and reverence for the temple. Neither prince nor potentate, Greeks, Barbarians, nor our moſt deadly enemies, nor all the horrors of foreign and domeſtic war, ſedition, bondage, nor the moſt terrible calamities to which human nature is ſubject, could ever prevail upon us to admit of an idol being placed in our temple. It muſt be acknowledged that there have been enemies to the ſacred edifice; but the religion exerciſed therein was ſtill ſecure. The building being conſecrated to the Creator and Father of the univerſe, people refrained from placing idolatrous ſtatues therein, leſt they ſhould incur the judicial vengeance of an offended God.

" During the reign of king Herod, my grandfather, Marcus Agrippa, the grandfather of your imperial majeſty, honoured him ſo far as to viſit him in Judea; and on this occaſion Agrippa proceeded by the way of the ſea-coaſt to the city of Jeruſalem. The magnificence and ſplendor of the holy temple, the exerciſe of the religious rites and ceremonies, the ſimplicity of the manners of the people, and many other circumſtances, ſerved to inſpire the illuſtrious viſitor with admiration, reverence, and eſteem; and he availed himſelf of every opportunity of teſtifying his veneration for the glorious fabric. During the time that he remained in Jeruſalem he daily attended the temple, employing himſelf in contemplating the holy veſtments, the manner of performing ſacrifices, the dignity of the high-prieſt, ſeated on an eminence, and ſuperbly habited in his pontifical robes, and the piety which was expreſſed by him as well as the other prieſts who officiated in the religious functions.

" Previous to his departure, Agrippa conferred upon the citizens every indulgence that it was poſſible for him to beſtow, excepting only an exemption from the payment of the uſual taxes, and preſented the holy temple with many donatives of great value. On his return Agrippa was accompanied by Herod to the ſea-ſhore, where theſe two great perſonages mutually acknowledged the great obligations they had received from each other.

The ſentiments of your grandfather, Marcus Agrippa, were exactly ſimilar to thoſe of your great uncle Tiberius, with regard to our laws and religion.

"During the whole reign of the emperor Tiberius, which continued for the ſpace of twenty-three years, he intimated not the moſt diſtant intention of introducing a change in the accuſtomed manner of celebrating the rites and ceremonies of our religious worſhip, or of offering any kind of violation or indignity to our holy temple. Though I received very ſevere treatment from Tiberius, I cannot be ſo unjuſt as to omit mentioning a part of his conduct, the relation of which will reflect high honour upon his memory. I am ſenſible, Sir, that truth is ever acceptable to you; and I ſhall now proceed to ſome particulars which will enable you to form an opinion of the ſentiments entertained by Tiberius in relation to the religious inſtitutions and practices of the Jews.

"At the time when Judea was under the government of Pilate, he placed certain gilt bucklers in the place of Herod, ſituated in the city of Jeruſalem, and dedicated them to the honour of the emperor Tiberius. It was not from any motive of reſpect or veneration towards the emperor that Pilate conſecrated theſe bucklers, but merely from a rancorous and malignant principle to the people of our nation. The bucklers were inſcribed with the two names of the dedicator and the party in honour of whom they were dedicated; but they did not exhibit figures or any other work prohibited by our laws. Intelligence of the dedication, however, being circulated among the populace, they became exceedingly diſſatisfied, and ſoon made application to the four ſons of the king, ſome other branches of the royal family, and divers other perſons of the firſt diſtinction, requeſting that they would exert their utmoſt endeavours to prevail upon Pilate to remove the bucklers, the dedication of which they could not conſider but as a violation of their laws and religion, and the cuſtoms tranſmitted to them by their anceſtors, which had been held in high eſteem and ſacred veneration by all preceding kings and emperors. Pilate being of a moroſe, violent, and ungracious diſpoſition, replied to the interceſſions of the mediators in an abrupt and affronting manner; in conſequence of which the populace were greatly exaſperated, and they bitterly exclaimed againſt him.

"Some of the moſt eminent inhabitants reſolved to report the circumſtances to Tiberius, and at the ſame time ſupplicate him to remove the cauſe of their complaints. Pilate was ſomewhat alarmed at the meaſure, fearing that the delinquency of his conduct in other reſpects would alſo tranſpire. But his pride would not ſuffer him to ſubmit to the remonſtrances of the people; a letter, therefore, was diſpatched to the emperor, couched in the moſt earneſt, but loyal and affectionate terms.

"Tiberius had no ſooner peruſed the letter on behalf of the Jews, than he warmly reprobated the preſumptuous behaviour and indecent language of Pilate. The emperor immediately wrote to him, and ſeverely reprimanded him for the impropriety and inſolence of his conduct, and ſtrictly enjoined him to cauſe the bucklers to be immediately removed and conveyed to the ſeaport named Cæſarea, and depoſited in the ſtructure dedicated to the honour of Auguſtus. By this expedient the reſpect due to the honour of the emperor was preſerved, and the affront to the laws and cuſtoms of the Jewiſh nation was removed.

"Upon the above-mentioned bucklers no images were engraven, nor did they exhibit any other repreſentations prohibited by our law; and they were placed only in the governor's palace. But I learn that it is now intended to erect a ſtatue in the ſanctuary of the temple of Jeruſalem. This ſanctuary is a place held in ſuch ſacred veneration, that all perſons, excepting only the high-prieſt, are excluded from admiſſion; and even the high-prieſt himſelf is not permitted to enter the holy ſanctuary excepting on one day in every year, when after celebrating a ſolemn faſt, the duty of his ſacred office requires him to burn incenſe to the glory and honour of the Almighty, and fervently to pray, according to the inſtitution of the Jewiſh religion, that the Lord, in his unbounded mery and benevolence, will be graciouſly pleaſed to beſtow a common peace and felicity to mankind during the enſuing year.

"Any perſon of our nation, excepting only the high-prieſt, who ſhall preſume to enter the holy ſanctuary is condemned by the law to ſuffer death without mercy. If even the high-prieſt himſelf enters this place oftener than on one day in a year, or more than once on that day, he will inevitably be put to death.

"You cannot but imagine, Sir, that, ſince ſuch ſeverity of puniſhment is denounced againſt thoſe who trangreſs the law reſpecting the point in queſtion, the public ſafety would be greatly endangered by the popular tumult that would certainly take place in conſequence of erecting a ſtatue in the holy ſanctuary, where not even the high-prieſt is permitted to enter but on certain expreſs conditions. In ſhort, rather than ſurvive to be the miſerable witneſſes of ſo abominable an impiety, and ſo ſhocking a violation of our ſacred laws, our prieſts would put their wives and children to death, and yield up their own lives in a common ſacrifice.

"I ſhall now proceed to ſpeak concerning the conduct of the truly illuſtrious Auguſtus, who was indiſputably a prince of the moſt exalted virtue that ever poſſeſſed the imperial dignity. His ſuperior wiſdom and virtue juſtly entitled him to the glorious appellation by which he was diſtinguiſhed. He maintained an uninterrupted tranquillity throughout the whole world; in gratitude for which bleſſing he became the object of univerſal admiration.

"In a conference reſpecting the temple of Jeruſalem, this illuſtrious prince was informed that our law contained a prohibition to the placing any carved image therein, becauſe it was improper that a viſible figure ſhould be conſidered as a repreſentation of the eternal and almighty God. The emperor deemed the prohibition to be perfectly conſiſtent with reaſon: and being a man of literary accompliſhments, he took occaſion of expreſſing many judicious remarks on what had tranſpired in the converſation; ſometimes deducing his obſervations from the diſcourſe of the learned men by whom he was conſtantly attended; and at other times pronouncing the ſentiments that were dictated by his own fine genius and excellent underſtanding.

"Auguſtus was ſo great an admirer of literature, that while he ſat at table, and during feſtival entertainments, he engaged in converſation with the moſt celebrated philoſophers, and other men of learning; ſo that, while he received the refreſhments which were neceſſary for the ſupport of nature, he improved the time to ſuch great advantage as to enjoy the exquiſite ſatisfaction reſulting from the indulgence of the intellectual appetite. Innumerable inſtances might be adduced to prove the liberality of the ſentiments entertained by Auguſtus regarding the people of our perſuaſion; but on the preſent occaſion ſhall introduce only two circumſtances; and it is humbly preſumed that your majeſty will deem them ſufficient to prove that he was by no means an enemy to the Jewiſh laws and religion.

"Upon gaining information that the buſineſs of tranſmitting the treaſures, under the denomination of firſt-fruits, to the holy temple of Jeruſalem, was not attended to with the regularity that the importance of the matter required, the emperor diſpatched letters to the governors of the ſeveral provinces of Aſia, ſtrictly commanding them to offer no kind of impediment or interruption to the Jews in regard to their aſſembling in the ſynagogues. But the liberty of holding public meetings was not extended to any people but thoſe of our nation. The emperor obſerved that the aſſemblies of the Jews did not reſemble Bacchanalian entertainments, where encouragement was given to inebriation and ſedition; but were rather to be conſidered as academies, in which people were inſtructed in the love and practice of virtue, piety, and juſtice; and that the annual contributions called the firſt-fruits were intended for no other purpoſe than that of offering ſacrifices in the temple to the honour of the Almighty. In ſhort, this illuſtrious and benevolent prince iſſued an expreſs command, that the Jews ſhould uninterruptedly enjoy the privilege of holding their meetings, and making their contributions, according to the accuſtomed practices of their anceſtors. I do not pretend to have a perfect recollection of the exact diſpoſition of the words of the deceaſed emperor's order; but I am confident that I am not deceived as to the purport thereof: and of this, Sir, you will be convinced on the peruſal of a letter from C. Norbanus Flaccus; of which I now ſend your majeſty a faithful tranſcript.

"C. NORBANUS FLACCUS, proconſul, to the magiſtrates of EPHESUS, *greeting*."

"THE emperor has tranſmitted to me a letter, wherein he has been pleaſed to ſignify, that whereas the people of the Jewiſh nation hold religious meetings, and collect monies to be tranſmitted to their temple at Jeruſalem, under the name of firſt-fruits, it is his imperial will and pleaſure that they be allowed full liberty of continuing the exerciſe of their privileges in theſe points, according to the ancient cuſtoms of their country. This command you are to obſerve, and thereto yield a due obedience."

"There is yet another evidence to be produced in confirmation of what I have ſaid on the ſubject of the friendly opinion which Auguſtus entertained of the people of the Jewiſh nation; and this matter I ſhall here introduce. Auguſtus commanded the obſervance of a daily ſacrifice in the temple; that the victims ſhould be a bull and two lambs; and that the expence attending theſe offerings, to the honour of the Almighty, ſhould be defrayed from his own revenue. Theſe oblations have been continued without interruption till the preſent period. It was the intention of Cæſar that the ſacrifices ſhould be offered upon the altar; but he was, nevertheleſs, perfectly ſenſible that there was no kind of image or repreſentation of a divinity either within or without a temple. This learned and ſagacious prince was ſenſible that it was highly expedient to have a glorious temple conſecrated with peculiar veneration to the honour of the inviſible God, and that no ſtatue ſhould be contained in the ſacred building, wherein men were to perform their devotional exerciſes in the confidence that their piety would be crowned with the deſired reward.

"I ſhall now entreat your majeſty's permiſſion to ſpeak of the great diſtinction that was ſhewn to your temple by your great grandmother, the empreſs Julia. This truly admirable princeſs, after the example of her illuſtrious conſort, beſtowed a profuſion of donatives of ineſtimable value upon the holy fabric, conſiſting of gold and ſilver veſſels, and divers other rich and curious articles. But theſe donatives exhibited no figures, nor were they in any reſpect offenſive to our laws.

"Having produced ſo many remarkable inſtances in proof of the favour, clemency and protection, which the people of our nation experienced from the illuſtrious perſonages of your own family, and particularly from your progenitor, to whom you are indebted for your life, and the exalted ſtation which you at preſent enjoy, I humbly preſume to ſupplicate that your imperial majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to continue to us the enjoyment of thoſe ineſtimable privileges which were confirmed to us by your illuſtrious predeceſſors. Emperors petition the man who is at preſent inveſted with the imperial dignity, auguſt princes intercede with a prince of the auguſt line, grandfathers and great-grandfathers ſupplicate a grandchild, and divers other exalted perſonages plead before the great and powerful Caligula, in favour of the Jewiſh religion, laws and cuſtoms, which from the time of their original inſtitution have been held in ſacred veneration to the preſent period.

"It muſt be acknowledged that if the abrogation of our laws takes place, it is poſſible the tranſgreſſion may not be immediately followed by a judicial vengeance: but let it be remembered, that to diſcover the events of futurity is beyond the utmoſt power of the human mind; and that though divine juſtice is ſometimes delayed, it muſt, at length, inevitably arrive. What man who has a heart polluted with guilt, and does not impiouſly reject all belief in the exiſtence of an eternal and almighty God, can be ſo inſenſible of theſe conſiderations as to defy the ſtings of conſcience, and prove himſelf to be poſſeſſed of ſo daring a ſpirit as not to tremble under the dreadful apprehenſion of meeting the retribution due to his iniquities?

"The great obligations which your majeſty has been pleaſed to confer upon me are ſo numerous, that ſufficient time is not allowed me barely to recount them; and the ſubject is of too ſacred a nature to be treated ſlightly. It is a matter of public notoriety, that it was my fortune to be made a priſoner; and, when reduced to that ſtate, thrown into chains. With the utmoſt gratitude I acknowledge that your majeſty graciouſly reſtored me to freedom: but permit me to hope that you did not relieve me from my miſerable confinement in irons in order to ſubject me to more inſupportable oppreſſion.

"The humble petition of Agrippa, whoſe obligations to your majeſty ſurpaſs all powers of expreſſion, is that you will not reject any earneſt ſupplication; for I cannot imagine that you would reſcue me from one calamity, and prolong the date of my exiſtence, that I might ſurvive to meet deſtruction in a more terrifying form.

"I am indebted to you, Sir, for the poſſeſſion of the regal dignity; and after having inveſted me with that diſtinguiſhed honour, it was the pleaſure of the mighty Cæſar to afford an additional proof of his royal bounty, and therefore he extended my authority over Trachonitis and Galilee. Do not, Sir, diveſt me of thoſe invaluable privileges, the loſs of which will render the great and numerous favours I have received from you entirely deſtitute of their uſe and value. After having advanced me to the moſt glorious ſituation that the heart of man can aſpire to enjoy, do not precipitate me into the contrary extreme of miſery. I entertain no ſolicitude for the preſervation of the authority with which it was your pleaſure to inveſt me: but, on the contrary, with the utmoſt willingneſs can reſign all the dignity and honours annexed to royalty, and return to my former ſtation in life. The only object of my petition is, that the laws and religion of my country may be preſerved from violation. If I prove ſo unfortunate as to meet with your refuſal, the conſequence muſt be that the Jews, as well as all other people, will conſider me either as a vile betrayer of the intereſts of my country, or as being no longer eſteemed worthy the friendſhip of the emperor; and either of theſe events would be productive of inſupportable affliction. If the public imagine me to be ſtill one among the number of thoſe who are honoured with the royal favour, and at the ſame time obſerve me to be a witneſs to the profanation of our holy temple, which is the greateſt glory of the Jewiſh nation, they will accuſe me as being a traitor to their cauſe, on the ſuppoſition that I had neglected to exert my influence for averting the deſtruction of my country; for it is not ſuppoſed to be probable that emperors can deny ſuch favours as I preſume to requeſt when they are petitioned by perſons who are honoured with the royal friendſhip. If I am ſo happy as to have forfeited that place which I once poſſeſſed in your eſteem, I entreat, Sir, that you will not, after the example of Tiberius, caſt me into chains; but that, inſtead of depriving me of liberty, you will conſign me to inſtant death; for what inducement can there remain to wiſh for a continuance of life, after having loſt the friendſhip of the imperial Caligula, in which I have repoſed my beſt hopes of ſublunary happineſs.

CHAP. XVII.

Caligula deliberates on Agrippa's letter; and, at length, he writes to Petronius, commanding him to offer no profanation in the temple of Jeruſalem; but afterwards revokes this order. He cauſes a ſtatue to be made at Rome, and tranſported to Jeruſalem without the knowledge of the Jews. The emperor repairs to Alexandria.

HAVING ſealed up the letter, and diſpatched a meſſenger with a ſtrict command to uſe all poſſible expedition in conveying it to the emperor, Agrippa cloſely confined himſelf within the place of his reſidence, waiting under the greateſt anxiety of mind that can be imagined the iſſue of his remonſtrance; for he was conſcious that the preſervation or ruin not only of Judea, but of the Jews inhabiting the ſeveral parts of the univerſe, would depend on the gracious or unfavourable judgment that would attend his application to the emperor.

Upon peruſing the letter from Agrippa, the countenance of the emperor plainly indicated the various emotions of his mind. At one time he was highly offended upon recollecting the diſobedience that had been ſhewn to his expreſs commands, in the delay of conſecrating a ſtatue to his honour in the temple of Jeruſalem; and then the natural auſterity of his diſpoſition relaxed, in ſome degree, in favour of king Agrippa, whoſe application he could not deem to be inconſiſtent with either juſtice or reaſon, and from the humility of whoſe addreſs he could not withold ſome ſhare of approbation. At other times he at once cenſured and approved the conduct of Agrippa: he ſeverely reflected upon him for the zeal he had teſtified on behalf of his countrymen, whom he knew to be the only people inclined to oppoſe the dedication; but he acknowledged that ſuch conduct muſt certainly ſpring from a noble ſoul, and that he was entitled to commendation for the generoſity and candour with which he had declared his opinion, and for proceeding agreeable to the ſentiments of his heart.

Caligula at length determined to extend his clemency to the Jews: he replied to Agrippa's letter, ſaying that the interceſſions of the king had prevailed upon him to countermand the orders reſpecting the dedication. At the ſame time he wrote to Petronius, the governor of Syria, adviſing him that a change of inclination had taken place, and that it was now his ſovereign pleaſure to preſerve the temple of Jeruſalem from every kind of profanation. But that the prohibition might not operate at a future period in a manner diſagreeable to him, the emperor inſerted a condition in the ſame letter, of a tendency highly alarming to the Jews; and it was conceived in terms to the following purpoſe: "But it is provided, that if any perſon, of whatever denomination, ſhall hold our will and pleaſure in ſuch diſreſpect as to offer any kind of impediment or oppoſition to the conſecration of temples, altars or ſtatues, to the honour of our royal ſelf, or any branch of our imperial family in any city, town or other place whatſoever, excepting only the metropolis of Judea, bearing the name of the city of Jeruſalem. In ſhort, it was laying a foundation for civil hoſtilities. It was univerſally expected that the enemies of the people of the Jewiſh perſuaſion would ſacrilegiouſly conſecrate ſtatues throughout every part of the country, under the ſanction of the edict iſſued by the emperor; but it was not imagined that they would be induced to this conduct ſo much by their reſpect to Caligula as by their enmity to the Jews. Our enemies ſuppoſed that the Jews would on no conſideration patiently ſubmit to be the witneſſes of the profanation of their laws, and that their oppoſition to his pleaſure would ſo highly incenſe Caligula, that, in order to puniſh them for their diſobedience, he would renew his poſitive commands for conſecrating the ſtatue in the ſanctuary of the holy temple. But it was the pleaſure of Divine Providence to maintain good order and diſcipline among the people; however, the emperor repented of the determination he had ſo lately paſſed in our favour, and renewed his former ſentiments reſpecting the dedication of his ſtatue; and for this purpoſe iſſued an order that one ſhould be provided at Rome, and that this figure ſhould be compoſed of copper and richly gilt. He alſo commanded that all poſſible care ſhould be employed in ſecretly tranſporting the image by ſea to Jeruſalem, and for adopting ſuch meaſures as would enable the people employed in this buſineſs to erect the figure in the temple before the Jews could be well apprized of the matter; and, the better to diſguiſe his deſign, he reſolved on a voyage to Egypt, that it might appear as the voluntary act of the people.

Caligula entertained an anxious deſire of viſiting Alexandria; which being the capital of Egypt, and on account of its advantageous ſituation, a place of univerſal commerce, Caligula imagined that the example of that city would ſcarcely fail of influencing thoſe of leſs conſideration, ſince people in a collective body were to be conſidered as bearing a ſimilarity to individuals in the circumſtance of regulating their conduct agreeable to the example of their ſuperiors. Hence, then, he concluded that he could not determine upon a ſituation where a greater probability of ſucceſs would attend his ridiculous ſcheme of claiming the public honours of a divinity.

The emperor was naturally of a variable, vindictive, and cruel diſpoſition; which will be fully juſtified by the following inſtances:

Having reſtored a number of priſoners to liberty, he almoſt immediately ordered them again into cloſe confinement, and rendered their ſituation infinitely more inſupportable than that which they had before experienced by depriving them of every hope of recovering their freedom.

Some other perſons, who were entirely unconſcious of guilt, became the object of the tyrant's diſpleaſure; and were ordered into baniſhment, which was deemed a proof of great mercy, conſidering the character of the man who had acted in the capacity of their judge. In a ſhort time, however, the emperor, perhaps repenting of his lenity, commanded a military power to aſſaſſinate the unfortunate exiles; and when his inhuman order had been executed, it was not in his power to aſſign a motive for ſo extraordinary a conduct; for he had received no kind of provocation, the unhappy ſufferers having behaved with ſuch exemplary prudence as to avoid every proceeding that could poſſibly excite ſuch barbarity. On occaſion of this melancholy event all the noble families of Rome put themſelves into mourning, in teſtimony of their affliction for the horrid murder of their friends and relations.

When the emperor parted with money, it was always with a rapacious deſign, and with a predetermination to effect the ruin of thoſe who received it. He would never acknowledge that the money was to be conſidered either as a gift, or as a loan, for which intereſt was to be paid; but conſtantly pretended that it had been ſtolen or fraudulently obtained. The unfortunate people were not barely compelled to make reſtitution, but even to ſurrender to Caligula their whole eſtates, whether they had become poſſeſſed of them in virtue of hereditary right, or acquired them by their own induſtry.

It was the practice of Caligula to ruin the fortunes of thoſe people who imagined themſelves moſt honoured by him. By a complimentary addreſs, and the appearance of friendſhip, he ſeduced them to provide entertainments for him at an enormous expence. To compliment the emperor on occaſion of theſe meetings, invention was tortured to diſcover the means of yielding full gratification to the moſt exquiſite luxury; and it frequently happened that the magnificence and profuſion of a ſingle entertainment was ſo great, that the attendant expence conſumed an ample fortune, and, excluſive of that, incumbered the hoſt with a debt that he could not expect ever to be in a condition to diſcharge. People of diſcernment, however, were apprized of the true motive of Caligula's plauſibility of behaviour; and therefore avoided contracting a familiarity with him, which they conſidered as a dangerous allurement to deſtruction.

There were no people againſt whom he entertained ſo mortal an averſion as to the Jews; and they experienced the moſt violent effects of his impetuous, cruel, and unrelenting temper. He commenced his oppreſſive proceedings in Alexandria, where he expelled theſe oppreſſed people their oratories, and erected in thoſe buildings ſtatues to his own honour, no one daring to oppoſe the horrid profanation. The temple of Jeruſalem was the only ſacred place now remaining unviolated; and the emperor had even the preſumption to purſue meaſures for conſecrating that holy fabric to his honour, under the denomination of, "The temple of the new Jupiter, the illuſtrious Caius Caligula."

CHAP. XVIII.

The inſulting and cruel treatment which Philo, and the other perſons compoſing the embaſſy, received from Caligula.

THE time being arrived when we were to have audience, we were introduced into the preſence of the emperor; the fierceneſs of whoſe countenance and deportment we interpreted into a certain indication that he was to be conſidered as an inveterate enemy rather than an impartial judge. So important was the cauſe in agitation, that on the iſſue thereof abſolutely depended the privileges and even the lives of the vaſt multitude of Jews who inhabited Alexandria. The rights for which the Jews contended were ſo evidently founded in juſtice, that during the ſpace of four hundred years their claim had remained wholly uncontroverted. Inſtead of behaving to us with the candor and moderation becoming the character of a judge, and conforming to the uſual methods of equity and juſtice, the inhuman tyrant treated us with diſreſpect and indignity, that would have proved degrading to the moſt contemptible of his vaſſals.

The emperor had for three or four days retired to the two gardens ſituated between the palace and the town, and occupied by Macænas and Lamias. By Caligula's deſire

ſire the gardeners were called into his preſence; and he ordered them to open the ſeveral doors, ſaying that he was diſpoſed to walk for the benefit of the freſh air, and to amuſe himſelf by examining the curioſities with which the place abounded; and he now gave orders for our introduction.

Upon our appearance before the emperor we proſtrated ourſelves at his feet, addreſſing him by the titles of Emperor and Auguſtus, and offering other proofs of the moſt profound humility and reſpect. Caligula returned our ſalutations in a manner that convinced us our application would be rejected, and that our lives were in imminent danger. At length, with a malicious ſmile, he accoſted us in this manner: "I preſume you belong to that deteſtable fraternity who inſolently affront my ſacred perſon with contempt, by offering adorations to an unknown and nameleſs god, when all the reſt of the world yield a willing obedience to the divinity of Caligula?" He now raiſed his hands towards heaven, and with great vehemence uttered expreſſions too horrible for repetition. The behaviour of Caligula was underſtood by our adverſaries as a declaration in their favour; and being unable to conceal their joy on this occaſion, they applied to the emperor every attribute, name and honour, peculiar to Almighty God.

A man named Iſodore, of an inſinuating diſpoſition, obſerving the remarkable ſatiſfaction with which the emperor liſtened to the extravagant and impious flatteries that were offered him, availed himſelf of the opportunity of ſpeaking to the following effect: "Your diſpleaſure, Sir, would be more violent againſt theſe people as well as thoſe by whom they are deputed, were you but ſenſible of the implacable averſion they have towards your ſacred perſon. The Jews were the only people who witheld their concurrence when vows and ſupplications were offered up for preſerving the life, and rendering auſpicious the reign, of the imperial Caligula." Hereupon we unanimouſly exclaimed, "We are moſt groſſly traduced to your majeſty; we have offered up whole hecatombs for the long life, happineſs and proſperity of Cæſar; and after ſprinkling the blood of the victims upon the altar, we did not, according to the practice of many people, convey the fleſh away, in order to feaſt ourſelves, but we committed the whole ſacrifice to be conſumed in the ſacred fire. Three ſeveral times have we thus ſhewn honour to Caligula."

"I acknowledge (replied the furious Caligula) that you have offered up ſacrifices; but they were not intended as an honour to me; they were offerings to an unknown imaginary divinity." Upon hearing this horrible blaſphemy, a trembling pervaded all our bodies, and the courſe of the blood was ſtopped within our veins.

The emperor now proceeded to view the ſeveral apartments, from the common offices to the rooms of entertainment, pointing out what he deemed to be defective, and ordering the improvements that he was deſirous of having introduced. We followed the emperor from place to place; our adverſaries making us the objects of raillery and contempt. Like buffoons on a ſtage they inſulted our misfortunes with illiberal and acrimonious jeſts. The conduct of our adverſaries, in ſhort, was like a theatrical repreſentation, where the man who ſhould have maintained the character of a judge became an accuſer, permitting his partiality to be encreaſed to a more ſhameful degree by the irritations of the favoured party. Having ſo iniquitous a judge, and ſo implacable an enemy, in the perſon of the emperor, we deemed it prudent to remain in ſilence, conſidering that as our only defence; for the moſt powerful arguments could not aſſiſt our cauſe, and we were unwilling to provoke the tyrant to offer additional affronts to our religion.

Having given ſome directions reſpecting the buildings, Caligula ſaid to us, with an affected gravity, "I beg to be informed of the reaſon you have for ſo obſtinately perſiſting in a refuſal to feed upon ſwine's fleſh." Hereupon our opponents burſt into a violent fit of laughter, which was partly excited by the ridicule of the queſtion, and partly affected with a view of ingratiating themſelves with the emperor, by pretending to admire his vivacious and ſatirical humour. Some perſons of diſtinction, who poſſeſſed a greater ſhare of good manners than the reſt cenſured the behaviour of theſe people, as being exceedingly indiſcreet in preſence of the emperor; adding that ſuch liberties were not to be excuſed but among perſons of equal rank living on terms of friendſhip and familiarity.

In reply to the emperor's queſtion concerning ſwine's fleſh, we ſaid, that various cuſtoms and manners reſpectively prevailed in different places and among different people; that we admitted the uſe of ſome things were denied to us, but begged, at the ſame time, to obſerve that our opponents were prohibited the uſe of others. It was ſaid by one of the company that ſome people refuſed to eat mutton. The people who refuſe to eat mutton (ſaid Caligula) certainly are entitled to commendation; for it is by no means grateful to the palate; and theſe words he accompanied with a ſmile. It muſt be confeſſed that theſe ſarcaſtic and inſulting reflections proved an aggravation to our diſtreſs. At length the emperor addreſſed us in an impetuous manner, demanding on what foundation it was that we reſted our claim to the privilege of citizens. We immediately proceeded to urge arguments in defence of our rights; but the emperor obſerving that they were founded in ſuch ſtrict juſtice as to be wholly incontrovertible, and apprehending that it was in our power to adduce others of ſtill greater force, he abruptly interrupted the ſpeech, and ſuddenly ſtarting from his ſeat, haſtened into the great hall. Having walked for ſome time in this place, he gave orders for the windows to be ſhut. The glaſs of theſe windows was as tranſparent and brilliant as the cleareſt cryſtal, and ſo contrived as to exclude the ſun as well as the wind, and yet afford a free admiſſion to the light. Soon after this, he approached us with a gentle pace, a compoſed countenance, and an air of complacency, and, in a ſoftened tone of voice, demanded what requeſt we had to urge to him. We now determined to communicate our requiſitions in as few words as poſſible: but Caligula ſuddenly departed without hearkening to us.

We now judged that under the terrible diſappointments we had experienced, the moſt eligible conduct we could purſue would be to make every neceſſary preparation for death. But the Almighty was pleaſed to compaſſionate our miſerable ſituation, and to moderate the fury of our perſecutor: for Caligula returning, ordered us to retire, ſaying only the following words: "The people who refuſe to honour me as a divinity, I conſider as being rather unhappy than iniquitous!"

We now enjoyed ſome reſpite from our calamities. But it is not to be underſtood that we were alarmed by the dread of death: on the contrary, to have yielded up our lives for promoting the common cauſe of our country, and for preſerving the rites of our religion, we ſhould have accounted the greateſt bleſſing to which human nature could poſſibly arrive. In the ſituation to which we were reduced, our deaths could not poſſibly have been productive of happy effects; but would have incurred diſgrace upon our employers, if not have tended to the ruin of our cauſe. When deputies prove unſucceſsful in their negociations, the failure is generally attributed to the improper conduct of their principals. On this conſideration we deemed ourſelves fortunate in having eſcaped ſo material a part of the threatened danger; but we were ſtill under a terrible anxiety on account of the ſentence which the emperor was yet to pronounce; for it was not poſſible that he could judge as to the equity of our claim, ſince he had not condeſcended to be informed of the particulars of the cauſe ſubmitted to his deciſion. It would have been a moſt deplorable circumſtance had the vaſt multitudes of people compoſing the Jewiſh nation been ſubjected to the ſeverity of treatment experienced by their five ambaſſadors. Had the emperor determined the cauſe in favour of the Alexandrians, we muſt have expected perſecutions in every other place. Our habitations, oratories, and other places dedicated to religious purpoſes, would have been deſtroyed, and the ſacred laws and religious rites of our anceſtors entirely aboliſhed: and thus abridged of every hope of relief from our grievous oppreſſion, the burden of life would have become intolerable. When reduced to the moſt deplorable ſtate of miſery that it was poſſible for human nature to ſuſtain, we were treacherouſly deſerted by our temporizing friends, on whom we had placed our moſt ſanguine hopes of receiving ſupport, and who were conſcious of the juſtice of our cauſe.

The Jews were the only people at that time under the dominion of the Romans who oppoſed Caligula's unaccountable ambition in wiſhing to be conſidered as a divinity; and their uniform obſtinacy gave him a great ſhare of uneaſineſs, as he did not think it altogether prudent to carry utter and general deſtruction among them on ſo ridiculous a pretence. Could it have been done privately, he would gladly have availed himſelf of the opportunity. Indeed, to people who entertained ſo nice a ſenſe of their religious rites, the horrid impieties, and the unparalleled blaſphemies with which he inſulted their ambaſſadors in private, and the public contempt which he manifeſted for every thing ſacred in public, muſt prove ſufficiently agonizing, independent of the outrages and murders committed for refuſing to acknowledge him as a god who fell infinitely ſhort of the character of a man.

END OF PHILO's EMBASSY.

THE MARTYRDOM OF THE MACCABEES.

I. MACCABEES.

CHAP. I.

MY deſign, in the following diſcourſe, being to ſhew that reaſon is the perfection of wiſdom, and the ruler of the paſſions, when duly improved by ſtudy and religion, I cannot but exhort my readers to apply themſelves with the utmoſt aſſiduity to the attainment of knowledge, the moſt important of all acquiſitions. Reaſon is a neceſſary preliminary to knowledge, in which, if we excel, we may be ſaid to excel in the nobleſt and moſt comprehenſive of all virtues, which is prudence. It is reaſon alone that can effectually reſtrain the inordinate affections of the mind, correct the depravity of nature, and thoſe corrupt inclinations, which are oppoſed to the love and practice of virtue. That branch or degree of it which ſubdues the paſſions of anger, fear, and grief, and whatever elſe enervates the mind, may properly be denominated fortitude.

To this it may perhaps be objected, if reaſon has this dominion over the paſſions, or perturbations of the mind, why has it not the ſame controuling power over ignorance and forgetfulneſs? This is a frivolous objection, and foreign to the caſe in point; for when we affirm that reaſon has a controuling power over the paſſions, we mean thoſe defects of nature only as are oppoſite to juſtice, temperance, and fortitude; all which are of a diſtinct kind, and belong to the ſenſitive ſoul; but not ſuch are defects peculiar to itſelf, and appertain to the rational ſyſtem. Again, in this objection the nature of this ſovereignty is miſrepreſented; for we do not mean that reaſon entirely removes thoſe affections, but does not ſo far ſubmit, as to ſuffer itſelf to be vanquiſhed by them.

That it is in the power of reaſon to ſubdue the paſſions, I could demonſtrate by the examples of perſons who have ſignalized themſelves in dying in defence of truth and virtue; among whom none are more conſpicuous, or more deſervedly admired, than Eleazar and the ſeven brethren martyred with their mother: all of whom deſpiſing the moſt exquiſite tortures, and perſevering to the laſt moment, have inconteſtibly proved the command of reaſon over the paſſions. Theſe perſons excited the admiration not only of thoſe who were indifferent ſpectators of their ſufferings, but even of thoſe very enemies and moſt prejudiced tormentors, who ſtood amazed at the courage and patience which their own implacable malice exerciſed after ſo inhuman and barbarous a manner. Thus they became the means of releaſing their nation from oppreſſion, conquering the rage of a tyrant by their ſufferings, and becoming a ſacrifice of expiation for their country.

I intend, firſt, to make ſome general remarks on this point, and then attend to this particular inſtance, giving glory to God the fountain of wiſdom, who hath been pleaſed to leave ſuch undeniable evidence of this truth in the perſon whoſe virtues I am about to record.

The queſtion is plainly this: Whether reaſon can controul and govern the paſſions? In order thereto it will be neceſſary to explain what is to be underſtood by reaſon, what by paſſion, how many ſpecies there are of paſſions, and whether reaſon bears ſway over them all.

By reaſon, then, I underſtand the intellectual faculty improved, and rightly guided by reflection, preferring a life conducted by wiſdom and truth. By wiſdom I underſtand the knowledge of divine and human affairs, and the true cauſes and grounds of each, ſuch as we attain by the diſcipline and inſtruction of the law, which teaches us to embrace thoſe truths which relate to God with reverence, and thoſe reſpecting men as things directed to, and deſigned for the benefit of mankind. Wiſdom may be divided into four particular branches; prudence, juſtice, fortitude, and temperance. The nobleſt and moſt comprehenſive of theſe is prudence; becauſe reaſon, through its aſſiſtance and influence, attains dominion over the paſſions.

CHAP. II.

JOSEPH acquired laſting renown, for conquering his paſſion in the bloom of life, when urged by the united attractions of beauty and importunity. It is not merely allaying the fury of vehement purſuits after pleaſure, and abſtaining from acts of impurity, that reaſon can or ought to do, ſince it is plain our very inclinations are under its juriſdiction, otherwiſe the law would have been moſt abſurd in laying upon us a command ſo impracticable as that, "Thou ſhalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's." It is evident, that when the law forbids us to covet at all, it more ſtrongly implies that reaſon is able to conquer our deſires: and thus it is not only in thoſe things which are oppoſite to the virtues of temperance, but juſtice alſo: otherwiſe what remedy could there be for reforming the luxurious, avaricious, or ſordid man? When a perſon of a covetous diſpoſition is prevailed upon to conform to the precepts of our law, he reſtrains his deſires, lends to the poor without taking uſury, and remits the debt at the year of jubilee; and though he be ever ſo frugal, he is obliged by this law neither to gather in the fruits of his field, nor his vineyard, in the ſabbatic year.

In fact, ſeveral inſtances might be produced to ſhew that reaſon governs paſſion; for the law in ſome caſes exerciſes dominion over natural affections to parents, forbidding them, even for their children's ſakes to betray the cauſe of truth and virtue; ſo it does over tenderneſs to our wives, commanding us to puniſh them for their tranſgreſſions: ſo alſo reſpecting love to our children, enjoining us to correct them when they act wrong; and, laſtly, over kindneſs to our friends, in directing us to reprove their vices. In confirmation of this truth, it is further to be obſerved, that reaſon, when influenced by the law, overcomes hatred to enemies, for it prohibits the cutting down their fruit-trees; it orders us to reſtore to our enemies things which they have loſt, and to help their cattle when fallen, and in diſtreſs.

It is alſo clear that reaſon ſways the more violent paſſions; ſuch as ambition, vain-glory, and envy; for all theſe unſeemly diſpoſitions are removed and ſubdued by a mind thoroughly inſtructed by pure reaſon; as is anger alſo, though the moſt ungovernable of all paſſions. If it were not ſo, how could our wiſe anceſtor Jacob ſo ſeverely condemn his ſons, Simeon and Levi, when they, in direct oppoſition to reaſon, utterly deſtroyed the whole race of the Shechemites? ſaying, in abhorrence of their intemperate rage, "Curſed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel." He had certainly no view in ſpeaking thus, unleſs perſuaded that reaſon was able to conquer wrath.

CHAP. III.

GOD, when he created man, endued him with reaſon and a freedom of will; he implanted in his nature various paſſions and diſpoſitions, but left his intellectual mind the government over all the ſenſual appetites. He then impoſed a law as a rule, whereby he might direct himſelf, and lead a life of temperance, juſtice, and goodneſs. What ground can there be then for that objection, which makes a doubt whether reaſon can maſter the paſſions, becauſe it does not appear that it attains to abſolute dominion over forgetfulneſs and ignorance? We are not to expect that reaſon ſhould totally exempt us from all evil diſpoſitions; but it will aid us in ſuch conflicts.

We read, that David, after having engaged a whole day with an army of Philiſtines, and made great ſlaughter among them, retired in the evening into his tent, fatigued and ſpent, where all the forces of our foreſathers were encamped around him. The reſt refreſhed themſelves contentedly; but the king, who was exceedingly thirſty, could not ſatisfy his appetite with any water drawn out of thoſe ſprings of which they had plenty. An inconſiderate deſire ſeized him to wiſh to drink of water in the enemy's garriſon. Hereupon ſome of the officers, deſirous of ſatisfying their royal maſter, armed themſelves, took a veſſel, broke through the enemy's trenches, paſſed their guards, ſought out the well of Bethlehem, and from thence brought him the water he ſo ardently deſired. But David, though parched with thirſt, recollecting how inhuman and dangerous a thing it would be to gratify his appetite with what had hazarded men's lives, and that drinking the water would be in effect to drink blood, oppoſed his reaſon to his inclination, and made a libation of it to the deity.

Thus it is evident, that a mind ſtrictly temperate and wiſe can overcome the impulſe of the paſſions, extinguiſh the flames of the moſt furious deſires, contend with the moſt exquiſite bodily pains, and, in fine, quell all the perturbations that diſcompoſe the human frame. But it now becomes neceſſary to confirm this argument by demonſtrative proofs of this power of reaſon exemplified by practice, of which our forefathers have given undeniable inſtances. When through a ſtrict obſervance of their law, they had ingratiated themſelves with foreign princes, and prevailed upon Selucus Nicanor, king of Aſia, ſo far, that he ſet apart a portion of his public revenues to defray the expence of the ſacrifices, as highly approving their inſtitutions; it happened, after this profound tranquillity, that ſome of them were brought under various and ſevere trials by the ill offices of wicked men, who diſturbed the public peace.

CHAP. IV.

A Man called Simon, created a quarrel with Onias, the high-prieſt for life. Onias poſſeſſed the greateſt integrity, and conſequently ſtood high in the eſtimation of all ranks. But Simon endeavoured to vilify his character by the fouleſt aſperſions; till finding his attempts vain to leſſen him in the eſteem of the people, he fled to Apollonius, who was then governor of Syria and Phœnicia; and told him, that from his great zeal for the king his maſter, he was come to make a diſcovery of a vaſt ſum of money depoſited in the treaſury at Jeruſalem, not appropriated to the temple, nor employed to any public uſe, but wealth hoarded up entirely by private men, and therefore of courſe the right of Seleucus. Apollonius having received this account, commended Simon's zeal for the king's ſervice, waited upon Seleucus, and imparted to him the ſecret. Upon this information he obtained a commiſſion from the king, and marched into our country, bringing with him the traitor Simon, and a very powerful army.

On his arrival, he gave out that he came by order of the king, to remove the private money that was depoſited in the ſacred treaſury. The nation took alarm, and complained of it as an horrible injuſtice to deprive thoſe of their money who had depoſited it in the ſacred treaſury; and therefore reſiſted the officer as much as they were able. But Apollonius forcibly made up to the temple. The prieſts, upon this, with their wives and children, proſtrating themſelves before the ſacred place, implored the Almighty to defend his own temple from profanation and contempt.

Apollonius ſtill perſiſting, entered the place with a body of armed men; but as he was about to ſeize on the treaſury, angels from heaven ſuddenly appeared, mounted on horſes, clad in ſhining armour, and ſtruck Apollonius and his ſoldiers with fear and trembling. The governor fell to the ground in the court of the Gentiles, ſtretching out his hands to heaven, and ſupplicating the Hebrews with many tears to offer their prayers for him, that he might not be deſtroyed by that tremendous hoſt. The high-prieſt, Onias, moved with compaſſion, and fearing leſt Seleucus ſhould impute the death of Apollonius to human treachery, granted his requeſt; ſo that, being thus miraculouſly ſaved, he returned back to the king, and related to him the particulars that had befallen him.

King Seleucus dying ſoon after, was ſucceeded by his ſon Antiochus, who was of an imperious and ſavage diſpoſition: he deprived Onias of the prieſthood, and put into that office his brother Jaſon, upon a compact of an annual tribute of three thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty talents, which he had covenanted to pay him. The king having conſtituted this Jaſon ſuperintendant, not only over eccleſiaſtical matters as high-prieſt, but alſo over civil affairs, he put our nation under ſevere trials; and, by introducing new cuſtoms contrary to the law, hurried them into all manner of impurity. He not only inſtituted Grecian games in our metropolis, but aboliſhed the uſe of the temple; inſomuch that the Divine vengeance being provoked, Antiochus was ſtirred up to make war againſt the Jews. Being engaged in an expedition againſt Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and informed at the ſame time that ſome of the inhabitants of Jeruſalem had expreſſed joy at the report of his being dead, he turned his forces that way, and made great havock among them, publiſhing withal an edict forbidding any of them to obſerve the cuſtoms of their country, upon pain of death. Finding this edict had not its intended effect, but that all his ſevereſt threatenings and puniſhments were ſo far deſpiſed, that even the women who continued the practice of circumciſing their children were caſt down headlong from the walls of the city, though they knew what they were to ſuffer: he was ſo amazed at the little regard ſhewn to his authority, that he came in perſon, and by torments compelled thoſe that were brought before him to eat of meats unclean and forbidden by the law.

CHAP. V.

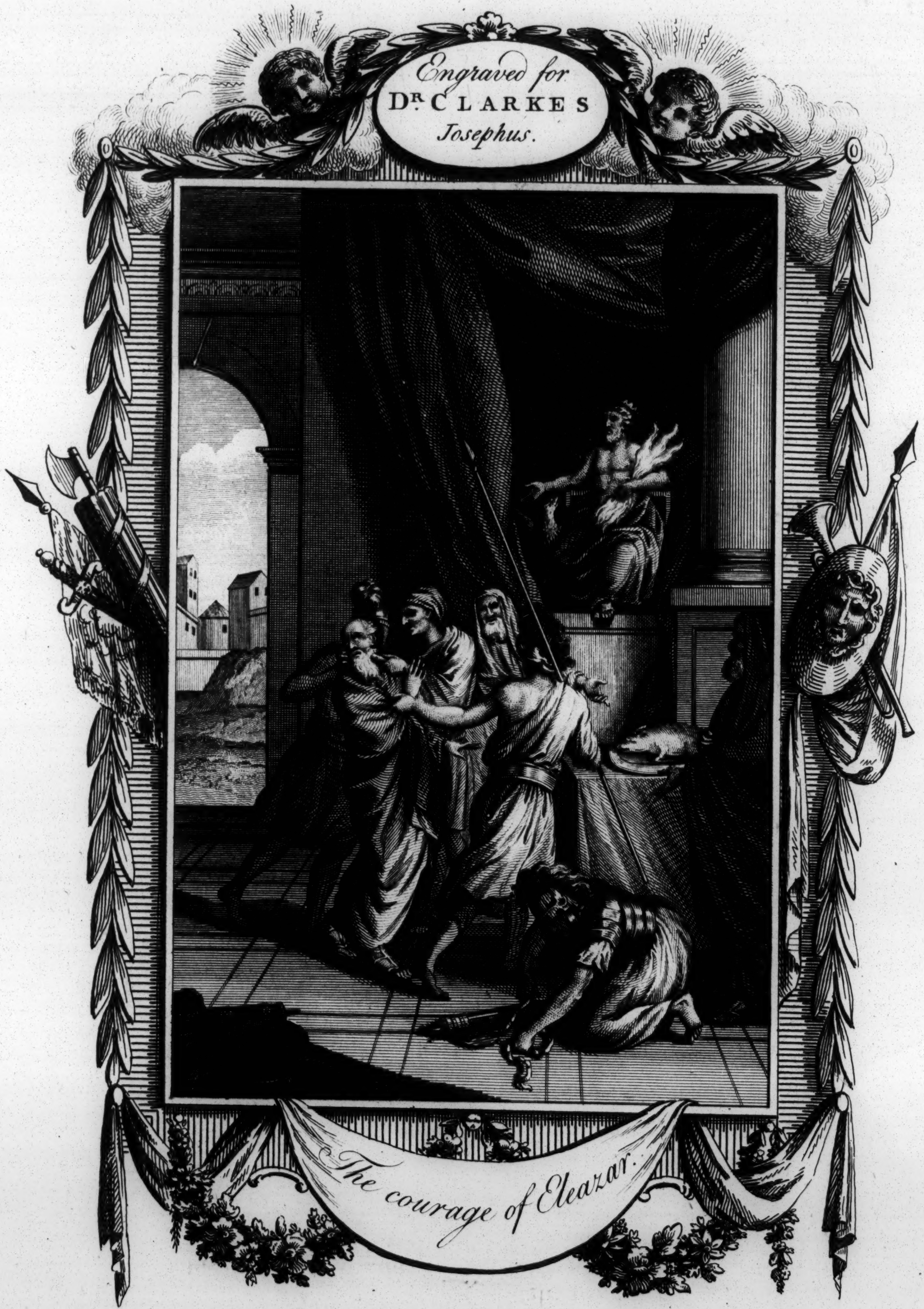
WHEN the tyrant Antiochus had ſeated himſelf on a tribunal, ſurrounded by his counſellors, and a ſtrong body of armed men, he commanded many of the Hebrews to be brought by force before him, and compelled them to eat of ſwines fleſh, and meats offered to idols, upon pain of the torture in caſe of a refuſal. After many had beed thus barbarouſly treated, a certain man named Eleazar, of the family of the prieſts, by profeſſion a lawyer, far advanced in years, and known to ſeveral who ſtood round the tyrant, was brought before him. Antiochus obſerving the venerable ſage, thus addreſſed him:

“ Before I proceed to uſe any ſeverity, let me adviſe thee, reverend old man, to ſave thy own life by ſubmitting to eat of ſwines fleſh; for I am willing to pay reſpect to thy age and grey hairs, and am ſurprized that the experience of ſo many years ſhould not have made thee wiſer than ſtill to perſevere in the Jewiſh ſuperſtition. It ſeems to me a moſt unreaſonable thing for men to abridge themſelves of any innocent pleaſures, and great injuſtice to themſelves, and ingratitude to nature, to refuſe any of thoſe enjoyments which her bounty hath ſo kindly provided for us. Why ſhouldeſt thou then expreſs ſuch abhorrence of that moſt delicious of all meats, the fleſh of ſwine? This may in others ſeem ſomewhat more excuſable; but in you, who ought to be a perſon of better judgment, it would be a moſt unaccountable folly to be prejudiced by a falſe and empty notion of religion, and for an idle fancy to contemn my authority, and draw a needleſs puniſhment upon your own head. Wilt not thou then ſuffer thine eyes to be opened, and be awakened out of this dream of thy peculiar perſuaſion, and ſet thyſelf free from the bondage of ſo moroſe and ſingular a notion? Will this friendly expoſtulation prevail for no deference to be paid to my great kindneſs; and the compaſſion I have for thy age move thee to no compaſſion for thyſelf? Methinks it ſhould; for though what I have ſaid does not convince thee of the vanity of thy opinion in this point, yet thou muſt allow, that if there be a power above, which does as thou ſuppoſeſt, require the obſervance of this religion, that power hath ſo much goodneſs as to pardon the tranſgreſſion of his laws, when it is not the offender's own act and choice, but the effect of force and conſtraint.”

Eleazar having duly attended to theſe words, entreated of the king permiſſion to ſpeak for himſelf; which being granted, he ſtood forth, and in the preſence of the whole aſſembly ſpoke as follows.

“ Sire, we who are fully convinced that it is our duty, in all things, to behave ourſelves according to the law given us by God, are perfectly perſuaded, that no neceſſity can more oblige us, no force be ſtronger upon us, than that by which we ſtand bound to obey his law; and for this reaſon we think our acting contrary to it cannot be diſpenſed with on any terms whatſoever. Nay, though our law were not, as you are pleaſed to ſuggeſt, really divine, yet I muſt crave leave to ſay, that ſo long as we continue to believe it divine, that very perſuaſion ought to be an effectual reſtraint upon us, from violating or thinking meanly of any religious ordinances eſtabliſhed by it. Do not therefore imagine, if we ſhould ſubmit to defile ourſelves by unclean meats, that this would be deemed a pardonable fault; for the crime of the offender is the ſame, and the law equally infringed, be the inſtance in which a man tranſgreſſes great or ſmall. You, Sire, ſpeak contemptuouſly of our religion, as an inſtitution unbecoming men of ſound reaſon. But I muſt be bold to ſay, it is the beſt and moſt conſummate philoſophy; for it teaches us temperance, the conqueſt of our paſſious and deſires, and ſets us above all pleaſures. It trains us up in the exerciſe of fortitude, and commands us to undergo pain willingly and chearfully. It teaches us the more exact juſtice, and orders us to confine our worſhip and abſolute reverence to the one true God. On this account we dare not eat things prohibited and unclean; for we are fully perſuaded, that he who created our nature had due regard to it; that the very inſtitution of this law was ſo far from a hardſhip, as in itſelf to be an act of goodneſs and mercy, and that the things forbidden are hurtful to our ſouls; whereas thoſe allowed for food are uſeful and convenient. It is therefore the very extremity of tyranny to force us to eat that which is pernicious, and not allowed us, becauſe of a quality which renders it unfit to be eaten. But this is a triumph which I ſhall never give you over me. Nor muſt I falſify the ſolemn oaths, and only engagements whereby our anceſtors have bound themſelves and their poſterity to the faithful obſervance of this law; not though you ſhould command my eyes to be put out, and my bowels to be burnt. Old age hath not ſo impaired my mind, nor enfeebled my body, but that when religion and duty call me, my reaſon can yet approve itſelf youthful and vigorous. If this reply provoke you, prepare your inſtruments of torture, and heat your furnace hotter ſtill; all that ſhall not move me to ſpare my old age, ſo as, for the ſafety of my perſon, to violate the law of my country and my God. That holy law to which I owe my inſtruction, I will never deſert; thou deareſt of all virtues, temperance, by which we preſerve our native ſovereignty over the appetites, I will never abjure thee; thou beſt of all, philoſophy, I will never diſgrace thee; the holy order of prieſthood, I will neither forego, nor blemiſh. My anceſtors ſhall find me come to them pure and conſtant, poſſeſſing a ſoul as free from ſtain, as undaunted under the moſt exquiſite torments.

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
D^r. CLARKES
Josephus.

The courage of Eleazar.

Publish'd, as the Act directs, June 23; 1786, by J. Walker, Paternoster Row.

CHAP. VI.

ELEAZAR, in conſequence of this reply to the tyrant, was dragged to the moſt cruel torments by the guards that ſtood round. They pulled off the old man's garment, the venerable habit of his religion; and having bound both his hands behind, unmercifully ſcourged him, an officer calling out at every ſtroke, "Obey the king's commands!" The brave Eleazar, however, ſuſtained his torment as if he had been in a dream, without deviating a tittle. The good old man ſtood with his eyes uplifted to heaven, the blood at the ſame time ſtreaming down from his body to the ground; till, no longer able to ſuſtain the torments, he fell on the pavement, merely owing to bodily infirmity, for his mind was as reſolute as ever. On this one of the guards ſtamped upon him, in order to induce him to riſe: ſtill he bore their barbarous inſolence, and with ſurprizing conſtancy ſuffered their ſtripes, till his very tormentors ſtood in admiration of his extraordinary magnanimity, and wondered to find ſo noble a ſoul in a body ſo aged and infirm. At length ſome of them, touched with compaſſion at his decrepid age, and moved by remembrance of ancient friendſhip, addreſſed him thus:

"Permit us, Eleazar, to ſet before thee ſome lawful and clean meats, and do thou pretend thou didſt eat ſwines fleſh according to the king's command; ſo ſhalt thou ſave thy life, and yet commit no wickedneſs." But Eleazar firmly anſwered, "Far be it from us, who are children of Abraham, to be guilty of ſuch cowardice and wicked ſubtility, by ſo much as ſeeming to do an act that would diſgrace us. How abſurd would it be for me, who have led a life of ſincerity and truth hitherto, by a ſtrict obſervation of the law, to change my courſe now in extreme old age, and ſet an ill example to others; to purchaſe a little remainder of life at the expence of ſoul diſſimulation, and live that little with the ſcorn and deriſion of all the world, for my fear and baſeneſs!" When they perceived him thus reſolute, they changed their diſpoſition, and brought him to the fire. There they applied new inſtruments of torture, and then threw him on the fuel; and as he burnt, poured ſcalding and nauſeous liquors up his noſtrils. Scorched to the very bone, and ready to expire, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and cried, "Thou ſeeſt, my God, the miſeries I endure, and that I chooſe to die by fire and torment, for the ſake of thy law, when it was in my power to preſerve my life by tranſgreſſing it. Be thou therefore gracious, O Lord, to thy own people, and let the vengeance executed on me ſuffice for what they have deſerved; make thou my blood a purification for them, and accept my life inſtead of their lives." At the concluſion of theſe words this pious man expired.

Hence it is evident that reaſon, improved by religion, has command over the paſſions; if it were otherwiſe, it is to them that the praiſe of this noble teſtimony to truth and conſtant virtue ought to be aſcribed.

CHAP. VII.

THE departed Eleazar might have been deemed a ſkilful pilot, holding the rudder of the ſhip of piety in the ſea of the paſſions, toſſed to and fro with the threatenings of the tyrant, and overwhelmed with the waves of torment; nevertheleſs he changed not the rudder, till he reached the haven of victory by a direct and proſperous courſe. A city beſieged with various engines never made ſuch reſiſtance againſt the furious aſſaults of an enemy, as the divine mind of this pious ſage againſt the attacks of ſtripes, tortures and death, till at length he vanquiſhed through the aid of reaſon engaged in the holy cauſe of religion.

"O prieſt moſt worthy of the ſacerdotal dignity, who wouldſt not pollute thy ſacred body with impure viands! O guardian of the law, and profeſſor of a philoſophy all divine! O nobleſt aſſertor of the religion of thy country, in ſpite of paſſion, of torture, and of death! thou haſt gloriouſly confirmed the equity of our law by thy ſufferings and perſeverance; rendered our rites more conſpicuous, but not abrogated them, and by realities and deeds eſtabliſhed the precepts and doctrines of our holy profeſſion. O venerable ſage, ſuperior to torments, above the force of raging flames, moſt glorious of conquerors, who haſt led thy paſſions in triumph! as heretofore our father Aaron, armed with a cenſer, ran into the midſt of the temple and vanquiſhed the deſtroying angel, in like manner did Eleazar, deſcended from the ſame Aaron, ſteadily adhere to his profeſſion, and conquer in the midſt of devouring flames. And, what is moſt aſtoniſhing, when age and infirmities had enervated his body, he exerted an invincible reſolution of mind. O happy age! integrity and ſanctity unqueſtionable, that gave teſtimony of ſo illuſtrious a death!"

When the tyrant found himſelf diſappointed in his firſt attempt on the venerable Eleazar, he became ſo incenſed, that he commanded others of the Hebrew captives to be brought before him, promiſing them immediate liberty upon condition of their eating forbidden meats; and, on the other hand, threatening them with greater torture than had ever yet been inflicted on mortals, in caſe of refuſal.

CHAP. VIII.

IN compliance with this order, there were brought before the tyrant ſeven ſons, and their mother, who was very old. The men, from the ſymmetry of their form, and elegance of their deportment, attracted his notice; and therefore, after beholding them with a ſort of approbation, he thus accoſted them:

"Young men, from my approbation of your perſonal appearance, I am inclined to pay a more than ordinary reſpect to your family, which hath the unuſual bleſſing of ſo many ſuch brethren. To adviſe therefore, that you would not be guilty of the ſame mad zeal, with that poor old bigot whom you ſaw periſh in the midſt of agonies and tortures, is a kindneſs far below what I deſign you. I invite you to comply with me, under an aſſurance of my particular friendſhip, for I have it in my power to oblige and advance them that obey me, in as eminent a manner as I have to puniſh thoſe who withſtand my commands. Be aſſured, then, you ſhall not fail of preferments, but have places of honour and profit under me, provided you will renounce your country's cuſtoms, and be content to live after the Greek manner; laying aſide the fooliſh diſtinction of meats, and indulging thoſe appetites and pleaſures freely, in which youth, never fond of reſtraint, muſt find a delight now denied you by the tyrant only of your own ſuperſtition. Conſider, too, that if ſuch advantageous offers be rejected, you muſt expect that your obſtinacy will be the more provoking, and I ſhall be obliged to make every one of you examples, by deaths as full of pain and horror as the anger of an incenſed king can inflict. Be perſuaded then to pity yourſelves, when a ſtranger and an enemy has ſet you an example of pity. Throw not laviſhly away ſo much youth and beauty, which I am very loth ſhould periſh; but periſh it certainly muſt, unleſs you will ſave it by this one way. Therefore conſider well; methinks you ſhould conſider, and not reſolve too raſhly. I aſſure you, that in caſe of diſobedience, you have nothing to expect but racks, torture, fire, and death."

The tyrant had no ſooner thus ſpoken than he commanded the inſtruments of torture to be produced, in order to work the more ſtrongly on their fears, than words and menaces he imagined could do. When the guards had ſet before the brethren the wheels, racks, manacles, combuſtible matter, and other implements of horror and execution, Antiochus taking the advantage of the impreſſion he ſuppoſed this ſpectacle would make, once more applied to them to this effect: "Young men, conſider the conſequences, your compliance is no longer a wilful offence; you may reſt aſſured that the Deity you worſhip will conſider your caſe, in being compelled to violate your law." But they were ſo far from being terrified at the conſequences of a refuſal, that their reſolutions became ſtronger; and through the power of reaſon, aided by religion, they ſecretly triumphed over his barbarity.

CHAP. IX.

THESE intrepid youths, exulting in the magnanimity of their conduct, made Antiochus the following reply:

"To what purpoſe, O king, is this delay? If with deſign to know our final reſolution, be aſſured we are ready to encounter death in its moſt frightful forms, rather than tranſgreſs the laws of our forefathers: for, beſides the reverence due to their example on other accounts, this is what our obedience to the law, and the precepts of Moſes, particularly requires from us. Do not then attempt any more to perſuade us to apoſtacy; do not put on a counterfeit pity for thoſe who know you hate them; even death itſelf is more ſupportable than ſuch an inſulting, diſſembling compaſſion as would ſave our lives with the loſs of our innocence. Thou thinkeſt to terrify us by threatenings of death and torture, notwithſtanding the ſame experiment made upon the old man hath ſo lately taught thee how ineffectual all ſuch methods are upon the ſervants of the true God. If the old men of our nation ſo courageouſly bear ſuch exquiſite pains for the honour of their religion, is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the young ones will ſuffer the reproach of being behind them in conſtancy? As we have been educated under his particular care and inſtructions, ſo we ſhall reſiſt after his example. Try us, therefore, and ſee if it be in thy power to deſtroy our ſouls, when we ſuffer in the cauſe of God and religion? Your cruelty cannot hurt us; for all the effect our pains can have will be to ſecure us the glorious rewards due to unſhaken patience and injured virtue. Upon you the conſequence will be very different, and even dreadful; for by the murders of ſo many innocent men, you arm the Divine vengeance againſt yourſelf, and for the temporal puniſhment which you inflict, will become ſo obnoxious as to ſuffer the everlaſting torments."

The tyrant, enraged at their contumacy, gave the word of command, and the guards immediately brought forth the eldeſt of the ſeven brethren; and having torn off his garment, and tied his hands behind, cruelly ſcourged him; and continued their laſhes till they were tired; but it availed nothing. They then put him on the wheel; where his body being extended, he underwent the ſevereſt tortures of the rack, at the ſame time calling to his tormentor, "Monſter of cruelty, enemy to the Divine Juſtice, you torment in this manner, not for homicide or impiety, but as an aſſertor and defender of the ſacred law." The guards then exhorted him to comply, to eat of the king's meat, and thereby obtain a reſpite. But he anſwered, "Think not, baſe men, that your wheel can deſtroy my reaſon: break my limbs in pieces, burn my fleſh, diſtort my arteries; yet all the torments you can inflict on me ſhall ſerve but to convince you, that it is the peculiar glory of an Hebrew to be invariably firm in ſuffering for the cauſe of virtue." They then put fire under him, and expoſed his body as much extended as poſſible to the devouring flames, inſomuch that he exhibited a ſpectacle horrible beyond deſcription, and thus continued till nothing was left of the human form but a ſkeleton of broken bones.

This brave youth was not heard to utter a ſingle groan; he bore his torments with ſuch invincible fortitude, as if he had been tranſlated to immutability in the midſt of the flames; for he exclaimed, "My brethren, follow my example; deſert me not in this noble conflict, nor diſclaim that relation of generous conſtancy by which we are allied in ſoul more nearly than in blood. Engage, reſolutely engage in the ſacred warfare; nor doubt but that the Almighty Creator of the univerſe will be propitious to our nation, and avenge himſelf on the moſt cruel of tyrants." With theſe words the heroic youth expired.

The guards now advanced with the ſecond brother, and fixed his hands in manacles of iron: but before they put him to rack they demanded if he would accept the conditions. Finding by his reply he poſſeſſed the ſame reſolution as his brother, they tore off his fleſh with pincers, and flayed the ſkin off his beard, face and head. He bore this torture with ſingular magnanimity, ſaying, "How welcome is death in any form when we ſuffer for our religion and laws!—Art thou inſenſible, inhuman tyrant, that thou art rather thine own tormentor than mine, in finding thy tyrannic aims defeated by our conſtancy? The comforts of conſcious virtue alleviate my pains, while the dreadful load of your impiety ſhall fall on your own devoted head, and the Divine vengeance make an example of ſuch a monſter."

CHAP. X.

THE third brother was next produced, and preſſed with arguments and entreaties to preſerve his life. But he nobly replied, with ſome vehemence, "Are you ignorant that I am the ſon of the ſame father and the ſame mother with thoſe that went before me? Shall I then, at this awful period, renounce the honour of that alliance? The ſame inſtitutions were taught us all; and I will abide by them while I breathe." The freedom of this ſpeech enraged the executioners, who, to expreſs their malice and reſentment, ſtretched his hands and feet on the engine, and broke them to pieces; but when they found it did not deprive him of life, they drew off his ſkin at the ends of his fingers, and flayed him from the very crown of the head. Not content with mangling his body in this mercileſs manner, they dragged him to the wheel; where, being yet more diſtended, he ſaw his own fleſh torn from him, and ſtreams of blood guſhing from his body. When at the point of death, he exclaimed, "Mercileſs tyrant! we ſuffer thus for the religion and law of that God who is able to reward us: but remember, thou ſhalt ſuffer pains much more inſupportable, for thy impiety and cruelty."

The guards now produced the fourth brother, whom they perſuaded to bethink himſelf, and be wiſer than thoſe who had gone before him. But his anſwer was, "Your fire has not heat enough in it to make me renounce my opinion. I ſolemnly ſwear, by the happy exit of my brothers, by the eternal deſtruction of the tyrant, and the glorious life of the pious, I will not renounce their magnanimity!—Invent and bring thy torments, tyrant; and make the experiment whether I am not a branch of the ſame ſtock, and animated with a like undaunted ſoul, as thoſe whoſe blood thy impious hands have already ſpilt." Antiochus, on hearing theſe words, was ſo exceſſively enraged, that all the force of paſſion was viſible in his countenance: he gave immediate orders to have his tongue cut out, whereupon the intrepid youth thus proceeded—"You may deprive me of the inſtrument of utterance; but that God who ſeeth the heart knows the inward ſenſations of the ſilent. Here is the member; you cannot by this act deprive me of reaſon. O that I could loſe my life by inches to ſupport the cauſe of religion. Though you take away the tongue, which chaunts the praiſes of God, remember that his high hand will very ſoon let its vengeance fall down on your guilty head!"

CHAP. XI.

WHEN this brother, quite exhauſted with pain, and miſerably mangled, had reſigned his breath, the fifth inſtantly ſprang forward of his own accord, exclaiming, "Prepare your torments! I am here ready to ſuffer the worſt you can inflict. I come voluntarily to die in the cauſe of virtue, and by another cruel cataſtrophe to procure an endleſs puniſhment on you for the barbarities you have already committed on the bodies of my brothers. Mortal enemy to virtue, religion, and mankind, what have I done, wherein have I tranſgreſſed, to deſerve this mercileſs treatment? Do we not worſhip the univerſal Parent of nature according to his own decrees? Do we not act in conformity to the inſtitution of his moſt holy law? Theſe are truths, that ought to meet with reward, inſtead of puniſhment."

While theſe words were in his mouth, the tormentors bound and dragged him to the wheel; to which faſtening his knees with iron rings, they ſtretched him round the engine, and then broke his joints. Being miſerably tortured in this manner, he thus cried, in unſpeakable anguiſh, "Tyrant, thou doeſt us the greateſt honour againſt thy inclination; for the glorious torments you inflict upon us only ſerve to teſtify an extraordinary zeal for our laws and religion."

After undergoing ſimilar torments with his heroic brothers, the ſixth youth was brought before Antiochus; and being aſked by the tyrant whether he would accept deliverance in the terms aforementioned, reſolutely anſwered, "It is true indeed, I am younger than my brothers; but my mind is as firm as theirs was. We had all of us the ſame parents, and the ſame inſtructions; and it is but neceſſary that we ſhould all die alike for them; therefore if you are determined to put me to the torment on my refuſal to eat, torment me at once!" Hereupon they faſtened him to the wheel; and having broken his bones, put fire under him: the guards then heated their ſpears, and thruſt them into his back and ſides, till his very entrails were burnt up. In the midſt of theſe torments he exclaimed, "O glorious conflict, in which ſo many brethren have engaged ſo victoriouſly for the ſake of their religion; for a mind rightly informed of the truth, and armed with ſteady principles of virtue, muſt for ever be impregnable. I will accompany my brothers; and relying on my own probity as my defence, cheerfully ſubmit to death. But thou, tyrant, muſt not think to avoid a puniſhment which your cruelties deſerve; for a death attended with the moſt dreadful of torments hangs over your head. Six of us have baffled thy rage and malice. As for your fire, it feels cold to us; your tormenting engines are far from giving us pain; and all the violence you can uſe is fruitleſs, and of no conſequence. For while our law is ſo nobly aſſerted, we retain a reaſon that all worldly puniſhments cannot ſubdue."

CHAP. XII.

THE ſixth brother was at length diſpatched by being thrown into a boiling cauldron; when the ſeventh and youngeſt appeared, whom, when the tyrant ſaw fettered and pinioned, his heart began to relent. Calling upon him therefore to approach the tribunal, he endeavoured to ſoothe him.

"You ſee what horrid kinds of deaths your brothers have undergone; but their diſobedience and contumacy have been the ſole means of all the torments and cruelties they have ſuſtained. Yet you, if you obey not my commands, ſhall be expoſed to the ſame, nay worſe torments, and ſo ſuffer an immature death: but if you comply with my deſires, I will take you into the number of my friends; you ſhall have a conſiderable poſt in my kingdom, and be a governor in the ſtate." Not content with theſe perſuaſions, he addreſſed himſelf to the mother with a ſeeming compaſſion for her loſs, entreating her to prevail upon her child, in pity to her at leaſt, to ſave this ſmall remnant of the family, and not to bring on her the affliction of having all her offspring ſo ſadly torn away at once. But his mother addreſſed him in the Hebrew tongue, and exhorted him to ſuffer, as will be ſhewn in the ſequel. Upon this he ſuddenly exclaimed, "Take off my fetters, for I have ſomething to communicate to the king and all his friends." The king and his nobles hearing this promiſe, ſeemed greatly rejoiced, and his chains were immediately knocked off. Taking the advantage of this circumſtance, he thus exclaimed:

"Impious and curſed tyrant, have you no fears nor apprehenſions in your mind after having received at the hands of the Almighty the kingdom and riches you enjoy, than to put to death his ſervants, and torment his worſhippers? Theſe cruelties ſhall be returned with an eternal puniſhment from the hands of the divine vengeance. Is your conſcience touched with no ſcruples, inhuman monſter, thus to deprive of their tongues thoſe who ſhare alike the ſame nature and paſſions with you, and who are born of the ſame elements, and thus put innocent perſons to cruel torments, and take away their lives in the moſt unmerciful and barbarous manner? They have undergone a glorious death, and ſhewn how much their piety and obſervance was for the maintenance of the true religion; whereas thou, impious man, ſhalt be expoſed to ills you little dream of, for taking away unjuſtly the lives of thoſe who were worſhippers of the Supreme Being. For this reaſon I will ſuffer death; and in my laſt pangs diſcover how much my deſire was to follow the brave example of my brothers. I beg and entreat the God of my fathers that he would be propitious and merciful to our nation; but hope that he will chaſtiſe you while you live; and after death, may your puniſhment be augmented! Having finiſhed this addreſs, he inſtantly threw himſelf into the boiling cauldron, and of courſe expired.

CHAP. XIII.

THUS it is evident that reaſon, guided and ſupported by religion, has great power over the paſſions; for we ſee ſeven brothers in perfect agreement, and the ſame principle, deſpiſing and vanquiſhing the moſt exquiſite pains, and even death itſelf. Is it not manifeſt, that had theſe men been governed by their paſſions, they had ſubmitted to pollute themſelves with unlawful meats, refuſed no condition to procure eaſe and ſafety, and been eaſily ſubdued? But ſince they combated theſe paſſions by a judicious uſe of reaſon, we are bound to acknowledge with abundant praiſe to the holy martyrs who thus ſuffered, that as they deſpiſed the moſt dreadful torments, ſo reaſon never more diſcovered its dominion over the ſubject paſſions than in thoſe inſtances.

How moving, how melancholy a ſight, was ſuch a kindred company, encouraging and aſſiſting each other in the exerciſes of piety? With ſuch a perfect harmony of hearts did they exclaim, “ Let us die like brethren in the defence of our laws; let us imitate the brave example of the three Aſſyrian youths, who defied the furnace of the king of Babylon, in fighting for the cauſe of virtue; let us never deſpair, nor once be caſt down. When religion and a good conſcience are at ſtake, let us abandon all ignoble fears, and act with becoming reſolution.” Another ſaid, “ Aſſume courage, my brother, and ſuffer all with an inſurmountable bravery of mind.” Others of them recognized ancient facts. “ Remember whence you derive your origin, and what our father Iſaac could ſuffer in the cauſe of piety.” Then, in general, looking on each other with countenances ſerene, and highly pleaſed, they exclaimed, “ Let us chearfully conſecrate our bodies to God; let us pay him back the lives he lent us for his ſervice, and devote theſe bodies to the defence of his moſt holy law. Why ſhould we ſtand in fear of one who can only kill the body? The danger worthy of our dread is that of ſouls, abandoned to torments everlaſting, which happily can never be the fate of ſuch as honour the truth. Let us then arm ourſelves with an holy fortitude; ſo ſhall Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, receive us when we die, and all our pious anceſtors congratulate and applaud our firmneſs and conſtancy.”

As they were dragged one by one to the place of execution, thoſe whoſe turn was not yet come encouraged thoſe who went before them with words to this purpoſe: “ Brethren, do not diſhonour us, nor elude the expectations of thoſe of your brothers who have already ſuffered death.”

Such was the affection, ſuch the endearments, and ſuch the weight and efficacy, the admonitions and mutual encouragements, of theſe ſeven brothers to one another; for they were brought up in the ſame faith, trained up in the exerciſe of the ſame virtues; and the better men they were, the better of courſe muſt they love each other.

CHAP. XIV.

THESE pious and virtuous youths nobly excited one another to ſuffer theſe terrible conflicts, by which means they bore every cruelty with aſtoniſhing reſignation. Oh! minds more abſolute than thoſe of ſovereign princes, and more free than liberty itſelf! Not one of them was obſerved to betray any fears, nor to have any ſcruples, on the approach of death; but all, as with one accord, embraced death, though ſurrounded with torments. As the hands and feet obey the motions of the mind, even ſo did theſe youths, from a motive of piety, conſent to die in its cauſe. As the ſhort number of days in which the world was created give us ſome idea of God, and ſhew the perfection of his majeſty and goodneſs; ſo do theſe moſt renowned martyrs, by running the whole circle of human pains and tortures, compoſe one finiſhed piece of conſtancy and courage, and teach us the perfection of fortitude. But, alas! how far ſhort of this pattern do we ſtop; we who cannot ſo much as hear or read without trembling and amazement, what they not only heard, not only ſaw, but felt and bore without the ſmalleſt diſcompoſure of mind.

But why ſhould we wonder, that reaſon in man ſhould have the dominion over his paſſions, when the mind of a woman contemned more cruelties than theſe, and of a different nature. For the mother of theſe ſeven youths had ſuch preſence of mind as to be a ſpectator of the tortures her children endured. Reflect on the force of natural affection; how diffuſive to one's offſpring: nay, the brute creation have a tincture of the ſame kind of affection and love for their young as mankind.

CHAP. XV.

SO true a daughter of Abraham was the mother of theſe gallant youths, that even compaſſion for her own children could not diſſolve her duty. So noble was her zeal, that when two things were offered her; religion, and the preſent ſafety and great preferment of ſeven ſons; ſhe wiſely gave the preference to the former, which leads to eternal life and happineſs. By what language ſhall I deſcribe thoſe tender paſſions of parents, that union of nature between them and their children, which, in ſo wonderful a manner, draws upon their offſpring the ſame lines and features of body, and impreſſes the ſame diſpoſitions of ſoul? How can I repreſent the concern they feel for theſe images and parts of themſelves, when in any kind of diſtreſs? How eſpecially that of mothers, whoſe weaker minds, and natural exceſs of fondneſs, render them ſtill more ſenſibly touched by whatever affects their children, than fathers are wont or expected to be? This mother was particularly under the influence of this affection. Seven painful births had made as many additions to this love, and every time her travail was repeated it was a freſh and ſtrong endearment towards all for whom ſhe had endured the ſame pangs.

But notwithſtanding all this, the fear and love of God overcame her concern for the preſent ſafety and advantage of her children. Never did ſhe love them ſo tenderly as when their ſteady virtue and conſtancy in the truth charmed her affections, and endeared them to her; for they were juſt and wiſe, temperate and magnanimous, affectionate to each other, and perfectly dutiful to their mother. Though ſhe had ſuch extraordinary reaſons to love her ſons, ſhe exhorted each of them ſingly, and all of them together, not to decline any ſufferings, however ſevere, for the ſake of religion. Her piety was ſo firm, that it remained unchangeable by the horrid, the thrilling ſpectacle of innocent children being expoſed to inconceiveable tortures. Extraordinary mother! that felt greater pangs of ſorrow now than ſhe ever experienced at bringing them into the world. Perfect pattern of piety! Thou didſt not utter a ſigh at ſeeing thine eldeſt expire. The ſecond giving up the ghoſt amidſt his torments could not draw a tear from thoſe eyes, nor could the third, in his laſt terrible moments, or any one of the reſt in the midſt of his torments.

Sovereign mother of our nation! of our law! bulwark of piety! more patient than man, and armed with more fortitude to undergo difficulties! the glory of thine own ſex, and ſuperior to ours! For as the ark of Noah, which then contained all the ſurviving world, rode triumphant upon the waters of the general flood; ſo thou, protectreſs of the law, toſſed on every ſide with the deluge of the paſſions, and the torments of thy ſons, as with the moſt violent ſtorm, didſt bravely bear up againſt the fierceneſs of a boiſterous hurricane.

CHAP. XVI.

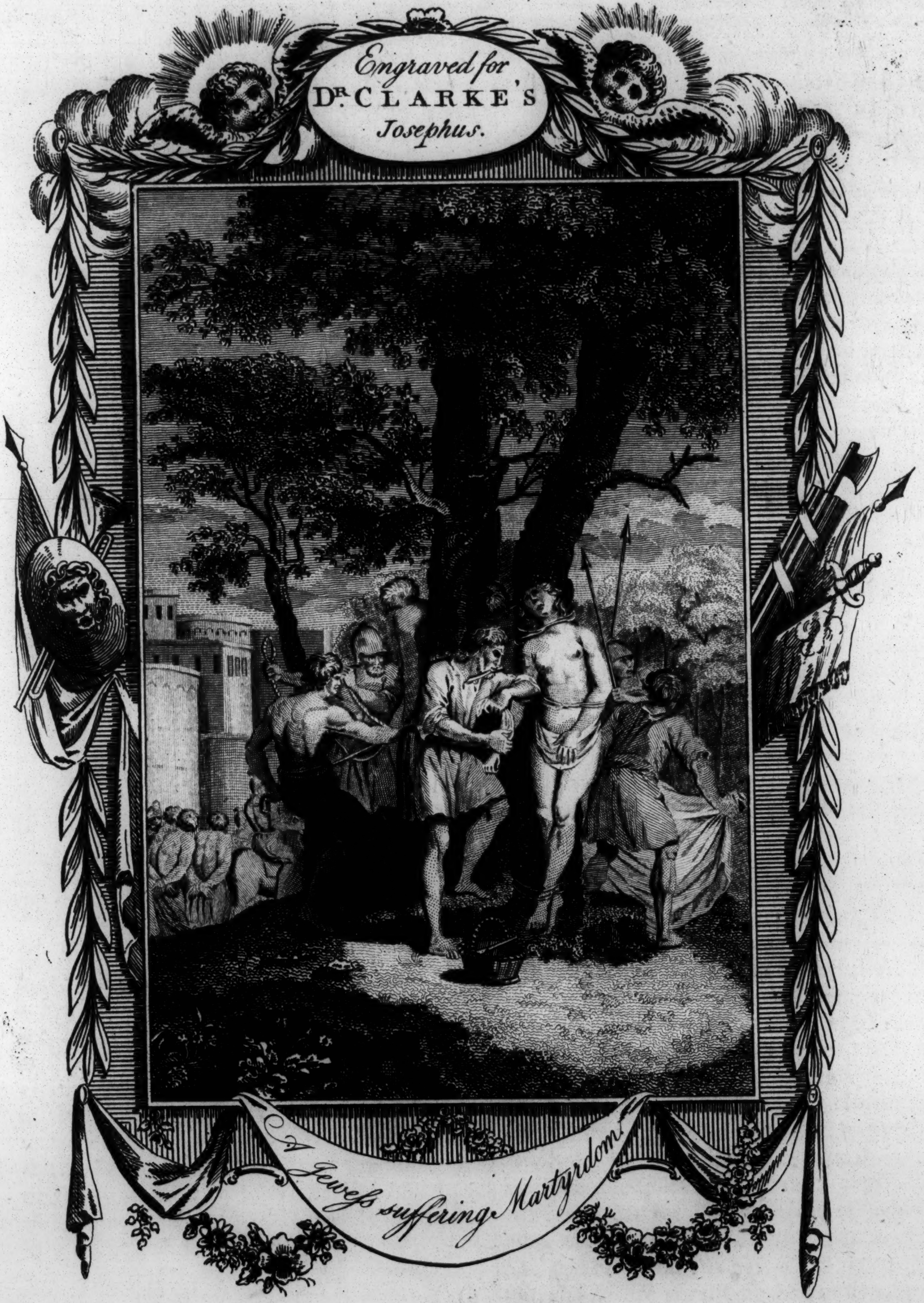
IF an aged, infirm woman, and mother of ſeven ſons, could not only ſuſtain the ſight of thoſe children expiring in tortures, it is evident beyond diſpute, that reaſon, aided by religion, hath a power ſuperior to our ſtrongeſt paſſions. The lions among whom Daniel was thrown were not ſo fierce, nor was the furnace of Miſhael, though heated with the moſt raging fires, ſo hot as thoſe violent paſſions which natural affection and pity had kindled in her breaſt, when ſhe ſaw ſeven ſons ſucceſſively expire in agonies inexpreſſible. Yet reaſon and religion, in this dreadful extremity, not only calmed, but fortified her mind.

Had this woman poſſeſſed the leaſt degree of puſillanimity, ſhe would have burſt out into lamentations ſimilar to the following: "Miſerable, undone woman, that I am, who after bringing ſeven ſons into the world, am now parent of none! To what purpoſe, my ſons, have I borne the many ſorrows I have ſuffered for you, and the many ſolicitudes I have ſuſtained in bringing you up? Beloved children, whoſe faces I ſhall no more behold; nor rejoice in their marriage and poſterity, nor have the much deſired bleſſing in being eſteemed happy in any deſcendants of the ſecond and third generation. I once was happy, happy above my neighbours, when ſurrounded with ſeveral comely children: but now I am deprived of them, and left deſolate; nor have I a ſon to pay me the laſt duty of interment."

But no, the piety of this eminent woman diſdained ſuch complaints. She was far from deſiring any of her children to live on ſuch ignoble terms. She beſought them to fulfil her joy, and encouraged them in dying for the glorious cauſe of religion. Noble matron! the tyrant was ſubdued by thy perſeverance; and both in thy words and actions thou haſt approved thyſelf mighty, for when thou wert apprehended with thy ſons, and ſaweſt Eleazar put to the torture, thou ſtoodſt immoveable, and thus addreſſed them in the Hebrew language.

"My ſons, you have a glorious conflict before you; to which being called, that you may leave your nation a teſtimony of your faith and religion, contend cheerfully in defence of her laws. It would derogate from your characters, to ſuffer an aged man to be expoſed to the pains of the rack, and you to ſhrink in the prime and vigour of youth under the ſame trials. Remember what life is; from whom you derived it; to whom you owe it; and that it is your indiſpenſible duty to undergo every difficulty and danger in the cauſe of the religion of its grand Author. For him did our father Abraham haſten to ſacrifice his ſon, the future parent of our nation. Nor did that ſon tremble, or once recede, when he ſaw a father's hand armed with a weapon of death, uplifted to give the fatal ſtroke. How was pious Daniel caſt a prey to hungry lions; and the three children into the fiery furnace. You, who are partakers of the ſame faith, ſhould not be diſheartened, if you are made partakers of the

BRITISH MUSEUM


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

A Jeweſs suffering Martyrdom.

Publish'd as the Act directs Nov.r 17, 1786 by John Walker Paternoster Row.

the ſame ſufferings; for it is moſt daſtardly, in thoſe who have a true ſenſe of religion, to betray a puſillanimity when called upon to avow their principles.

After this manner did the matron exhort her ſeven ſons, whom ſhe enjoined rather to ſuffer death than violate the divine law, eſpecially when aſſuredly perſuaded that thoſe who die in the cauſe of God ſhall live with God, with Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, and all the ſucceeding patriarchs, in manſions of immortal bliſs.

CHAP. XVII.

OF this dauntleſs woman, it is ſaid, that after being ſcourged, and otherwiſe ſeverely tortured by order of Antiochus, ſhe finiſhed her exiſtence by voluntarily throwing herſelf into the flames.

Were a monument to be erected as a memorial to the nation, to which they are ſo great an honour, an inſcription to the import of the following might become it.

"Here lies a venerable prieſt, an ancient mother, and ſeven gallant ſons, cut off by the rage of a tyrant, who vainly attempted to overthrow the Jewiſh conſtitutions. Theſe brave champions ſtood in the gap, aſſerted the religion and rites of their country, committed themſelves and their cauſe to God, and perſevered in deſpite of torments and of death."

Eleazar was the firſt champion; the mother of the ſeven ſons made a glorious defence; the brothers fought ſtoutly; the tyrant was their adverſary, and the world were the witneſſes. Religion obtained the victory, and yielded the crown to her champions. Who but muſt admire theſe noble aſſertors of the divine law? Who but, on gazing on them, muſt ſtand in amaze? The tyrant himſelf, and the whole court, were ſtruck with admiration at their fortitude; but now they ſtand at the throne of heaven, and enjoy a life of immortality. Moſes writes, "All his ſaints are in thy hand," for theſe men being devoted to God, are celebrated with immortal renown.

Antiochus, at length, reflecting on the extraordinary virtue and reſolution of theſe men, gave public teſtimony to their magnanimity, and held up their heroic conduct as a pattern worthy the imitation of his own ſoldiers. He enliſted many of the Hebrews into his ſervice; and by their valour having ſubdued his enemies, he became abſolute conqueror; learning by experience, that religion inſpires men with the trueſt courage, and that none are capable of ſerving their prince in wars comparable to thoſe undaunted contemners of life who dare to encounter tortures and death for the ſake of God and a good conſcience.

O ye ſons of Iſrael! race of faithful Abraham! pay obedience to this law; that reaſon, aſſiſted by religion, has dominion over the paſſions, not only of thoſe which are called internal, but alſo external pains and troubles.

CHAP. XVIII.

WHEN Antiochus found he could by no means force the Jews to embrace foreign cuſtoms and rites, and abdicate their own, he departed from Jeruſalem, and undertook an expedition againſt the Perſians; nor was it long before the divine Juſtice overtook him, and cut him off the face of the earth by a moſt miſerable death.

From reſpect to the memory of the pious mother, I ſhall add another exhortation ſhe gave to her ſeven brave and virtuous ſons.

"I was long a chaſte virgin; nor did I wander from my father's houſe. No ſeducer of youth corrupted me in the fields, nor did I fall a prey to the ſubtle craftineſs of a betrayer. The prime of my life I paſt in the ſtricteſt conjugal fidelity to my huſband. When you, my children, were grown up, your father died, happy in the eſteem of all that knew him. He had the ſatisfaction of being the parent of dutiful ſons; nor did he ſurvive the loſs of one of them. While he continued with you, he uſually inſtructed you in the knowledge of the law and the prophets, and ſet before you the renowned examples of patience and ſuffering virtue. Abel murdered by his own brother Cain, Iſaac deſigned for a burnt offering, Joſeph impriſoned for his chaſtity, and Phineas zealous for the divine law; he diſplayed the virtues of Ananias, Azarias, and Miſhael, and of a Daniel caſt into the den of lions. He would frequently remind you of God's preſerving providence by repeating from Iſaiah; "When thou paſſeſt through Iſaiah xliii. 2. the waters I will be with thee, and when through the rivers they ſhall not overflow thee; when thou walkeſt through the fire thou ſhalt not be burnt, neither ſhall the flame kindle upon thee." He taught your Pſal. xxxiv. 19. infant tongues that ſong of David; "Many are the afflictions of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth him out of them all;" and called upon you to obſerve that maxim of Solomon in his Proverbs, "That wiſdom Prov. iii. 18. is a tree of life to all that lay hold upon her." Nor did he forget to teach that divine hymn of Moſes, "I kill and I make Deut. xxxii. 39, 47. alive;" and again, what he pronounces of the law, and the diligent obſervers of it, "It is your life, and through this thing ye ſhall prolong your days."

THE

LIFE

OF

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

THERE are few perſons who write the hiſtory of their own lives, that omit to pride themſelves on their illuſtrious anceſtry, where they have the ſhadow of a claim. Among the Jews a lineal deſcent in the line of the prieſthood is held moſt honourable: for which reaſon I may aſſume the credit of an extraction ſuperior to the generality of my brethren; ſince, for a ſucceſſion of ages, my paternal anceſtors were prieſts of the higheſt of the twenty-four ranks. I am deſcended, on the mother's ſide, of the regal race; for ſhe was of the Aſmonæan line, in which the royal government was long united with the prieſthood.

My great grandfather was named Simon, otherwiſe Pſellus, who flouriſhed during the pontificate of Hyrcanus, the ſon of the high-prieſt, called Simon. Pſellus was father of nine ſons, of whom Matthias, who took the ſurname of Aphlias, eſpouſed a daughter of Jonathan the high-prieſt, who bore him a ſon, called Matthias, whoſe ſurname was Curtus. This Curtus was father of a ſon, who was born in the ninth year of the reign of Alexander, and called Joſeph, who was the father of Matthias, born in the tenth year of Archelaus; and this Matthias was my father, my birth taking place in the firſt year of the reign of Caius Cæſar. My ſons are three: Hyrcanus, Juſtus, and Agrippa, reſpectively born in the fourth, ſeventh, and ninth years of the reign of Veſpaſian.

My father Matthias was held in the higheſt veneration by all ranks in Jeruſalem, on account of his conſpicuous virtues as well as honourable deſcent. I was educated from my infancy with my brother, who was alſo named Matthias. With a tolerable judgment, and a moſt retentive memory, I made ſo rapid a progreſs in my ſtudies, that when I had attained my fourteenth year, I ſometimes received the honour of being conſulted, on difficult points of law, by the high prieſt and elders.

Being deſirous of acquainting myſelf with the fundamental principles of the Phariſees, the Sadducees, and the Eſſenes, in my ſixteenth year I entered on this taſk, with a reſolution to unite myſelf to that ſociety whoſe doctrines I ſhould have moſt reaſon to approve.

I at length ſucceſſively paſſed through a kind of noviciate in each of theſe ſects: nor did I ſtop here; for having learnt that a man, named Banus, had withdrawn himſelf to deſarts and ſolitude, I determined to become his pupil. This perſonage wore no other cloathing than the bark of trees; he lived ſolely on the ſpontaneous productions of the fields and woods; and, in order to ſubdue his groſs appetites, conſtantly bathed himſelf in cold water. Having ſubjected myſelf to his auſterities for near three years, I quitted my hermit, and returned to the city with my curioſity fully ſatisfied. Being now in my nineteenth year, I began to apply myſelf to the ſtudy of the civil law; for which purpoſe I entered into the ſociety of the Phariſees, whoſe doctrines bear ſome reſemblance to thoſe of the ancient Stoics.

I made a journey to Rome in my ſix-and-twentieth year, on the following occaſion. Several prieſts, many of them of exemplary characters, and my intimate friends, had been ſent by Felix, who was at that time governor of Judea, upon a very frivolous pretext, to juſtify themſelves before Cæſar: and ſuch was the noble conduct of theſe men on this occaſion, that I reſolved to afford them every aſſiſtance in my power. I accordingly embarked for Rome; but our veſſel, in which was nearly ſix hundred perſons, was loſt in the Adriatic Gulph, in a violent ſtorm; and out of the whole ſhip's company, eighty perſons only were ſaved; who, after ſwimming the whole night, were taken up early the next morning by a veſſel from Cyrene.

I now contracted an intimacy at Dicæarchia, the Puteoli of the Italians, with one Alityrus, a comedian, and a Jew by birth. This man ſtood high in the favour of Nero: and the empreſs Poppœa, to whom I was introduced by my friend, inſtantly obtained, at my requeſt, the releaſement of the prieſts: after which I departed for my own country, loaded with preſents.

Finding the populace, on my return, much inclined to revolt, I uſed every endeavour to bring them to a due ſenſe of their folly. I repreſented to them the great ſuperiority of their opponents, both as to military and other qualifications, and ſtrongly urged to them the madneſs of riſking the fate of all they held dear on ſuch very unequal terms. In this manner I endeavoured to divert them from an enterprize which to me appeared big with the moſt alarming conſequences. But my arguments, inſtead of producing the deſired effect, ſerved to render me ſuſpected by them of ſecretly favouring the views of the enemy; and, in conſequence, my ſafety became very precarious.

The inſurgents having already poſſeſſed themſelves of Fort Antonia, I was neceſſitated to fly for refuge to the inner temple. Manahem, and ſome other of the chiefs of the party being now taken off, I united myſelf with the high-prieſt, and the leading men among the Phariſees; all of whom were totally undetermined what meaſures to purſue in the preſent diſtracted ſtate of affairs, the whole city being in arms. At length, perceiving that oppoſition would be in vain, we affected partly to adopt the ſentiments of faction, and contented ourſelves with recommending them to act with caution, and to delay the execution of their deſigns till the enemy ſhould have drawn off a little; urging, that Geſſius, whoſe force was conſiderable, would certainly arrive in time to quell the inſurrection. He returned, it is true, but with only a remnant of his army; having been defeated in an engagement, in which the major part of his troops were cut to pieces: and this accident, in fact, laid the foundation of the ruin of our nation: for the revolters being ſo much elated with this ſucceſs, conceived the ridiculous notion, that they ſhould be able with equal eaſe to repel the whole force of the Romans. Juſt at this juncture, numbers of the Jews were maſſacred in the moſt horrible manner: the particulars of which are as follow: In many of the great towns on the confines of Judea, the Syrians and the Jews had for ſome time paſt reſided together in the moſt friendly manner: but, at this time, the former watching their opportunity, roſe upon the latter, and put them all to death, without deference either to ſex or age: and this without even the ſhadow of a pretence; as neither an intention to revolt, nor ſo much as any diſaffection to the Roman government, had been imputed to theſe unhappy victims. The Scythopolitans were the foremoſt to execute this dreadful deed.

Theſe inhuman people were not ſatisfied with compelling the Jews reſident among them to take up arms againſt thoſe of their own tribe, who had laid ſiege to the city, (a thing expreſsly prohibited by our law) but having by their aſſiſtance repulſed the aſſailants, they afterwards indiſcriminately put ſeveral thouſands of them to the ſword.

The leading men among the Jews finding themſelves, after the defeat of Geſſius, in a very feeble and inſecure ſtate, and expoſed to the attacks of a powerful and reſtleſs faction, judged it highly requiſite to adopt ſome plan for their preſervation. With this view, they thought proper to depute me, together with two other prieſts, Joazar and Judas, (both men of reſpectable character) to Galilee; the inhabitants of which place were, at that juncture, divided in their ſentiments, part ſiding with the Romans, and the reſt oppoſing them. The object of our commiſſion was to prevail on the malecontents to lay down their arms, at leaſt for the preſent, and to depoſit them in the hands of their governors; abſtaining from all acts of violence till they ſhould have acquired farther intelligence of the real deſigns of the Romans.

On my arrival in Galilee, I found the Galileans and the Sepphorites engaged in a ſtrong conteſt, and even at the eve of an open rupture. The Galileans were about to invade the country of the Sepphorites, on account of the attachment of the latter to the Romans; and of their adherence to Senius Gallus, the Roman governor of Syria. Both parties, however, were at length appeaſed, by the permiſſion which I obtained for them, to viſit, as often as they pleaſed, the hoſtages which they had put into the hands of Geſſius, and which were detained at Dora, a city of Phœnicia.

An inſurrection had alſo taken place in Tiberias, on the following occaſion. The citizens were divided into three parties; the firſt of which, headed by Julius Capella, in conjunction with Herod the ſon of Marius, Herod the ſon of Gamalus, and Compſus the ſon of Compſus, was compoſed of men of acknowledged worth and diſtinction: Criſpus, the ſon of Compſus, who had ſeveral years before been appointed governor of the town of Agrippa the Great, did not enter into the party, as he reſided at that time on his own eſtate on the other ſide Jordan: this party was cloſely attached to the emperor and the Roman people; and the only perſon of rank who ſided with the oppoſite faction was Piſtus, who was induced thereto by a paternal attachment to his ſon Juſtus. The very dregs of the people formed the ſecond faction; and the third was headed by Juſtus, the ſon of Piſtus, afore-mentioned.

This man, who ſecretly wiſhed for a war, with a view to raiſe his own fortunes, endeavoured to ſound the inclinations of the people by an oration, in which he obliquely hinted at the matter in queſtion only; repreſenting to them that, "their city, in the time of Herod the Tetrarch, the founder of it, had always been conſidered as belonging to Galilee, and as being the capital of the province. From the time of Agrippa the father, to that of Felix, when Nero conferred the government of the city on the younger Agrippa, this claim of precedency was never once diſputed. In ſhort, the Sepphorites never arrogated to themſelves any ſuperiority over the people of the neighbouring cities till ſubſequently to the period in which they readily yielded up their necks to the Roman yoke, and in conſequence of the above revolution the records and treaſury were removed."

Thus did Juſtus incenſe the people againſt the emperor; when, finding them at length diſpoſed to coincide in his views, he boldly told them, that, as the Sepphorites appeared to be ſo inſeparably connected with the Romans, it was neceſſary, for the preſervation of their privileges, that they ſhould immediately take up arms againſt the Sepphorites, who had rendered themſelves ſo obnoxious to the reſt of their neighbours, and that they need not doubt of being powerfully ſupported on their attack on them.

In this manner did he confound the judgment of men of ſenſe far ſuperior to his own, and thereby effect the deſign he had in view. He was ſo well verſed in the Greek language, that by palliating ſome matters and confuſing others, he gave ſuch a picture of the ſtate of affairs at that period as was beſt calculated to promote his baſe purpoſes. Of the wicked arts and malice of this man and his brother, by which they reduced their country to the very brink of ruin, I ſhall here give a more particular detail. Some of the citizens having been won by perſuaſion, and others compelled by Juſtus to take arms, he put himſelf at their head, and marched againſt the Hippenians and Gadarenes, dwelling about Tiberias and Scythopolis, whoſe habitations he utterly deſtroyed.

Having ſaid thus much of the ſtate of affairs at Tiberias, I ſhall now recount what paſſed during the ſame period at Giſchala. The propenſity which many of the citizens manifeſted to throw off the Roman yoke, was ſtrongly combated by John, the ſon of Levi, who exerted himſelf to the utmoſt to reſtrain them within the bounds of allegiance and duty: but all his endeavours proved ineffectual; as the people of the country round, the Gadarenes, the Gabaraganæans, and the Tyrians, having united their forces, made themſelves maſters of the place, and, after burning and utterly deſtroying it, again retreated toward their reſpective cities. But John, who was highly incenſed at this outrage, collected his troops together, purſued and overtook them, and, in a pitched battle, totally defeated them; after which he rebuilt Giſchala, encompaſſing it, for the greater ſecurity, with a wall of conſiderable ſtrength.

During this whole period, the inhabitants of Gamala continued firm in their attachment to the Romans, of which they gave a ſtriking proof, on the following occaſion.

King Agrippa's lieutenant, named Philip the ſon of Jacimus, having miraculouſly effected his eſcape from Jeruſalem, at the very time that the royal palace was cloſely inveſted by the enemy, was a ſecond time in imminent peril of his life, from Manahem and the aſſſſians his companions, but was again providentially preſerved by ſome of his Babylonian relations, who chanced to be then in Jeruſalem.

On the firſt day after this his ſecond eſcape he diſguiſed himſelf in a cap compoſed of hair, and in a ſhort time arrived at one of the villages, in the neighbourhood of the caſtle of Gamala, to which place many of his ſubjects inſtantly repaired to him. He was here ſeized with a ſudden fever; which incident, by a wonderful interpoſition of Providence, proved the means of preſerving his life. When he was firſt attacked by this diſorder, he diſpatched a perſon in whom he could confide, with letters to Agrippa and Berenice, who were then on a journey, to meet Geſſius at Berytus. Theſe letters the meſſenger was ordered to deliver into the hands of Varus, to whom the king and the queen had committed the care of the palace during their abſence. The news of Philip's eſcape from Jeruſalem gave Varus great uneaſineſs, leſt the incident ſhould be productive of his diſmiſſion from the ſervice of the king and queen. Varus, therefore, repreſented the meſſenger to the people as an impoſtor, and put him to death on that pretext, aſſerting with the utmoſt effrontery, that, to his certain knowledge, Philip was ſtill at Jeruſalem, and engaged in the defence of that city againſt the Romans. A conſiderable time being elapſed from the period of the meſſenger's departure, and no kind of intelligence having arrived from him, Philip deputed another perſon, with freſh letters; and this man too Varus put to death, on the ſame pretext as he had before uſed. This conduct of Varus was occaſioned by an idle notion, which had been ſuggeſted to him by the Syrians of Cæſarea, that the Romans would, doubtleſs, ſacrifice Agrippa to their reſentment of the Jewiſh revolt, and that, in ſuch caſe, himſelf, being of the race of Sohemus, the Tetrarch of Libanus muſt inevitably ſucceed to the regal dignity. Thus prepoſſeſſed, Varus put in practice artifice, to conceal from the king the knowledge of what paſſed; for which purpoſe he intercepted all letters addreſſed to his majeſty, and ſhut up every paſs, by which any intelligence could poſſibly have been communicated to him. With the view of ingratiating himſelf with the Syrians of Cæſarea, he put to death great numbers of the Jews, and alſo offered to engage with the Trachonites of Batanea, in a war againſt the Jewiſh inhabitants of Ecbatane, who are ſtyled Babylonians. He accordingly diſpatched twelve of the principal Jews in Cæſarea to Ecbatane, to acquaint the inhabitants, in his name, that he had heard they meditated a revolt; that he was much diſinclined to credit the report, but that he required them, as a teſtimony of their innocence, immediately to lay down their arms, and alſo to depute to him ſeventy of the chiefs of their party, to juſtify the conduct of the reſt. Upon the receipt of this meſſage, the inhabitants of Ecbatane made the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny into the cauſe of this rumour, which they found to be utterly deſtitute of foundation: in obedience, however, to the requiſition of Varus, they ſent to him ſeventy of the principal men of the place, who were all maſſacred by him, ſave one ſingle perſon, on the road to Cæſarea; after which he marched his troops againſt Ecbatane. But, by a ſecond wonderful interpoſition of Providence, the perſon who had been thus miraculouſly preſerved from deſtruction, reached the city before him, and made the inhabitants acquainted with the horrible treachery which had been perpetrated upon his aſſociates. The people inſtantly ran to arms, and, quitting the city, retired, with their wives and children, into the caſtle of Gamala, leaving behind them their effects and cattle, to a very conſiderable value. No ſooner was this event communicated to Philip, than he inſtantly repaired to the caſtle of Gamala, where he was received with open arms by the inſurgents, who unanimouſly made him a tender of their lives and fortunes, urgently ſoliciting him to put himſelf at their head, and to lead them aginſt Varus and his Cæſarean abettors; for a report was now ſpread, that the king had been aſſaſſinated. Philip, however, endeavoured to allay the ferment of their minds, by urging to them the favour they had received from the king, the formidable power of the Romans, and the imminent dangers they would expoſe themſelves to by a revolt; and his endeavours at length proved ſucceſsful. The king, being at length made acquainted with the miſconduct of Varus, and with a deſign which he had formed to put to death all the Jews in Cæſarea, together with their wives and children, to the number of ſeveral thouſands, removed him from his government, which he conferred on Æquus Modius, as I have before mentioned: Gamala and the neighbouring country being retained in their allegiance to the Romans, by the prudent meaſures taken by Philip.

Having acquired the moſt authentic intelligence of all the above tranſactions, upon my arrival in Galilee, I diſpatched a letter to the council at Jeruſalem, requeſting to be honoured with their commands: in anſwer to which, they ſent me orders to remain where I was, and to make the beſt proviſion poſſible for the defence of the place, retaining my colleagues with me, if they ſhould be inclined to ſtay. A large ſum of money having been collected on account of tithes, my aſſociates had taken the reſolution of returning home, but, at my requeſt, readily conſented to continue with me a ſhort time longer, till I could arrange matters more happily. We, accordingly, went together from Sepphoris to Bethmaus, a place about four furlongs diſtant from Tiberias, from whence I ſent a meſſage to the ſenate and ſome of the principal perſons of that city, requiring their attendance. They came in obedience to my ſummons, accompanied by Juſtus; and I acquainted them, that the council at Jeruſalem had commiſſioned myſelf and my aſſociates to confer with them on the ſubject of demoliſhing the palace which Herod the Tetrarch had erected in their city, and had ornamented with many curious images and figures of animals, which was expreſsly prohibited by our laws; and I earneſtly deſired that the buſineſs might be carried into execution without delay. In this requeſt I was ſtrongly oppoſed by Capella and his party; but I, with much difficulty, at length carried my point. While this conteſt was depending, Jeſus, the ſon of Sapphia, putting himſelf at the head of a body of men, compoſed of the very dregs of the people, and being joined by a party of the ſeditious Galileans, ſet the royal palace on fire, in hopes, from the rich and brilliant appearance of every thing they ſaw, that they ſhould obtain a princely booty by the plunder of it: and, in fact, they carried off many valuable effects, notwithſtanding all that could be done to prevent them. Having ſettled all matters with Capella and the Tiberians, we departed from Bethmaus for the Upper-Galilee, juſt at the time that the faction of Jeſus had put all the Greeks, reſiding in Tiberias, to the ſword, and all thoſe indiſcriminately who had taken part againſt them previous to the war. When I received intelligence of this outrage, I was highly incenſed, and repaired immediately to Tiberias, at which place were many valuable effects belonging to the king, (amongſt others, ſeveral rich candleſticks of Corinthian workmanſhip, coſtly tables, and a large quantity of ſilver in the maſs) ſome of which I hoped to be able to preſerve from pillage. I had determined to depoſit whatever goods I might be able to ſecure, in the hands of proper perſons, for the king's uſe. Sending, therefore, for ten of the principal ſenators, and Capella the ſon of Antyllus, I delivered all the rich veſſels, and others valuables which I had ſaved, into their care, with a ſtrict injunction to give them up to no one but myſelf. From Tiberias I went, with my colleagues, to Giſchala, for the purpoſe of informing myſelf of the proceedings of John, whom I found evidently endeavouring to eſtabliſh himſelf at the head of a party. In different parts of the Upper-Galilee were divers magazines of corn, belonging to the emperor; and John was mightily deſirous of obtaining the ſale of them, pretending that he meant to expend the profits which might accrue in erecting fortifications. I eaſily penetrated into his deſign, and therefore told him that I would never yield my conſent; as I was obligated, by my commiſſion from the council at Jeruſalem, to ſee that thoſe ſtores ſhould be applied, either to the emperor's uſe, or to the benefit of the province. He then applied himſelf to my colleagues, perceiving that there was no probability of his ſucceeding withme; and they, partly through inadvertency, and partly through avarice, ſuffered themſelves to be won over to a compliance with his ſolicitations; and thus, they being two to one, my oppoſition was rendered fruitleſs. The ſucceſs which John met with on this occaſion, emboldened him to ſet another ſcheme on foot, for the promotion of his intereſt. Pure virgin oil was, at that time, particularly ſcarce at Cæſarea Philippi; the inhabitants of which place, being reſtricted from the uſe of the Greek oil, and from purchaſing the other out of their own city, had, he ſaid, made great complaints to him on the ſubject, praying relief. His interference in this buſineſs did not proceed ſo much from religious as from intereſted motives; being ſenſible that this oil was forty times dearer at Giſchala than it was at Cæſarea: accordingly, under the pretence of a permiſſion from me, he tranſported all the oil from one of thoſe places to the other.

I did, indeed, from an apprehenſion that the people would otherwiſe ſtone me, tacitly acquieſce in the above meaſure, but I no otherwiſe conſented to it. The profit that John derived from this device was very conſiderable.

From Giſchala I ſent my colleagues back to Jeruſalem, and now employed my whole time in providing for the defence of the province. Perceiving that every attempt to reduce the free booters by force muſt prove vain, I adviſed the people to try the effect of negociating with them; and we thereupon entered into a treaty with ſome of their chiefs, offering to take the whole body into our ſervice; as we were well convinced, that the expence attending this meaſnre would be far inferior to the loſs we ſhould be liable to ſuſtain from their continual depredations. Articles being, at length, agreed upon between us, after receiving their oaths for the due obſervance of the engagement, I diſmiſſed them. The conditions to which they bound themſelves were, that they would abſtain from all outrages, againſt either Romans or natives; and that they would never enter our territories, but upon a requiſition from us, or in caſe that we ſhould at any time be in arrears to them. My chief object, however, was to retain the Galileans in due ſubjection; and, with this view, I ſelected ſeventy of the principal perſons of the province, to accompany me. Of theſe I formed a kind of council; and, in moſt caſes, regulated my conduct by their advice, ſtill retaining a ſupreme deference for the dictates of honour and juſtice: thus, under the guiſe of friends, theſe men were, in reality, my hoſtages.

I had now attained my thirtieth year; a period of life in which a man in a public ſtation cannot, even with the utmoſt precaution poſſible, ſhelter himſelf from the attacks of envy and detraction. Thus much, however, I muſt be permitted to ſay for myſelf, that I had never been charged with any breach of duty, or corrupt practices, towards either of the ſeveral parties. So far was I from wiſhing to acquire wealth, that I even declined my proffered tithes, to which, from my function of a prieſt, I was indubitably entitled. I acknowledge that, after defeating the Syrians, I ſent part of the booty obtained on that occaſion to my relations at Jeruſalem; and having twice vanquiſhed the Sepphorites, the Tiberians four times, and reduced the Gadarenes to throw themſelves on my mercy; having, moreover, ſeized the perſon of John, who had been guilty of many treacherous practices againſt my ſafety; I never entertained a thought of reſenting the injuries I had ſuffered from any of the above parties.

Though the Galileans were daily ſuffering the miſeries of war; ſuch was the affection they bore to me, that they appeared to be much more moved with the dangers and hardſhips which I underwent, than with their own. The popularity I had thus acquired, excited the rankeſt envy in the mind of John, who, under the pretext of a ſudden indiſpoſition, wrote to me for permiſſion to go to the hot baths of Tiberias, which I granted him with the utmoſt readineſs, not ſuſpecting his motives; I furniſhed him with letters to my friends there, deſiring them to accommodate him and his train. I had at this time taken up my reſidence in a village of Galilee, called Jana. On John's arrival at Tiberias, he immediately ſet about inveigling the inhabitants into a revolt. Many of them were well diſpoſed to enter into his views, being heartily deſirous of a change in the government; and among theſe, Juſtus and his father Piſtus, eagerly united themſelves with John againſt me. But providentially, Silas whom I had appointed my deputy in the government of Tiberias, having diſcovered the deſigns of the conſpirators, ſent me a minute account thereof; urging me to repair thither with all ſpeed.

On receipt of this intelligence, I aſſembled a body of two hundred men; and thus attended, poſted away to Tiberias, travelling the whole night. At an early hour in the morning, I was met by the inhabitants, to whom I had previouſly ſent a meſſenger, who conducted me into the city. John alſo came with the reſt; when the great confuſion viſible in his face, plainly manifeſted a conſciouſneſs of his guilt: but after a ſlight and haſty reverence to me, he ſuddenly withdrew. On my entrance into the city I directly repaired to the public place of exerciſes, where I diſmiſſed all my attendants, ſave one ſervant and ten ſoldiers. Having choſen a ſpot fit for my purpoſe, I began to harangue the people on the ſubject of good faith and allegiance; the reputation which muſt accrue to them from a generous perſeverance in their fidelity, and the dangerous conſequences as well as the baſeneſs of perfidy; urging to them, that thoſe who were guilty of treachery, muſt always expect a retaliation upon themſelves; and that one ſuch act would eternally ruin their credit with the world. I had ſcarcely got thus far in my oration when I heard a voice in the crowd, loudly and with great earneſtneſs adviſing me to deſiſt and provide for my own ſafety by a ſpeedy retreat. The caſe was, that John, perceiving me to be almoſt without attendants, had ſelected a certain number of ſoldiers out of the thouſand of which he had the command, and had given them orders to attack me by ſurprize. They had approached within a very ſmall diſtance of the place where I ſtood, when I inſtantly leaped down, and with the aſſiſtance of one of my guards, named Jacob, and one Herod, a Tiberian, made good my retreat to the lake, and embarked on board a veſſel which providentially chanced to be there, and which landed me at Taricheæ; thus eſcaping the villainous deſigns of my foes.

This perfidy of the Tiberians incenſed the people of Taricheæ againſt the perpetrators of ſo horrid a villainy. They invited the Galileans to join them in their intended attack upon Tiberias, and to ſubmit themſelves implicitly to my conduct and direction. This invitation was readily accepted by the Galileans, who recommended it to me to march immediately againſt Tiberias; and after having made myſelf maſter of it, utterly to deſtroy the city, and to ſell the inhabitants, of whatever ſex or age, publickly for ſlaves: this was alſo the opinion of the Tiberians, my confederates. I, however; repreſented to the people the imprudence of cutting each others throats, for the entertainment of the Romans, who would be pleaſed ſpectators of ſuch a ſcene. By the arguments I urged on this occaſion, I at length induced the Galileans to adopt more moderate ſentiments.

John, finding his deſigns againſt me defeated, thought fit to alter his conduct, leſt his ſafety ſhould be endangered. He accordingly retired from Tiberias to Giſchala, accompanied by ſuch of his men as remained with him; from whence he wrote me a letter of excuſe, calling God to witneſs that the late vile attempt to deſtroy me had been entirely concerted without his knowledge. But the perfidy of this wretch was ſo notorious, that the Gallieans could not be prevailed on to give the leaſt credit to his declaration; but having aſſembled a conſiderable force, preſſed me to lead them againſt Giſchala, the place of John's birth, and to ſacrifice him, and utterly deſtroy the city. I made them my acknowledgments for their good-will, and tendered them my beſt ſervices in return; but begged of them to ſuffer me to try whether I could not terminate the quarrel to their ſatisfaction without bloodſhed. The Galileans acquieſced in the juſtice of my arguments, and permitted me, ſoon afterwards, to lead them to Sepphoris. On my approach, the Sepphorites, who ſtill perſiſted in their allegiance to the Romans, began to entertain ſome fears that my intentions were hoſtile; and they contrived how they might, for their own ſecurity, draw off my attention from them to ſome other object. With this view, they engaged Jeſus, who commanded the outlaws, by promiſe of a large ſum of money, to attack us with a body of eight hundred men: Jeſus and his troops were at that time ſtationed on the borders of Ptolemais. He propoſed to effect his purpoſe by coming upon us unexpectedly. He accordingly ſent a meſſage to me, requeſting my permiſſion to wait on me. This requeſt I readily granted, not ſuſpecting his motives; and he began his journey, accompanied by a ſelect band of his aſſociates. He had arrived within a very ſhort diſtance of the town, when one of his followers left him, and communicated to me every particular of the plot formed againſt me. Diſſembling all knowledge of the matter, I repaired to the market-place, attended by a ſtrong guard of Galileans, with ſome few of the Tiberians. My next care was to ſecure the paſſes, and to give orders to the porters at the gates, to admit none but Jeſus and a few of his followers, keeping the reſt out; and, in caſe they ſhould attempt to obtain an entrance by violence, to repel force with force. All my orders were punctually obeyed, and Jeſus and a ſmall number of his aſſociates only were permitted to enter the city, the gates being ſhut upon the reſt. The inſtant he came into my preſence, I commanded him to throw down his arms; and perceiving himſelf ſurrounded by ſoldiers, he readily yielded obedience. Thoſe of his followers who had remained without the gates, having learnt what had befallen their leader, fled in all haſte. Taking Jeſus aſide, I told him, that notwithſtanding I now had him in my power, and was well informed of all his mal-practices and connections, I was ſtill inclined to pardon him for what had paſſed, on condition that he ſhould engage to abſtain from all ſuch-like conduct in future. This he faithfully promiſed, and was in conſequence diſmiſſed, together with his attendants. With reſpect to the Sepphorites, I contented myſelf with enjoining them to a more peaceable demeanour, at the hazard of my ſevereſt diſpleaſure.

Juſt at this period, two noblemen belonging to the court of the king of Trachonitis, fled to me for refuge; bringing with them horſes, money, and arms. The Jews were very averſe to my receiving them, unleſs they would ſubmit to be circumciſed; but I firmly rejected the propoſition, repreſenting to the people that every man was entitled to the privilege of worſhipping God according to the rules of his own conſcience, and that it would betray an inhoſpitable diſpoſition thus to conduct themſelves towards men, whom misfortunes had compeled to reſort to them for protection.

In the mean time, Æquus Modius had been diſpatched by king Agrippa, with a large body of troops, to inveſt the caſtle of Magdala. Finding himſelf in no condition to lay ſiege to it, he judged it ſufficient to ſecure the paſſes, and thus to form the blockade of Gamala. Intelligence having been communicated to Æbutius, the Decadarch, of my arrival at Simonias, a village ſituated on the borders of Galilee, and at the diſtance of about ſixty furlongs from the place where he then was, he aſſembled a body of an hundred horſe and about two hundred foot from Gaba, with which, making a forced march during the night, he reached the village early in the morning; whereupon I gathered together ſome of my beſt troops, and prepared for my defence. Æbutius, depending on his ſuperior force in horſe, would fain have induced me to have engaged him in the open field; but, as my ſtrength lay chiefly in infantry, I dared not quit my ſtation; and my antagoniſt, after many fruitleſs efforts to drive me from it, retired towards Gaba, with the loſs of three men only in the ſkirmiſh. I cloſely purſued him with a body of two thouſand men; and having reached Beſara on the frontiers of Ptolemais, and about twenty furlongs diſtant from Gaba, where Æbutius then was, I firſt ſecured all the neighbouring paſſes, and then I carried off prodigious quantities of wheat and other grain, which had belonged to Queen Berenice, and had been plundered by the enemy from the adjacent villages. The grain I ſent to Galilee, on a number of camels and aſſes, which I had brought with me for that intent. When I had finiſhed this buſineſs, I offered battle to Æbutius; but he declining it, I directed my march againſt Scythopolis, which was then garriſoned by a body of horſe, under the command of Neapolitanus, who had committed great depredations in the neighbourhood of Tiberias. Having delivered the Tiberians from this troubleſome foe, I now confined all my views to the re-eſtabliſhment of peace and good order in Galilee.

John the ſon of Levi, was, as I have before obſerved, ſtill at Giſchala; where, jealous of my ſucceſs againſt my enemies, and of the affection which the people manifeſted for me, he endeavoured to ſeduce the Tiberians and the Sepphorites from my intereſt, flattering himſelf, alſo, that he might be able to prevail on the Gabarenes to quit my party, they being the moſt conſiderable people in Galilee. For this purpoſe he took every opportunity to decry my adminiſtration, and to extol the advantages which they would enjoy under his government, imagining, that, in proportion as he blemiſhed my reputation, he ſhould brighten his own. The Sepphorites, in fact, favoured neither him nor me, being cloſely attached to the Romans. He could not prevail on the Tiberians to take arms; but they, nevertheleſs, engaged to maintain a correſpondence with him. The Gabarenes were the only people who joined him; and this union was effected by the intervention of one of their leading men, named Simon, who was a particular friend and aſſociate of John. The Gabarenes readily engaged in every perfidious attempt againſt my perſon; and, in the following inſtance, I narrowly eſcaped falling a victim to their evil deſigns.

The wife of Ptolemy, the king's intendant, travelling with a numerous body of attendants over the great plain, from a place under his ſovereign's juriſdiction, into one of the Roman provinces, her train was attacked by a party of deſperate young Dabarittenians, who defeated the eſcort which attended her, and made prize of all her effects. The plunder was brought to Taricheæ whilſt I continued there, and conſiſted of a large quantity of rich cloaths and coſtly furniture, a great number of ſilver veſſels, and five hundred pieces of gold. Theſe articles being the property of Ptolemy, who was of my own tribe, (and it being prohibited by our law to rob even an enemy) I told the parties that it was requiſite they ſhould be laid by, till an opportunity might offer for diſpoſing of them, and that the produce of them ſhould be applied to the reparation of the walls of Jeruſalem. The robbers, incenſed to be thus diſappointed of their booty, circulated a report throughout Tiberias, that it was my intention to betray the province into the hands of the Romans. My promiſe, they ſaid, of applying the profits of the ſale to the reparation of the walls of Jeruſalem, was a mere pretext, and that I meant to reſtore the above effects to their former maſter: nor, indeed, were they wrong in their conjecture; for immediately after the departure of the robbers, I gave ſecret orders to two of the principal citizens, Daſſion, and Jannæus, the ſon of Levi, both highly favoured by the king, to make reſtitution of the prize, and, at the peril of their lives, to mention the matter to any man living. The charge againſt me, of having conſpired to deliver up the province to the Romans, ſpread through Galilee, and the people were ſtrongly incited to revenge. The Taricheans, amongſt others, gave ſuch credit to the ſlander, that they ſeduced ſeveral of my guards to quit me while I was aſleep, and to repair with them to the Circus, to confer with the citizens, on the intended change to be made in the government. A large concourſe of people had aſſembled in this place, unanimouſly calling for juſtice on the traitor; but the chief fomentor of the ſedition was Jeſus, the ſon of Sapphia, one of the moſt turbulent and unprincipled wretches breathing, who chanced at that time to be the chief magiſtrate of Tiberias. This man preſented himſelf before the people, with the two Tables of Moſes in his hand; and addreſſed them in theſe words: "If you have no conſideration for your own welfare and ſafety, at leaſt ſhew a proper reverence for theſe ſacred laws, which your governor, Joſeph, has violated, for which he deſerves the moſt exemplary puniſhment." This ſpeech was received with repeated ſhouts of applauſe; and taking with them a number of ſoldiers, they haſted towards the houſe in which I reſided, with a fixed reſolution to put me to inſtant death. Unconſcious of all that was paſſing, I lay on my bed, wearied with fatigue, and in a ſound ſleep. Simon, however, one of my guards, and the only perſon who had not deſerted me, ſeeing the people ruſhing into the houſe, ſuddenly awakened me, and repreſenting the imminent danger to which I was expoſed, adviſed me rather to periſh by my own hand than to ſubmit to the inſults and cruelties of an enraged and inſolent enemy. I however diſguiſed myſelf in a ſuit of black cloaths; and, armed with my ſword, and commending myſelf to the protection of Providence, I paſſed undiſcovered through the midſt of the throng, and repaired, by a private way, to the Circus, where I threw myſelf proſtrate on the ground, and, by my tears and lamentations, excited the pity of the majority of even the inſurgents themſelves. Perceiving that I had, in ſome meaſure, wrought upon the temper of the people, I exerted all my endeavours to divide them in their ſentiments reſpecting me and my conduct, before the return of the ſoldiers, who had been diſpatched to deſtroy me. I begged their permiſſion to lay before them the true ſtate of the caſe, admitting, at the ſame time, that there was, indeed, ſome ſlight foundation for the charge. I requeſted that they would give me a patient hearing; after which I would readily ſubmit to their deciſion, whatever it might be. The people ordered me to proceed; but the ſoldiers, who had juſt returned to the Circus, were for putting me to immediate death: but on more mature deliberation, however, they ſuffered themſelves to be prevailed upon to ſuſpend the execution of their deſign; and ſilence being proclaimed, I addreſſed them to the following purport:

That I had ever conſidered their city as an aſylum for ſtrangers: that, induced by the conveniencies of the place, and the amiable manners of its inhabitants, numbers of foreigners had quitted their own country, and repaired thither, with a view of continuing there to the end of their lives; that the crime now alledged was, an intention, through zeal for the public benefit, to apply a conſiderable ſum of money

ney towards the repairs of the city walls: and that this was the ſole foundation of the inveterate perſecution which had been raiſed againſt me. The Taricheans, and the foreign inhabitants of this city, highly applauded my ſpeech, and bade me proceed without fear; but the Galileans and Tiberians, on the other hand, manifeſted much turbulence of diſpoſition; inſomuch that the diſſention between the two parties aroſe, at length, to a very great height; the one ſide continually menacing me, and the other giving me the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their favour and protection. But the conteſt was finally dropped, on my promiſing the Tiberians to repair the walls of their city, and to do the like for all the other towns of the province, whoſe ſituation would admit of it; and every one, truſting to my word for the performance of this covenant, retired peaceably.

After this providential deliverance, I returned to my lodging, attended by a party of my friends, and about twenty ſoldiers. Soon after I had retired, the robbers and other ringleaders of the late ſedition, fearful leſt they ſhould be called to an account for their conduct on the occaſion, aſſembled in a body, to the number of about ſix hundred, and beſet the houſe in which I reſided, with an intention of ſetting fire to it. When the news of their approach, and of their deſign, was communicated to me, deeming flight diſgraceful, I determined to barricade the doors of my houſe, and abide the event. On their arrival, I acquainted them, from a window, that, if money was their object, they had only to depute a ſmall number of their companions to me, and their commands ſhould be inſtantly complied with. A party was accordingly ſent; and when they entered the houſe, obſerving that one of them diſtinguiſhed himſelf from the reſt by his inſolence and audacity, I ordered him to be ſeized, whipped, and to have one of his hands ſtruck off; after which, with the member hanging round his neck, to be turned into the ſtreet, that his aſſociates might be informed of what had happened to him. All this was accordingly executed, and the inſurgents imagining, from the boldneſs of my conduct in this inſtance, that I had a ſtrong guard in the houſe, fled with the utmoſt precipitation, through fear of expoſing themſelves to a ſimilar puniſhment; and by this ſtratagem I eſcaped an imminent danger. But thus defeated in one ſcheme, they quickly put another in agitation. They now pretended to diſapprove of the protection which I had afforded to the two foreign noblemen, aforementioned; and they directed their courſe to Tarichex, with the full intent of putting thoſe unfortunate ſtrangers to death.

I followed them, however, with as many troops as I could aſſemble; and happily arrived in time to reſcue my noble gueſts; who were at length received into favour by king Agrippa.

Intelligence having been communicated to me that the people of Tiberias had ſecretly diſpatched a letter to king Agrippa, with a tender of their ſervices, provided he would engage to furniſh them with a ſufficient number of troops to protect them, I inſtantly repaired to that city. The inhabitants upon my arrival, reminded me of my promiſe to rebuild their walls, having learnt that I had already fulfilled my engagement in that point with the Taricheans. I therefore gave orders for materials and workmen to be provided. After three days, I departed for Tarichex, which is diſtant about thirty furlongs: immediately after which a body of Roman troops, being on their march, paſſed within ſight of Tiberias; and the inhabitants, miſtaking them for the forces of king Agrippa, gave a ſudden looſe to the moſt extravagant encomiums on the king, and to the ſevereſt cenſures on me. A meſſenger was ſoon afterwards diſpatched to me in great haſte, with information that the people were ripe for a revolt. This intelligence threw me into the utmoſt conſternation; for the ſabbath now approaching, I had ſent away the ſoldiers from Tarichex, in order to the more quiet celebration of that feſtival.

Thus circumſtanced, I adopted the following ſtratagem: I committed the care of the gates to ſome of my moſt intimate and truſty friends, with a ſtrict injunction to ſuffer no perſon whatever to paſs through. They had it further in charge from me, to cauſe each of the principal citizens to go on board his repective boat, taking with him only one perſon to row it, and to follow me, while I, in another boat, attended by a ſmall party of my friends, and ſeven ſoldiers, ſteered my courſe towards Tiberias; the inhabitants of which city had, in the interim, diſcovered their miſtake relative to the troops they had ſeen. The Tiberians, however, perceiving the lake thus covered with ſo numerous a fleet of boats, which, they concluded, were filled with an army deſtined to the attack of their city, actuated by their apprehenſions, inſtantly laid down their arms, and accompanied by their wives and children, in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, welcomed me on my arrival, wiſhed me ſucceſs in my undertaking, never ſuſpecting that their deſigns were diſcovered.

Previous to my landing, I had given orders that all the boats ſhould be anchored at ſuch a diſtance from the ſhore, as to prevent the Tiberians from diſcovering the weakneſs of my apparently formidable fleet. I had now reached the quay, and, after ſeverely reproaching them with their late treacherous conduct, I declared myſelf willing to pardon what had paſſed, on condition that they ſhould ſend on board of my boat ten of their chief citizens as hoſtages; with which command they inſtantly complied, and by this ſtratagem I, by degrees, got the whole ſenate and moſt of the principal inhabitants into my hands. The reſt, now taking into conſideration the critical ſtate of their affairs, with one voice imputed the whole blame of the late diſturbances to a bold and turbulent fellow, named Clitus, and requeſted that I would order him to be puniſhed according to his deſerts. This fellow being of my own tribe, I could not conſcientiouſly put him to death; yet, perceiving the neceſſity of inflicting on him ſome exemplary puniſhment, I commanded him to ſtrike off his left-hand with his right; with which he inſtantly complied.

I now returned to Taricheæ, leaving the Tiberians impreſſed with the higheſt opinion of my wiſdom, in thus ſubduing, without bloodſhed, ſo formidable an inſurrection.

A ſhort time previous to this period, Philip, the ſon of Jacimus, quitted Gamala, upon the following occaſion. Having received intelligence of the revolts of Varus, and of the appointment of Equus Modius to his vacant government, he wrote letters to Modius, who was his intimate friend, acquainting him with the ſtate of his affairs, accompanying them with a packet from the king and queen, who were at that time at Berytus, which Modius inſtantly diſpatched, according to the inſtructions ſent him. No ſooner did the king perceive, by the contents of this packet, that the report of Philip's deſertion to the Romans was groundleſs, than his majeſty immediately diſpatched a party of horſe to conduct him to court; and he received him upon his arrival with the moſt honourable teſtimonies of affection and approbation. He was ſoon afterwards ſent, at the head of ſeveral troops of horſe, to the fort of Gamala, with orders to bring away his family, to re-eſtabliſh the Babylonians in Batanea, and to uſe his utmoſt efforts to reſtrain the people within due ſubjection.

Nearly at this period, a mountebank, named Joſeph, put himſelf at the head of a party of turbulent young people, who were countenanced in their ſeditious conduct by ſome few of the moſt conſiderable inhabitants of the place. This man endeavoured to ſeduce the people from their allegiance, and induce them to take arms, in defence, as he pretended, of their violated rights and privileges. This party ſoon became ſo powerful, that no one dared to oppoſe them; they having already, in a ſudden tumult, put to death Chares and his kinſman Jeſus, together with the ſiſter of Juſtus of Tiberias. They next applied to me for troops to garriſon the town, and workmen to ſurround it with walls, to which requeſt I immediately acceded.

At this juncture, alſo, the Gaularnites, inhabiting the whole extent of country as far as the village Solyma, deſerted the party of king Agrippa, and united themſelves with the Romans. I encloſed with walls Sogannes and Seleucia, two places of great natural ſtrength, and fortified ſeveral towns in the Upper Galilee, as Jamnia, Amerytha, and Charabe, ſituated in the mountainous part of the country. I likewiſe fortified the towns of Taricheæ, Tiberias, and Sephoris, and the villages of the Cave of Arbela, Berſobe, Selame, Jotapata, Capharah, Comoſogana, Næpapha, and the Mount Itabyr; all ſituated in Galilee. It was in theſe places that I formed my magazines of arms and corn.

The ſucceſs with which all my undertakings were attended, created ſo much envy in the breaſt of John and Simon, the ſons of Levi, that they determined at all events to effect my ruin; and, accordingly, after making ſeveral other unſucceſsful attempts, they propoſed to diſtribute money and preſents among the friends of Ananus, the high-prieſt, as the moſt likely method of effecting the deſign they had in view. This ſcheme ſucceeded; and Ananus and his party, without further heſitation, entered upon the execution of the plan for depriving me of my poſt. For this purpoſe they ſecretly commiſſioned four perſons, two of noble deſcent, and the others of private rank, but all equally eminent for their abilities, to repair to Galilee on this buſineſs. The perſons thus deputed, were Joazar and Simon, both of the ſacerdotal families, and the former a Phariſee; and Jonathan and Ananias, both of the Phariſaical ſect. Theſe men were inſtructed to attend at the next aſſembly of the Galileans, and to expoſtulate with the members on the prepoſſeſſion they manifeſted in my favour; and to urge, if they ſhould attempt to vindicate ſuch predilection, on the plea, either of my knowledge of the law, of my being a native of Jeruſalem, or of their reſpect for the prieſthood, of which I was a member; that each of them had equal pretenſions to the government of the province. Thus tutored, the deputies began their journey.

Juſt at this period, a perſon named Jeſus, a Galilean, arrived at Jeruſalem, at the head of a band of ſix hundred ſoldiers. This man entered into an engagement with the deputies, on the promiſe of three months pay in advance, to accompany them with his troops, and to ſubmit to all their orders.

They alſo retained in their ſervice three hundred mercenaries, whom they had collected in the city, and a party of an hundred men, commanded by the brother of John. They were enjoined, in caſe I ſhould voluntarily ſurrender myſelf, to ſend me in chains to Jeruſalem; but to give me no quarter, if I ſhould make the leaſt reſiſtance.

Jeſus, the ſon of Gamala, who wiſhed me well, and was privy to all theſe tranſactions, ſent intelligence of what paſſed to my father, who communicated the ſame to me. I therefore aſſembled my friends, and acquainted them with my determination to reſign my command, and return home, in the courſe of three days. They all expreſſed great ſorrow on the occaſion, and earneſtly ſolicited me to drop my deſign, urging, that my departure would be attended with certain deſtruction to them: but, as my life was now at ſtake, I ſtill perſevered in the reſolution I had formed. The news of my intention was quickly ſpread throughout the whole province, by the diligence of the Galileans, who entertained the ſtrongeſt apprehenſions, that they muſt be inevitably over-run by the out-laws, and other banditti, as ſoon as I ſhould have abandoned them. A large number of people, accompanied by their wives and children, aſſembled in conſequence, in the great plain of Aſoch, in which city, I at that time, reſided, with the view of prevailing upon me to continue with them.

That night I had a very remarkable dream. Being in great perturbation of mind, ariſing from the intelligence I had received, I fancied that I ſaw the figure of a man approach my bed-ſide, and addreſs me in theſe words: "Take courage, thou worthy man; for all theſe troubles will quickly have an end, and will, moreover, be productive not only of your preſent, but future advantage and ſatisfaction. Be reſolute, therefore, and remember, that I forewarned you, that you would be engaged in war againſt the Romans." Awaking from this dream, I roſe, with an intent of walking for the benefit of the air; and I no ſooner appeared at the door, which leads towards the plain, than a multitude of the Galileans, of all ages, and either ſex, proſtrated themſelves before me, and with tears beſought me not to abandon them, in this extremity, to the mercy of their enemies. Perceiving, that notwithſtanding their importunities, I continued inflexible, they in the moſt ſolemn manner adjured me to yield to their requeſt.

This ſcene affected me to a very high degree; I therefore conſented to retain the command of the province. I accordingly deſired that they would ſelect five thouſand men, and furniſh them with arms and ammunition for a march, and that the reſt would return without delay to their own habitations. To theſe five thouſand I joined a body of my own troops, conſiſting of three thouſand infantry and eighty horſe, and marched at their head to Chabolo, a village on the borders of Ptolemais, with the apparent view of attacking Placidus, who had been ſent into thoſe parts by Ceſtius Gallus, with a troop of horſe and two companies of foot, to deſtroy all the neighbouring villages belonging to the Galileans. Placidus lay intrenched at a ſmall diſtance from the walls of Ptolemais; and about ſixty furlongs from that place, nearer to Chabolo, I drew up my forces. Both armies ranged in order of battle, and ſeveral times took the field: but notwithſtanding my utmoſt efforts, I could not induce my antagoniſt to reſt the iſſue of our cauſe on a general engagement.

Such was the ſtate of affairs, when John and his aſſociates, the deputies from Jeruſalem, who, as I have before obſerved, had been ſent by Simon, Ananus the high-prieſt, and their party, arrived in thoſe parts; and, as they found it would be impoſſible to effect their deſigns againſt me by open force, they had recourſe to treachery; and, accordingly, ſent me the following letter.

Jonathan and his Deputy-Colleagues from the Council at Jeruſalem, to Joſeph, Greeting,

"It having been repreſented to our principals, that John of Giſchala has, at ſundry times, been guilty of certain evil practices againſt the ſafety of your perſon, they have commiſſioned us, in their names, to cenſure him in the moſt ſevere manner, for his conduct on the occaſion, and to enjoin him to a due deference to your commands in future. And in order that matters may be better regulated for the time to come, we requeſt that you will repair hither with all convenient ſpeed. As the village is but ſmall, we deſire that you will bring but few perſons in your train, leſt there ſhould not be ſufficient room to accommodate them."

The meſſenger who brought this letter was a trooper, a bold young fellow, who had formerly been in the ſervice of the king. I chanced to be at ſupper, with ſome friends, and ſeveral Galileans of quality, when he arrived. I ordered him to be introduced; on which he put the packet into my hand, telling me, with an air of inſolence, that he was ſent by the deputies from Jeruſalem, and required an immediate anſwer. All preſent expreſſed great ſurprize at the abrupt behaviour of this man. I invited him, however, to partake of our collation, but he declined the offer. During this whole time I kept the letter in my hand unopened, ed, pretending to be engaged in private converſation with ſome of the company, or in attending others, who were retiring. It was in one of theſe intervals that I took the opportunity of breaking open the letter, and, having juſt glanced my eye upon the contents, folded it up again, and returned to my companions without mentioning the circumſtance. There now remained with me only four of my particular friends, and a boy to ſerve us with wine. I preſented the meſſenger with twenty drachmas, for which he was ſo very profuſe in his acknowledgments, that I plainly perceived avarice was his predominant foible, and therefore determined to convert the diſcovery to my advantage; for which purpoſe I again preſſed him to ſit down to table with us, promiſing to give him a drachma for every cup of wine he ſhould drink. With this propoſal he readily complied, and became in a ſhort time ſo much intoxicated, that I eaſily obtained all the particulars of the deſign in agitation againſt me; whereby I found that the deputies intended to put me to death, in caſe they ſhould ſucceed in their ſcheme of getting me unattended into their hands. I therefore returned the following anſwer to the letter I had received.

Joſeph to Jonathan and his Fellow-Deputies, Greeting.

"It gives me great pleaſure to hear of your health, and that you are arrived in Galilee, the more particularly as I am preparing to return to Jeruſalem; a deſign which I have long meditated; and I ſhall now have a fitting opportunity to reſign into your hands the government of the province. I ſhould be happy to wait on you at Xallo, or at any more diſtant place, were it only for the ſatisfaction which the interview would afford me. But, unfortunately, the exigency of public affairs requires me to continue in the poſt which I have for ſome time paſt occupied in the neighbourhood of Chabolo, in order to watch the motions of Placidus, who menaces the province of Galilee with an attack; and for theſe reaſons, I think it more adviſeable that you ſhould, inſtantly upon the receipt of this letter, repair to me hither: and ſo I bid you farewel."

I re-diſpatched the meſſenger with this anſwer, and ordered thirty Galileans of the firſt rank to accompany him. The deputies perceiving, on the arrival of the above perſons, that their plot had failed, addreſſed a ſecond letter to me.

Jonathan and his Colleagues, to Joſeph, Greeting.

"You are hereby required to appear before us, at Gabara, within three days from the date hereof, to juſtify the accuſation which you have exhibited againſt John of Giſchala; and you are further enjoined to repair to the place above ſpecified, without any military attendants."

After ſending this letter the deputies repaired to Japha, one of the moſt conſiderable villages in Galilee; where the inhabitants roſe in the moſt tumultuous manner, and with one voice told them to be gone; declaring, that they were perfectly ſatisfied with my adminiſtration, and would yield obedience to no other governor. The deputies retired therefore in haſte to Sepphoris, the beſt built city in the whole province, and ſtrongly attached to the intereſt of the Romans. They were received here, it is true, with rather more reſpect than at the former place. From thence they went to Aſoch, where they experienced a ſimilar treatment to what they had met with at Japha. This contemptuous conduct of the people enraged them ſo much, that they commanded the ſoldiers to repreſs their inſolence with blows. Continuing their journey to Gabara, they were there joined by John at the head of a corps of three thouſand men. As I had now received full information of the deſigns of my enemies, I ſelected a party of three thouſand men from the army under my command, and marched with them to Jotapata, diſtant about forty ſtadia from our camp; in order to preſerve a communication with the main body, which I left under the care of a friend in whom I could confide. From this place I once more addreſſed the deputies in the following letter.

Joſeph to Jonathan and his Fellow Deputies, Greeting.

"If it appears to you to be abſolutely requiſite that I ſhould attend you, I am ready to give you a meeting at any one you ſhall name of the four hundred cities and villages of Galilee, excepting only Gabara and Giſchala; the firſt being the birth-place of John, and the latter the reſidence of his family and friends."

John, on the receipt of this letter, recommended the ſending circular letters throughout the whole diſtrict of Galilee; not doubting but that, in each city and village of the province, one or more perſons might be found ſufficiently inclined to do me any ill office, and who might, without much difficulty, be prevailed upon to join in an accuſation againſt me of having betrayed the intereſt of the public. This was communicated to me, late the ſame night, by a deſerter.

Well aware of the imminent danger which threatened me, I inſtantly diſpatched Jacob and Jeremy, both men of approved courage, and my particular friends; the firſt with two, and the other with ſix hundred men, to ſecure the paſſes, and to waylay all the roads between Galilee and Gabara, and Jeruſalem and Galilee; ordering them to ſeize all ſuſpected perſons, particularly all couriers, and to ſend me whatever letters might be found upon them. I likewiſe ſent ſummonſes throughout the whole provinces of Galilee, enjoining all perſons to repair to me the next morning at Gabara, properly armed, and bringing with them proviſions for three days. I divided the troops I had with me into four ſeparate bodies, giving the command of them to my moſt experienced officers, with orders not to admit a ſingle ſtranger into their reſpective corps.

On my arrival at Gabara, in the forenoon of the next day, I found the whole plain covered with Galilean troops, together with a numerous body of peaſants. I had ſcarcely began to addreſs myſelf to them, when they interrupted me with the loudeſt ſhouts and acclamations, unanimouſly hailing me their deliverer and benefactor.

The perſons to whom I had committed the care of the paſſes, intercepted, on the very firſt day, ſome diſpatches from Jonathan to the faction at Jeruſalem: They detained the meſſengers, as I had ordered them, and ſent their packets to me; which, on peruſal, I found replete with the groſſeſt calumnies and ſcurrilities againſt myſelf. This incident I kept profoundly ſecret, and continued my journey, as if nothing had happened of any conſequence. The inſtant that the deputies heard of my being on the march toward them, they took ſhelter together with John in the houſe of Jeſus; a ſpacious and ſtrong building, conſtructed much upon the plan of a citadel. A band of ſoldiers were concealed in the houſe; one of the gates only was ſuffered to be kept open, and orders were given, that on my arrival, (for they ſuppoſed that I meant to pay them a viſit,) I ſhould be admitted alone, and thus they imagined, that by excluding my attendants, they ſhould inevitably make themſelves maſters of my perſon. Providentially, however, I eſcaped their machinations; for having received a ſlight intimation of their deſign, I repaired immediately on my arrival, to the apartment provided for me, at a houſe in the city, directly oppoſite to that of Jeſus.

The deputies, not doubting that I had laid myſelf down to reſt, embraced the opportunity, and went to the plain, for the purpoſe of prejudicing the people againſt my adminiſtration. But the Galileans, on their approach, began to upbraid them in the moſt bitter terms. They made great complaint of the conduct of the council at Jeruſalem towards them, and peremptorily refuſed to receive any governor but myſelf. Finding the people thus diſpoſed, I went to the ſpot where Jonathan and his colleagues had ſtationed themſelves, with the view of compelling them to produce their proofs of my miſconduct before the public aſſembly. Immediately on my appearance, the people ſurrounded me, with looks ſtrongly expreſſive of joy, which ſo cloſely correſponded with their words and actions, that the deputies became violently apprehenſive for their ſafety, and would fain have withdrawn. At my requeſt, however, they ſtaid: nor, indeed, were they allowed the liberty of choice, but remained like ſo many ſtatues, riveted in amazement. Having obtained ſilence, and poſted ſome of my beſt troops at the avenues, to prevent a ſurprize, and being ſurrounded by the reſt of my guards, I addreſſed the deputies to the following purpoſe.

I propoſed it to themſelves, whether, admitting that they were duly authorized to enquire into my conduct, they would not acquit me upon the teſtimony of two or three perſons of eſtabliſhed reputations. "But," ſaid I, addreſſing Jonathan, "what if I ſhould refer myſelf to the evidence of every one here aſſembled, for the juſtification both of my private and public conduct?" Then, turning to the people, I conjured them to deliver their ſentiments of my adminiſtration, without the leaſt reſerve; and they inſtantly, with one voice, made an open declaration of the bleſſings which they had enjoyed under my government; affirming, with repeated aſſeverations, that I had been as cautious to prevent any injury or inſult being offered to their wives and daughters, as to preſerve them in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of their rights and property; concluding, that they had no other wiſh, than that thoſe bleſſings might be confirmed to them by my continuance in the command of the province. I next read, in the hearing of numbers of the Galileans, the two intercepted letters of Jonathan, mentioned above. They were replete with falſhoods and ſcurrility, and repreſented me in the light of a tyrant.

In ſpite of the great influence which I had obtained over the people, their reſentment againſt Jonathan and his colleagues had ariſen to ſo high a pitch, on account of thoſe letters, that they formed the reſolution of ſacrificing them in their quarters. They were very urgent with me to grant my ſanction to this deſign: but, reflecting on the dangerous conſequences of an inſurrection, I exerted myſelf to the utmoſt to divert them from their intention. But perceiving, at length, that all my efforts to reſtrain them would be vain, I put myſelf at their head, and ordered them to follow me to Sagone, a village of Arabia, about forty ſtadia diſtant from Gabara, thereby avoiding the imputation of being the author of a civil war. At a ſmall diſtance from the place, I commanded my troops to halt; when I ſelected one hundred perſons, the moſt eminent in point of rank and abilities, to ſend to Jeruſalem, to prefer a complaint to the council, againſt the ring-leaders in the late tumults. They were further inſtructed, in caſe they ſhould find the inhabitants of that city well diſpoſed towards me, to endeavour to procure a renewal of my commiſſion, together with the recal of John. Thus inſtructed, they began their journey on the third day, attended by an eſcort of five hundred ſoldiers. At the ſame time, I diſpatched letters to my friends at Samaria, requeſting a free paſſage through that diſtrict for my deputies, the city being, at that period, under the Roman government; and as, by this rout, they might arrive at Jeruſalem in three days, I accompanied them as far as the frontiers of Galilee, and took ſuch precautions to conceal their departure, that it remained a ſecret for a conſiderable time: after this I continued a few days at Japha.

When Jonathan and his colleagues found all their ſchemes thus diſappointed, they ſent John back to Giſchala, and repaired to Tiberias; of which city they hoped to poſſeſs themſelves, through the influence of Jeſus, who was the chief magiſtrate there, and who had pledged himſelf to engage the citizens in their intereſt. But Silas, who commanded there in my abſence, ſent me intelligence, from time to time, of all that paſſed, and preſſed me to return thither with all poſſible diſpatch. In conſequence of my adopting this advice, I fell into a ſnare, which had nearly proved my ruin.

The deputies from Jeruſalem, who had raiſed a powerful party againſt me in Tiberias, were greatly confounded at my arrival in that city. They, however, profeſſed much friendſhip for me, and engaged, if I would return, and leave the management of the buſineſs to them, to deliver John into my hands in the courſe of a very ſhort time; confirming their promiſes with ſuch ſolemn oaths and imprecations, as induced my fulleſt confidence. This being the eve of the ſabbath, they from thence took occaſion to recommend me to retire with my troops to ſome neighbouring place, leſt any tumult ſhould ariſe among the people on that day: on which I repaired to Taricheæ; but not without taking the precaution to place my ſpies about the city and the road, to give me the earlieſt notice of any material incident that might happen. The people aſſembled on the next day in the oratory; and with the reſt came Jonathan, accompanied by his colleagues. In a ſhort time after his entrance, he roſe, and addreſſing himſelf to the people, expreſſed his concern, that the city was not provided with better governors; and there he ſtopped. But Jeſus, the chief magiſtrate, ſpoke with leſs reſerve, and told the aſſembly, in plain terms, that it would be far more to their advantage to be governed by four perſons than by one; eſpecially if ſuch governors were of noble birth, and approved abilities, as thoſe men were, pointing to Jonathan and his aſſociates, who ſtood cloſe by him. Juſtus likewiſe declared himſelf of the ſame opinion, and he induced many others to adopt the like ſentiments. But the populace were ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed with the contrary perſuaſion, that a dangerous tumult muſt inevitably have enſued, had not the deputies, it being now the hour of twelve, adjourned the meeting to the next morning.

Being fully appriſed of theſe proceedings, I departed at ſun-riſe, the next day, for Tiberias; where I found the people aſſembled in the oratory; though they were totally ignorant of the cauſe of their meeting. My unexpected appearance ſo greatly confounded the deputies, that they were utterly at a loſs, for ſome time, how to proceed; at length, however, they determined to raiſe a report, that a body of Roman cavalry had been ſeen at the diſtance of about thirty ſtadia from the city, near Homonæa. Though I eaſily perceived that this was a ſtratagem to get me out of the town, the apprehenſions of the people were ſo great, that I thought proper to march my troops to the ſpot; but no enemy appearing, I haſted back to Tiberias, where I found the deputies, the ſenate, and the people, in ſecret council; the former of whom were repreſenting me as totally unworthy a public truſt.

The deputies at the ſame time produced four letters, which they feigned to have received from four of the moſt diſtant parts of Galilee, containing a repreſentation of the imminent danger to which they were expoſed, and requeſting immediate aſſiſtance. This ſtory was readily believed by the credulous Tiberians, who unanimouſly inſiſted that ſuccour ſhould be ſent to their allies with the utmoſt expedition. I expreſſed my willingneſs to bear an adequate part in the execution of whatever meaſures might be deemed requiſite for the public ſervice; but obſerved that, as the advices which had been received, mentioned four ſeveral incurſions, the army ought to be divided into as many different bodies; and that, it being the duty of every good citizen to ſerve his country in perſon, as well as with his advice, the deputies were under an obligation each to take upon himſelf the command of one of the diviſions. This propoſition was univerſally approved; and the deputies, highly enraged to find all their treachery thus countermined, were compelled to take their reſpective parts in this adventure. Ananias, one of the four pretended deputies, and a man of a malignant diſpoſition, adviſed the appointment of a ſolemn faſt, to be obſerved on the next day, with an injunction to the people to meet at a particular hour, and without arms; proclaiming his confidence in the aſſiſtance of the Almighty, independant of human aid. His intention in this propoſal was evidently to diſarm me and my troops; yet was I neceſſitated to concur therein, that I might not be ſuſpected of a religious contempt.

Jonathan and his colleagues, upon the riſing of the aſſembly, diſpatched a meſſenger to John, deſiring him to come to them without fail at an early hour the next morning, with whatever force he might be able to raiſe. On the next day I privately armed myſelf with a corſlet and ſword, concealed under my cloaths, and chuſing two of the braveſt and moſt truſty of my guards, I ordered them to take a ſhort ſword each, and follow me to the oratory. When we came to the oratory, I was directly admitted, with my friends; but Jeſus, who kept the door, would not permit any of my attendants to follow. Juſt as the aſſembly were about to proceed to their devotions, Jeſus ſtarted up and queſtioned me, Where, and in whoſe hands, the valuable furniture, and the ſilver in the maſs, which were ſaved from the flames when the royal palace was conſumed, had been depoſited? This he did merely with the view of delaying the time, till the arrival of John with his troops. I anſwered him, that all thoſe articles had been committed to the care of Capella, and ten of the chief citizens of Tiberias; to whom I referred him for a confirmation of the truth of what I had advanced. Capella and the reſt, thereupon, acknowledged the receipt of the effects in queſtion. I was then required to give an account in what manner I had diſpoſed of the twenty pieces of gold, which I received for a like value in ſilver? I replied, that I had diſtributed that money to defray the expence of the envoys whom I had ſent to Jeruſalem. Jonathan and his aſſociates obſerved, that I had acted very wrong, in paying my own agents from the public treaſure. This evident captiouſneſs of my foes enraged the populace to that degree, that all things ſeemed to tend towards an inſurrection; perceiving which, I judged it would be for my advantage to foment the diſturbance. I therefore told Jonathan, that he need give himſelf no further concern about the money in queſtion, as I would take care it ſhould be refunded.

In proportion as my conduct appeared clear from imputation, the reſentment of the multitude grew more violent. This happened ſo contrary to the expectation of the faction, that Jeſus ordered the place to be cleared of all thoſe who were not ſenators, under the pretext that the buſineſs on which they had met could not be tranſacted in the midſt of ſuch clamour and confuſion; the people, on the other hand, loudly declaring their reſolution not to leave me alone with them. In the midſt of the conteſt, a meſſenger entered, and whiſpered Jonathan, that John was cloſe at hand with his troops. This intelligence ſo far emboldened Jonathan, that, giving looſe to his virulence againſt me, he addreſſed himſelf to the people aſſembled, in theſe words: “ Do not imagine, ye men of Tiberias, that I wiſh to have Joſeph puniſhed for his miſconduct in the affair of the money, but for his impoſitions on the ignorant multitude, and an undue exertion of arbitrary power.” He had no ſooner finiſhed his ſpeech, than ſeveral ruffians, who had been hired for the purpoſe, attacked me, and would certainly have put me to death, had not my friends drawn their ſwords, and interpoſed in my defence; the populace, threatening to ſtone Jonathan, whom they conſidered as the projector of the deſign againſt me. I had ſcarcely quitted the aſſembly, when I met John at the head of his troops. This unexpected rencounter confounded me greatly, but with ſome difficulty I avoided them, and taking a bye-road, reached the lake, where I took boat, and arrived ſafely at Taricheæ.

Upon my arrival, I ſummoned a meeting of the principal men of the province, and particularized to them the palpable breaches of humanity and faith of Jonathan, recapitulating the circumſtances of his treachery and inhumanity towards the Tiberians. The Galileans were ſo highly exaſperated at my harangue, that it became neceſſary to take ſome meaſures for appeaſing their fury, and preventing an immediate declaration of war againſt Jonathan, John, and their adherents, whom they declared themſelves reſolutely determined to purſue with unremitting fury, on condition only of my giving a vote of conſent; but I repreſented to them the probable ill conſequences of an impetuoſity of conduct on the preſent occaſion. John, being once more diſconcerted in his treachery, returned to Giſchala.

Some days, ſubſequent to the above events, diſpatches were received from Jeruſalem, intimating that Ananus and Simon, the ſon of Gamaliel, had fallen under the diſpleaſure of the government there, in conſequence of having made attempts, by means of their agents, to deprive me of the government of Galilee, and for preſuming to act without the ſanction of public authority, in a buſineſs of ſo much importance; and that their conduct had proved ſo highly diſguſting to the people, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty they could be prevented from deſtroying their habitations. Other letters were alſo brought, from which it appeared, that the chief inhabitants of Jeruſalem, acting with the conſent and authority of the public, had commanded the immediate departure of John and his aſſociates, and by unanimous conſent, confirmed me in the honourable ſtation I poſſeſſed.

I now haſted to Arbela, where I had ſummoned an aſſembly of the Galileans; and when they had convened my deputies, repreſented what had paſſed at Jeruſalem, ſetting forth the reſentment which prevailed among the people againſt Jonathan; that a commiſſion had been tranſmitted to me, whereby a formal ratification was given for the continuance of my government of the province, and that an order had been iſſued, enjoining Jonathan and his followers to decline all farther pretences. This order to John and his aſſociates, was diſpatched to them by a meſſenger, who was directed to make the moſt particular obſervations of their features when they received it. They were thrown into the greateſt conſternation, on the peruſal of the order, and immediately ſummoned a council; John himſelf, and the chief men of Tiberias and Gabara being nominated to compoſe the ſame, in order to determine upon meaſures.

The Tiberians were unwilling to truſt the power out of their own hands, and to abandon a people who had claimed their protection, at a time when they wickedly aſſerted I had threatened them with an invaſion. John coincided in the opinion of the Tiberians, and propoſed that two deputies ſhould be ſent to Jeruſalem, to exhibit an accuſation of mal-practices in the execution of my office, pretending, that the reputation of my accuſers, and the unſteady diſpoſition of the people they had to negociate with, would inevitably operate to my diſadvantage in the minds of the populace. This matter was aſſented to, and a guard of an hundred ſoldiers was appointed to conduct Jonathan and Ananus to Jeruſalem, the reſt of the troops remaining at Tiberias. A conſiderable body of John's troops being at Giſchala, they were ordered to repair to Tiberias, where the people made preparation for taking up arms, and began a general repair of their walls.

Jonathan and his followers having proceeded as far as Dabaritta, (an extenſive plain on the borders of Galilee) about midnight were met by a detachment of my outguards, who, in compliance with my command, attacked and made priſoners of them. Levi, who commanded the party, gave me information of this circumſtance, which for ſome days I omitted to take notice of: I ſent meſſengers, however, to perſuade the people of Tiberias to lay down their arms: but from an idea that Jonathan had by this time arrived at Jeruſalem, inſtead of proper and manly anſwers, they ſent me meſſages in the moſt contemptible terms. But this indecent treatment did not in the leaſt abate my deſire of prevailing with the Tiberians; for I would, on no conſideration, have been the promoter of civil diſcord. It occurred, that ſome advantage might ariſe, if I could entice them out of the town; and, in conſequence of this ſuggeſtion, I drew off ten thouſand choice men, divided them into three corps, and ſtationing one thouſand of them about four ſtadia from Tiberias, in a village upon the mountains, ordered the reſt to Dora.

I now came out of the village, and being within ſight of the Tiberians, they approached me, expreſſing the utmoſt contempt, and caſting reflections on me, equally undeſerved as ſevere. In order to expoſe me as an object of deriſion, they repreſented my funeral; in which ridiculous and fantaſtic parade, the effigy of my body was expoſed in the open field, amidſt a groupe of people meant to perſonate my mourners.

However, I judged it expedient to get Simon and Joazar into my power; and to effect this, I pretended a deſign of compromiſing the prevailing differences, by dividing the adminiſtration among us. I imagined that this ſtratagem would have brought them out of the town, with ſome friends, and ſuch a number of guards as they might judge neceſſary for the ſafety of their perſons. But Joazar rejected the propoſal; Simon, however, having meaner abilities, came over to me without heſitation, attended by his friends and guards. I at firſt treated him with proper reſpect and acknowledgments; but after ſome time ſpent in converſation, under pretence of deſiring to be more private, I led him to ſome diſtance from the perſons by whom he was attended, then ſeized him round the waiſt, and ordered him to be conducted to an adjacent village. At this inſtant I ordered my people to join me, and then proceeded towards Tiberias.

On our way we had an encounter with the enemy, who behaved with ſo much bravery, that it was with great difficulty I kept my men to their ground; but after an obſtinate conteſt, it was my fortune to prove victorious, and the Tiberians retreated into the town. I had diſpatched a party, by way of the lake, to ſet fire to the firſt houſe they ſhould meet with; and this being done at a lucky moment, the enemy imagining

that

that the city was taken by force, laid down their arms, and came with their women and children, ſuing for clemency. Satisfied with this ſubmiſſion, I ſounded a retreat; and the evening drawing on, retired for refreſhment, and invited Simon to ſup with me, accompanying my meſſage with the encouraging aſſurance, that he ſhould be ſafely conducted to Jeruſalem, and provided with every convenience for his journey.

I marched into Tiberias on the following day, with ten thouſand men; and having aſſembled the moſt conſiderable people of the town, made all neceſſary enquiries concerning the faction, the moſt active promoters of which I ſent under a proper guard to Jotapata; excepting Jonathan and his particular followers, whom I had diſmiſſed, and moreover appointed a guard of five hundred men to convoy them ſafe to Jeruſalem, giving them a ſum ſufficient to defray all the expences of the journey.

I had now a ſecond viſit from the people of Tiberias, who ſupplicated my forgiveneſs, and made the moſt ſolemn proteſtations that an unremitting fidelity ſhould make ample recompence for former errors, finally petitioning that the plunder might be reſtored to their proper owners; and I, afterwards, as far as circumſtances would admit, cauſed the articles which had been ſeized to be returned to their reſpective proprietors.

I cannot help endeavouring to controvert the aſſertions of Juſtus, who in treating upon the matter at preſent in queſtion, has tranſmitted to poſterity the moſt profligate falſehoods, under the reſpectable name of hiſtory; and the ſame charge may, with equal juſtice, be adduced againſt other writers: but I ſhall confine myſelf to Juſtus, who in giving an account of the war, has advanced a number of palpable fictions, which are calculated to reflect on his own country, and to brand me with diſhonour. It is therefore neceſſary, that I ſhould now divulge certain matters, which I have hitherto concealed from the world.

An hiſtorian is peculiarly bound to keep within the limits of truth; but a modeſt author is embarraſſed when an abandoned character comes in his way, and he will ſometimes heſitate to record diſgraceful facts; but he will not ſuppreſs his ſentiments from a motive of delicacy towards the infamous ſubject, but from a regard to the dignity of his own profeſſion. "Thou, Juſtus, who has put in a claim to the character of an impartial writer, ſay, Did not you, and your Tiberians, make war againſt the Decapolitans in Syria, and burn their villages previous to the revolt of the Galileans from their prince and the Roman empire, and the honour that was conferred on me by the commiſſion conſtituting me Governor of Galilee; and was not one of your attendants ſlain in the action? How, then, canſt thou attribute to me the cauſe of that revolt? The records of the emperor Veſpaſian will confirm my aſſertions on this head: from which it will appear, that during the reſidence of that prince at Potlemais, the Decapolitans were continually importuning him for juſtice on you, as the chief author of all their troubles; with which requeſt he would undoubtedly have complied, had not king Agrippa, who was charged with the execution of the ſentence, granted you your life, at the interceſſion of your ſiſter, Berenice; but notwithſtanding this remiſſion, you did not obtain your liberty for a long time afterwards. Moreover, your conduct has been perfectly conſiſtent through life, as will hereafter be ſeen; for I ſhall demonſtrate, beyond a doubt, that you was the chief inſtigator of the Tiberian rebellion. I ſhall now prove, that both yourſelf and the Tiberians equally betrayed the intereſts of your ſovereign and the emperor.

"Sepphoris and Tiberias, the latter your native place, are the two principal cities of Galilee. The former of theſe is ſituated in the centre of the province, and has ſeveral villages under its juriſdiction; and ſuch was the fidelity of its inhabitants to the ſuperiors of the town, that not ſatisfied with ſhutting their gates againſt me, ſtrictly prohibited, by a public edict, all perſons whatever from bearing arms in the ſervice of your nation.

"With the view of making all poſſible proviſion for their defence, they artfully obtained from me a promiſe to encloſe their city with walls; which I had no ſooner performed, than they ejected me in the moſt contemptuous manner; and, without the leaſt heſitation, admitted a Roman garriſon, under the command of Ceſtus Gallus, who was at that time governor of Syria; and theſe tranſactions happened at the very time that I held all the neighbouring country in abſolute ſubjection. Nay, ſo cautious were they of giving the leaſt umbrage to the Romans, that they, when the temple was beſieged, and the very exiſtence of our nation conſequently depended upon the event, they declined contributing, in the ſmalleſt degree, to our relief.

"With reſpect to the ſituation of the diſtrict in which you commanded; it lies on the banks of the lake Genneſareth, at the diſtance of about thirty ſtadia from Hippos, ſixty from Gabara, and an hundred and twenty from Sythopolis; all which places were in poſſeſſion of the king's troops, and moreover ſtrongly garriſoned. What, let me aſk you, with all theſe advantages on your ſide, could have prevented you from diſcharging your duty to the Romans, had you in your heart been inclined thereto? But admitting, that I was, as you contend, at that time, in ſome meaſure the cauſe of the war; to whom, I wiſh to know, is the blame of the ſubſequent tranſactions to be imputed? For you cannot be ignorant, that I had been taken priſoner by the Romans ſome time before the ſiege of Jeruſalem; that the caſtle of Jotapata, with many others, had been carried by ſtorm, and that multitudes of the Galileans had fallen in the various encounters. If it be true, therefore, as you would inſinuate, that you diſapproved of the war, and was forced into it againſt your will, why did you not, when that pretended neceſſity no longer ſubſiſted, lay down your arms, and throw yourſelf on the mercy of your ſovereign, and of the Romans, as I was then no longer in a condition to hurt you.

“ But you perverſely perſiſted in your rebellion, till Veſpaſian had advanced with his troops to the very walls of your city; when you found it abſolutely requiſite to ſubmit, in order to avoid that ruin, which muſt otherwiſe have been inevitable. Nor would this ſubmiſſion have availed you any thing, but for the interceſſion of the king in your behalf; for your madneſs and folly would certainly have been puniſhed with the total deſtruction of the city, had he not obtained your pardon from the emperor: your enmity, therefore, to the Romans proceeded, not from any fault of mine, but merely from the impulſe of your own rancorous diſpoſition. Did I not repeatedly grant you both life and liberty, when the chance of war had put you in my power? Yet it is notorious that, in the rage of your inteſtine broils, actuated neither by a zeal for the king's ſervice, nor for that of the Romans, but ſolely by a ſpirit of animoſity and vengeance againſt each other, you, on one occaſion only, put to death no leſs than one hundred and eighty-five of the citizens; which incident happened during the time I was blocked up in Jotapata. Moreover, were not two thouſand of the Tiberians killed and taken priſoners during the ſiege of Jeruſalem? Do you imagine that, becauſe you appeared, at this time, in the court of your ſovereign, not from any motives of duty or affection for his perſon, but from an apprehenſion of falling into my hands, you were not, therefore, to be conſidered as an enemy.

“ If, then, as you pretend, my conduct has been reprehenſible, what opinion muſt the world entertain of your actions? Notwithſtanding you had been twice baniſhed, as often impriſoned, and once even reſcued from an ignominious death, through the interceſſion of the emperor's ſiſter, Berenice; yet, when your royal maſter had received you again into favour, and inveſted you with the honourable office of ſecretary, you acted ſo inconſiſtently with your duty, that he was compelled to forbid you his court and preſence for ever.

“ Without ſearching further into your mal-practices, I cannot ſufficiently applaud your modeſty, in aſſuming to yourſelf the merit of having given a more faithful and exact account of this war, than any other writer on the ſubject; when, in fact, you are totally unacquainted with the particulars of thoſe tranſactions, which you pretended to relate, and even of what paſſed in Galilee; for during that period, you were engaged in attending the king at Berytus. In like manner, how could you be enabled to give an authentic relation of my conduct during the ſiege of Jotapata, when myſelf was the only perſon who ſurvived the capture of that city? You will, perhaps, aſſert that, however incorrect you may have been in other parts of your hiſtory, you have made amends by your accuracy in your recital of what happened at Jeruſalem. But it will appear ſcarcely probable, however, that you ſhould be ſufficiently informed of the tranſactions of that ſiege, if we conſider that you were neither upon the ſpot at the time, nor have even peruſed the commentaries written by Veſpaſian on that part of the war. It is apparent to me that you never have read thoſe commentaries, becauſe ſeveral paſſages therein are poſitively contradicted in your hiſtory.

I wiſh to know, why, if you really conder yourſelf as the firſt hiſtorian of the preſent age, you did not favour the world with your admirable work during the life-time of Veſpaſian and Titus, the two generals who commanded in that expedition, or in the time of Agrippa and his family, all of whom were deeply verſed in the language of the Greeks? Why was this hiſtory detained ſo long, nearly twenty years from the public eye, when you might have produced ſo many living evidences of the authenticity of your relation? Why, finally, having ſuppreſſed it thus long, did you fix upon this particular æra for its publication? The reaſon is obvious: you dared not ſubmit it to the inſpection and cenſure of the world, while there were yet ſo many perſons living who could have detected the falſity of your allegations. My conduct, in this reſpect, was widely different.

“ Previous to the publication of my hiſtory, I put it into the hands of the two emperors who had directed the war; each particular therein contained being yet freſh in every one's memory. To this I was induced by a conſciouſneſs, that I had been guided ſolely by a regard to truth in what I had written; and the work has accordingly met with as favourable a reception from the world, as I could poſſibly deſire. I communicated theſe materials to many other perſons, who had taken an active part in the war, particularly to king Agrippa and ſeveral of his relations. As an indubitable proof of the eſteem in which this work was held even by Titus, he, under his own hand, ſtrongly recommended it to the world, as a moſt authentic record of the tranſactions of the times, and likewiſe honoured it with a place in his library. The fidelity and candour, which is very viſible throughout all the work, gave ſuch ſatiſfaction to king Agrippa, that he honoured me with no leſs than ſixty-two letters, in teſtimony of his conviction of its authenticity; two of which I have here thought proper to ſubjoin.

King Agrippa, to his deareſt friend Joſeph,
Greeting.

"The peruſal of your book has afforded me great ſatisfaction, and I conſider it as the moſt faithful and exact production of the kind. Pray let me have the remaining part: and ſo I bid farewel to my dear friend."

King Agrippa to Joſeph, his deareſt friend,
Health.

"I perceive by your writings, that you have but little occaſion for further information from me; but at our next meeting I may communicate certain matters for your conſideration, which have eſcaped your obſervation."

Having reſtored good order and diſcipline in Tiberias, I called a council of my friends to determine on the moſt proper manner of proceeding againſt John. I procured a correct liſt of the perſons compoſing the faction, and publiſhed an act of amneſty, purporting that all ſuch as ſhould lay down their arms and return to their duty within the ſpace of twenty days, might claim a general pardon; but towards thoſe who ſhould favour the meaſures of the enemy after that period, prohibiting the like indulgence, and denouncing ſlaughter, pillage, and other extremities of war againſt them. As this amneſty included a menace as well as conciliatory terms, it operated the more extenſively upon the followers of John, four thouſand of whom immediately ſurrendered: the citizens of Giſchala, and fifteen hundred mercenaries from Tyre, only continuing in his ſervice; and he was ſo depreſſed by this circumſtance, that he preſumed not afterwards to leave his own country.

The town of Sepphoris being encompaſſed by a ſtrong wall, and the inhabitants being a robuſt, ſturdy people, it was determined to put the place in a ſtate of defence, and to apply to Ceſtius Gallus, governor of Syria, either to come in perſon, and take poſſeſſion of the city, or to detach a ſufficient force to protect it, in caſe of aſſault. Gallus replied, that they might expect him, but mentioned not at what time.

It was ſuppoſed that the concerns in which I was engaged, would delay the execution of any attempt I had meditated againſt Sepphoris: but gaining intelligence of the negociation which had been ſet on foot, I marched immediately to the place, which I attacked and conquered. The Galileans judging this a favourable opportunity to wreak ample vengeance on the Sepphorites, againſt whom they entertained an implacable deteſtation, formed the barbarous determination of involving the men and city in one common ruin. The inhabitants quitted their houſes, and took refuge in the caſtle, leaving their effects to be plundered by the ſoldiers, who ſet fire to the town, and, without diſtinction of perſons, made prize of all the property they could diſcover.

Theſe violences gave me extreme concern; and I endeavoured by perſuaſions, and by exerting my authority to reſtrain their barbarity towards men profeſſing to be of their own religion, and moreover belonging to the very tribe of which they were themſelves alſo members: but finding their fury to be ungovernable, I adopted the following ſtratagem. I cauſed a report to be propagated that a numerous army of the Romans had entered the town; and, as I expected, the rumour of this pretended aſſault cauſed the Galileans to ſtop their outrage, and employ their whole thoughts upon means for their own preſervation; and the apprehenſion which prevailed among them was greatly increaſed when they perceived me join the flight from the ideal foe.

Thus Sepphoris was preſerved, in a manner ſurpaſſing expectation; and Tiberias eſcaped no leſs miraculouſly ſhortly after.

A letter had been ſent to the king, ſigned by ſeveral of the ſenators and principal citizens requeſting that he would honour them with his preſence, and that he would take their city under his protection. The king immediately diſpatched one of his chief attendants, named Criſpus, a Jew, with a written anſwer to the above letter, importing, that he would be at Tiberias in the ſhorteſt time poſſible. It chanced that Criſpus was met upon the road by ſome Galileans, who knew him perſonally, and brought him to me. Having learnt the object of his commiſſion, the populace inſtantly took up arms. A prodigious concourſe of people aſſembled, the next morning, at Aſoch, where I then reſided, loudly accuſing the Tiberians of treachery, and of a deſign to revolt to the king. Their fury roſe, at length, to ſuch a pitch, that they poſitively inſiſted on my permiſſion to deſtroy the city, declaring that the Tiberians were more deſerving of puniſhment than even the Sepphorites themſelves.

I perceived that every attempt to bring the people to reaſon, by argument, would be vain; and their numbers precluded all hopes of reducing them by force. The contents of the king's anſwer ſet the whole matter in ſo clear a light, that no vindication or palliative could be offered in defence of the Tiberians. I however determined to obſerve a medium in my conduct towards them; neither abſolutely oppoſing, nor implicitly complying, with their will: and, to gain time, I inſinuated, that ſome of their own principal citizens were concerned in the plot with the Tiberians; ſo that it would be moſt provident to wait till theſe concealed foes could be diſcovered, before they proceeded to extremities.

As Criſpus was ſtill under confinement, I made a pretext of ſome trifling buſineſs to get out of the town; and ſending for this man privately, adviſed him to attempt an eſcape, by intoxicating the keeper of the priſon. This was the ſecond time that the Tiberians were indebted to me for the preſervation of their city.

Juſt at this juncture, Juſtus, the ſon of Piſtus, ſecretly withdrew to the court of king Agrippa, from a conſciouſneſs of his danger; not knowing how far paſſion, and a ſeries of injuries and affronts, might provoke a man in my ſtation, he thought it moſt prudent to withdraw himſelf out of my reach.

The Sepphorites now ſent a ſecond meſſage to Ceſtius Gallus, requeſting him either to come and take immediate poſſeſſion of their city, or ſend ſuch a force as might enable them to repel an attack. Gallus, accordingly, detached a numerous body of horſe and foot to their aſſiſtance, which were admitted into the city, under favour of the night. The devaſtation which theſe troops ſpread throughout the country, obliged me to encamp at the diſtance of about twenty furlongs from Sepphoris, near the town of Garixim. In the dead of the night I poſſeſſed myſelf of the walls by ſtorm; but, for want of a due knowledge of the ſtreets, I was compelled, after remaining maſter of a conſiderable part of the city for ſome time, to relinquiſh the advatange I had obtained, and to retire.

In a ſhort time after this event, a ſharp rencounter happened between us and the Roman horſe, in which my men, being ſurrounded, were compelled to retire. On this occaſion I loſt one of my guards, named Juſtus, who had formerly been in the ſervice of the king.

Much about this time, Silas, the captain of the king's guard, at the head of a a numerous party of horſe and foot, took poſt at the diſtance of about five furlongs from Julias, having previouſly ſecured all the paſſes leading to Cana, and the caſtle of Gamala. I therefore diſpatched Jeremiah, with two thouſand men, to the banks of the river Jordan, about a furlong from Julias, where I joined him with a body of about three thouſand troops. Having placed a ſtrong ambuſh in a valley, at a convenient diſtance from the camp, on the next day I offered battle to the king's forces, and ordered my men to turn their backs on the firſt onſet, and to fly before the enemy till they had drawn them into an ambuſcade. My orders were punctually obeyed; and Silas taking this feigned flight for an actual rout, purſued us ſo far, that the ambuſh fell upon his rear, and threw his troops into ſuch diſorder, that upon my facing about, and attacking them in front, they were ſo entirely broken, that a deciſive victory muſt inevitably have enſued, had not my horſe, in that critical moment, unfortunately thrown me; and my wriſt being diſlocated, I was carried to a village named Cepharnome.

My people, fearing that the hurt I had received might be of a worſe kind than it was in reality, immediately gave over the purſuit, and directed their whole attention towards providing me with aſſiſtance. From Cepharnome, where I was ſeized with a fever, I went after one day's ſtay to Tarichea. When the news of this accident came to the knowledge of Silas, he took freſh courage; and having learnt that our out-poſts were very deficient in the neceſſary vigilance, ſecretly diſpatched a troop of horſe to the other ſide of Jordan, with orders to conceal themſelves, for the purpoſe of ſurprizing us early in the morning. An engagement accordingly enſued; and my troops falling into the ſnare, were defeated, with the loſs of only ſix men.

Soon after theſe tranſactions, Veſpaſian came to Tyre, accompanied by king Agrippa. The people were very clamorous in their complaints againſt that monarch, who, they alledged, was equally the foe of the Tyrians and the Romans; accuſing him, moreover, of having treacherouſly ſent ſecret orders to his general, Philip, to ſurrender both the temple of Jeruſalem, and the Roman garriſon, into the hands of the Jews. This conduct of the Tyrians highly incenſed Veſpaſian.

On the arrival of Veſpaſian at Ptolemais, the magiſtrates of Decapolis urgently preferred their complaints to him againſt Juſtus, who had burnt their habitations, and laid waſte their country; and Veſpaſian, in conſequence, delivered him into the hands of Agrippa, to be puniſhed in the moſt exemplary manner, for the depredations committed on his ſubjects. Upon this occaſion, the king condemned him, as I have already obſerved, to impriſonment, without communicating the matter to the emperor.

When Veſpaſian had approached near to Sepphoris, he was met by the inhabitants in a body, who conducted him into the city. They alſo readily admitted a Roman garriſon, and received Placidus as their governor; and with him I had frequent conteſts, before the emperor came in perſon to Galilee.

After the capture of Jotapata, on which occaſion I was taken priſoner, though ſtrictly guarded, I received every mark of reſpect and eſteem from Veſpaſian; at whoſe inſtigation I took to wife a virgin of Cæſarea, who was, at that time, in the ſame predicament with myſelf, reſpecting the loſs of her liberty. We abode together but a ſhort time, for I had no ſooner obtained my releaſe, and entered into the ſervice of Veſpaſian, who was about to depart from Alexandria, than ſhe quitted me. At Alexandria, I a ſecond time entered into the marriage ſtate. I was ſent from thence, in company with Titus, to Jeruſalem, where my life was repeatedly in danger, from the ſecret practices both of the Jews and the Romans; for the blame of every miſcarriage was conſtantly imputed to me: nor could the emperor reſt for the importunities of the people to put the traitor, as they ſtyled me, to death. But this virulence of the populace againſt me weighed nothing with Titus, who was then advanced to the imperial dignity; for ſuch was the eſteem in which he held me, that even after the deſtruction of the city, he generouſly preſſed me to make choice of whatever part I pleaſed of the general wreck. But I availed myſelf no further of this permiſſion, than to requeſt the releaſement of my countrymen and friends, and the privilege of retaining in my poſſeſſion the Holy Bible, which I had fortunately been able to preſerve: and my deſire was inſtantly gratified; my brother, and near fifty other perſons of my acquaintance, being in conſequence ſet at liberty. I obtained the ſame favour for about one hundred and ninety others of my acquaintance and friends, whom I found, together with a large number of women and children, ſhut up in the temple: and theſe were all diſcharged without any condition or ranſom.

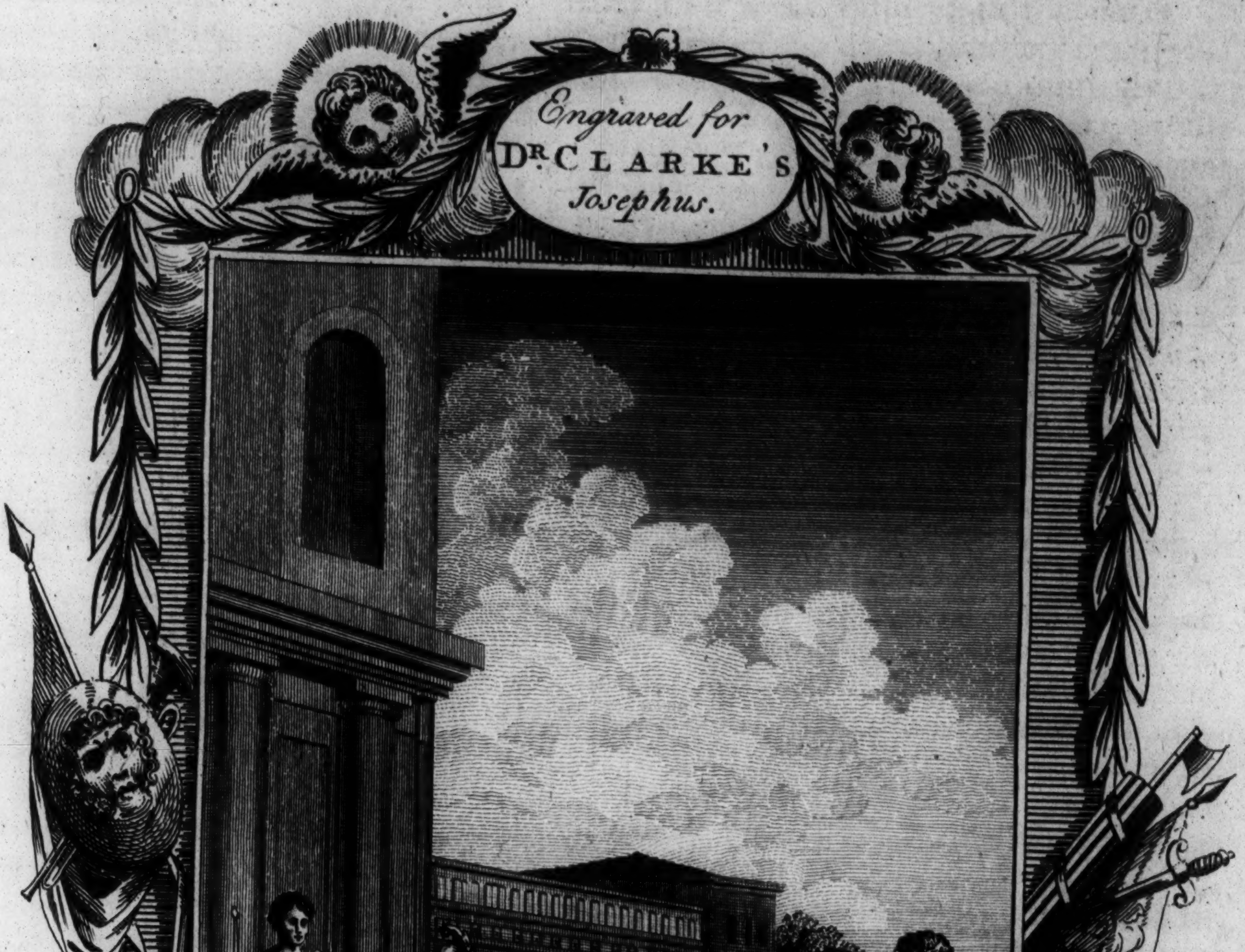
Titus, having determined to form a camp near a village called Thecoa, diſpatched me thither, with Cerealis and one hundred horſe, to take a view of the ground. At my return, I ſaw a number of priſoners crucified by the road-ſide, and diſcovered, amongſt the reſt, three perſons with whom I had been intimate ſome years. This ſight affected me to a high degree; and I inſtantly, with tears in my eyes, communicated the matter to Titus. He directly gave orders that the bodies ſhould be taken down, and that every poſſible method ſhould be uſed to recover them. One of the three ſurvived; but the others died under the hands of the operator.

As ſoon as Titus had re-eſtabliſhed order and tranquillity in Judea, he aſſigned me certain lands lying at a diſtance from Jeruſalem, in lieu of others which I had formerly poſſeſſed in the neighbourhood of that city.

I alſo received the diſtinguiſhed honour from the emperor Veſpaſian, of being admitted into his own veſſel, when he was on his return to Rome; and, upon our arrival there, he was pleaſed to treat me in the moſt gracious manner. He not only conferred upon me the privileges of a denizen, and gave me for my reſidence the palace which he had himſelf inhabited, previous to his exaltation to the imperial dignity; but he alſo ſettled upon me a yearly penſion, and continued his favours to me during his life; which expoſed me to the moſt virulent hatred and envy of my own countrymen.

Many were the attempts made, eſpecially by my own countrymen, to ruin me in the emperor's eſteem: but as they were all founded in utter falſhood, Veſpaſian eaſily ſaw through the artifice; and, inſtead of puniſhing, rewarded me with a grant of extenſive lands in Judea.

About this time, a diſagreement, which had long ſubſiſted between my wife and me, roſe to ſuch a height, as to occaſion our ſeparating. This woman had borne me three children, of whom Hyrcanus was the only one then alive. Some time after this divorce, I married a third wife, a Candian by birth, of the Jewiſh religion, honourably deſcended, and famed for her excellent qualities. By her I had two ſons; Juſtus, the elder; and Simonides, ſurnamed Agrippa. After the death of Veſpaſian, I experienced great kindneſs from Titus; and the honours conferred upon me by Domitian were of a ſtill more diſtinguiſhed nature. A number of Jews, who had alledged falſe accuſations againſt me, were put to death by him, at different times. But the moſt honourable teſtimony of his ſingular kindneſs to me is the total exemption, which I now enjoy, from all taxes and duties upon my eſtate in Judea; and my obligations to Domitia, the wife of Cæſar, have not been leſs, in proportion, than thoſe which I owe to the emperor.


Engraved for
Dr. CLARKE'S
Josephus.

Josephus recovering his Liberty.

Publish'd as the Act directs Novr. 10, 1786 by John Walker Paternoster Row.

15 AUG

A

GENERAL INDEX

TO THE MOST

IMPORTANT OCCURRENCES.

A.

AARON appointed high-prieſt, 81. Confirmed in the pontificate, 94.

ABIAS, king of Judea, defeats Jeroboam, 222.

ABIMELECH's cruelty, 136. His ſingular death, 137.

ABRAHAM, his genealogy, 18. Goes into Egypt, 20. Attacks the Aſſyrians, 21. Promiſed a ſon, 22. Offers Iſaac as a ſacrifice, 26. Death of Sarah, 27. Death of Abraham, 30.

ABSALOM revenges the violation of his ſiſter's chaſtity by Amnon, whom he cauſes to be murdered, 187. Endeavours to uſurp the ſovereign power, 190. Is routed by the royal army, and afterwards found hanging on a bough which had caught him by the hair in his flight, 192.

ADAD, with thirty-two confederate kings, makes war on Ahab, 227. Begs his life, which is given, 228. Beſieges Jehoram, in Samaria, 234. Murdered by Haſael, 236.

ADAD ſucceeds Hazael as king of Syria, 242.

ADAM and EVE driven out of Paradiſe, 9.

AGRIPPA entertained by Herod, 382. diſtreſs, 434. accuſed of treaſonable practices, and confined, 437. great honours conferred on him, 439. intercedes with the emperor in behalf of the Jews, 442. is ſhewn great kindneſs by the emperor Claudius, 456. death, 459.

AHAB overthrows the Syrians, 227. Makes a treaty with Adab, 228. Killed by a random arrow, 230. Seventy ſons puts to death, 238.

AHAZ, king of Jeruſalem, repulſes his enemies, 245. Ravages Syria, 246. His wickedneſs; dies, 246.

AHAZIAH ſucceeds to the throne of Judea, 237. Killed by Jehu, 238.

AHAZIAH ſucceeds to the throne of Iſrael, 230.

ALEXANDER becomes king of Macedon, 287. Obtains a ſplendid victory over Darius, 288. Proves favourable to the Jews, 289.

ALEXANDER JANNEUS beſieges Ptolemais, 327. Reduces Gadara and Amathon; but is afterwards defeated by Theodotus, with the loſs of ten thouſand men, 329. Inſulted by his ſubjects, 330. Is attacked by Demetrius Eucerus, and flies to the mountains; but being reinforced by ſix thouſand Jews, he defeats the diſaffected party, on whom he exerciſes the moſt horrid cruelties, 330. Dies of intemperance, 332.

ALEXANDER aſſumes the government of Syria, and marries Cleopatra the daughter of Ptolemy, 314. Meditates the death of his father-in-law, 315. Is attacked and defeated by Ptolemy and Demetrius, 316. Slain in battle, 324.

ALEXANDRA expoſes the corps of her deceaſed huſband to the Phariſees, who confirm her in the ſovereignty, 332. Death and character, 334.

ALEXANDRIA, its port dangerous, 608.

AMAZIAH ſucceeds Joaſh in the government of Judah, 241. Becomes an idolator, and is made priſoner, 243. Surrenders Jeruſalem, on which his ſubjects put him to death, 244.

AMON ſucceeds Manaſſeh; but adopting profligate manners, is murdered by ſome of his domeſtics, 252.

ANANUS, the high-prieſt, oppoſes the inſurgents in Jeruſalem, 594. murdered, 597.

ANTIGONUS maſſacred, 326.

ANTIGONUS defeated by Herod, 345. Reinforced, 347. Murdered at the inſtigation of Herod, 357.

ANTIOCHUS makes ſeveral conqueſts in Egypt, 301. Is repulſed in Judea by Judas Maccabæus, 303. Dies, 304.

ANTIOCHUS Eupator aſcends the throne, 306. Encountered by Judas, 307. Is put to death by Lyſias, 307.

ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes enters Judea, and takes Jeruſalem, which he lays waſte, 496 dies, and leaves the government to his ſon, 497.

ANTIPAS and Philip, ſons of Herod, ſhare the government with Archelaus, 423.

ANTIPATER murdered by Malichus, 344.

ANTIPATER, ſon of Herod, accuſed of an attempt on his father's life, 409. refuſes to confeſs, 413. put to death, 415.

ANTONIO, a caſtle, built by Hyrcanus, 430. taken; 557. four ramparts erected, 628.

ANTONY becomes enamoured of Cleopatra, 346. Protects Herod, 349. Auguſtus becomes a competitor with him for the empire, 362.

ASA's character, 222. Defeats the king of Ethiopia, 223.

ASPHALTITIS and Tiberias, thoſe lakes deſcribed, 602.

ATHALIAH determines to revenge the death of Ahab, 239. Put to death herſelf, 240.

ATHENIANS admit ſtrangers into their country, but put thoſe to death who ſpeak againſt their religion, 494.

ATHRONGES, a ſhepherd, claims a right to the crown of Judah, 421.

ARABIANS put the Jewiſh ambaſſadors to death, 363. but at length ſubmit to Herod, 364.

ARCHELAUS ſucceeds Herod, 416. departs for Rome, 417. confirmed in half the government only, 423. baniſhed, and his goods confiſcated, 424.

ARISTOBULUS declared king; but admits his brother Antigonus to ſome ſhare in the government, 326. Starves his mother to death, 326. Struck with remorſe of conſcience, and dies, 327.

ARISTOBULUS, ſon of Alexander, defeats his brother Hyrcanus, 335. Subdued by Aretas; but afterwards conquers Hyrcanus and Aretas, 336. Prepares for war againſt Pompey, 337. Is taken priſoner, and carried to Rome with his children, 338. Eſcapes; but is again made priſoner, 339. Poiſoned, 341.

ARTAXERXES ſucceeds to the throne of Babylon, and eſpouſes Eſther, 283. A conſpiracy againſt him diſcovered, 284. Revokes an edict which had paſſed againſt the Jews, 287.

ARIUS, king of Lacedemon, claims kindred with the Jews, 300.

APION pleads againſt the Jews, 440.

AUGUSTUS, the ſecond Roman emperor, dies, 427.

B.

BAAL, the idol, deſtroyed, 239.

BAALAM's aſs ſpeaks, 100.

BAARAS, account of that plant, 654.

BABEL, the conſtruction of that tower, 15.

BABYLON, its captivity foretold, 251.

BAASHA murdered by Creon, 223.

BACCHIDES leads a great army into Judea, conquers and kills Judas Maccabæus, 309. Tortures great numbers of the Jews to death, 310. Loſes two thouſand men in a battle with Jonathan; with whom he forms a league, 311.

BALSHAZZAR, king of Babylon, perceives a hand-writing on the wall, which Daniel expounds, 261.

BARAK's exploits, 133.
BOETHUS raiſed by Herod to the pontificate, 372.
BAPTIST, John, a ſaint, put to death by order of Herod, 432.

C.

CÆSAR murdered in the ſenate-houſe by Brutus, 344.
CÆSAR divides the government of Judah among the three ſons of Herod, 422.
CAIUS CÆSAR appointed to ſucceed Tiberias, 438. Orders his ſtatue to be ſet up in Judea, 440. Dies before his orders were executed, 442.
CALIGULA's horrid cruelties, 669.
CALLIMANDER ſlain, and his army routed, 325.
CAMBYSES ſucceeding Cyrus, interrupts the building of Jeruſalem, for nine years, 266.
CASSIUS takes the command of the army in Syria, 344. Routed by Auguſtus and Antony, 346.
CASTOR, a Jew, his cunning, 622.
CATULLUS, his miſerable end, 664.
CHEREAS executed, 456.
CHILD, policy of one, 642.
CHUTHITES ſent into Samaria by the king of Aſſyria, 248.
CITIES, ſeveral ſold by auction, 344.
CLADIUS proclaimed emperor of the Romans, 453. Is ſuppoſed to die of poiſon, 469.
CLEOPATRA, daughter of Ptolemy, married to Antiochus, 296.
CLEOPATRA meets Antony in Cilicia, 346. Endeavours to inſpire Herod with love, 361. Complimented by Antony with priſoners and preſents, 362.
CLITUS executes juſtice on himſelf, 569.
COMET hangs over Jeruſalem, 641.
CORAH and his aſſociates conſumed by fire from Heaven, 95.
COW delivered of a lamb, 641.
CRASSUS plunders the temple at Jeruſalem; is defeated and ſlain, 340.
CREATION of the world, 7.
CUSPIUS FADUS ſucceeds king Agrippa, 460.
CYRENIUS ſent from Rome to govern Judea, in the room of Archelaus, 425.
CYRUS reſtores the Jews to freedom after a captivity of ſeventy years, 265.
CYRUS overruns Aſia, 481.

D.

DANIEL expounds Nebuchadnezzar's dream, 260. Caſt into the fire with his brethren, for refuſing idolatrous worſhip; but eſcapes unhurt, 260. Expounds the hand-writing on the wall, 261. Caſt into a den of lions, who do not injure him, 262. Expounds a viſion, 263.
DATHAN, Abiram, and their followers, ſwallowed by the earth, 95.
DAVID kills Goliah, 160. His peregrinations, 164. Meets Saul in a cave, 166. Carries away Saul's lance and pitcher from his bed-ſide, 168. Proclaimed king of the Iſraelites, 173. His atchievements, 174 to 183. Falls in love with Bathſheba, 184. Marries her, 185. Repents of his tranſgreſſions, 186. Being at peace, after various wars and civil diſſentions, compoſes hymns in honour of God, 197. Numbering the people unlawfully, a dreadful peſtilence rages, 198. Plans the temple, 202. Death and character, 203.
DEFENCE of the Antiquities of the Jews, 475, &c.
DELUGE, the time of that event, 12.
DEMETRIUS uſurps the government of Tripolis, in Syria, and puts Antiochus and Lyſius to death, 305. Is killed in an engagement with Alexander, 313.
DEMETRIUS NICHANOR marches into Syria, 315. Taken priſoner, 319.
DEPUTIES, ſeventy deſtroyed, 561.
DISCIPLINE, order and policy of that of the Romans, 573.
DOLESUS put to death, 601.
DOMITIAN's birth-day celebrated; on which occaſion two thouſand Jewiſh priſoners are ſacrificed, 649.
DREAM, ſtrange effects of one, 543.

E.

EARTHQUAKE, a dreadful one in Judea, 363.
EGYPTIANS, a people of antiquity and credit, 475. partial, 484.
ELAH, king of Iſrael, murdered by Zimmi, 223.
ELEAZAR, brother of Judas Maccabæus, dies encountering an elephant, 306,
ELEAZAR's cruel perfidy, 559.
ELIAS the prophet fed by the ravens, 224. Entertained by the widow of Serептha, whoſe ſtores are not diminiſhed nevertheleſs, 224. Reſtores a dead child, 225. Orders a meeting of Ahab's prophets on Mount Carmel, and orders four hundred falſe ones to be put to death, 225. Commanded to anoint Hazael, king of Aram, Jehu, king of Iſræl, and Eliſha a prophet in his own room, 226. Predicts the death of Ahazias, 232. Being ordered to be ſeized by the king, the whole party of fifty-one were deſtroyed by fire, 232. Tranſlated to heaven, 233.
ELISHA's miracles, 234. Promiſes that the famine in Samaria ſhall ceaſe in twenty-four hours, 235. Dies, 242. Character, 242.
ELIAKIM ſucceeds his brother as king of Judah, 254.
ESAU ſells his birthright, 38.
ESDRAS convenes the Jews in Babylon, 280. complains that the Levites had married ſtrange women; on which an enquiry is inſtituted, when the Iſraelites appear to be involved in the like tranſgreſſion, 281. death, 282.
EMBASSY from the Jews at Alexandria to the emperor Caius Caligula, 666.
EPHOD, 619.
EVIL-MERODACH ſucceeds Nebuchadnezzar, 261.
EXECUTION, a ſhocking one on the ſabbath, 559.
EXCLAMATION, ſtrange one of a countryman named Jeſus, 641.

F.

FACTION, a violent one in Tarichea, 586. another takes poſſeſſion of the temple of Jeruſalem, 594.
FAMINE, a moſt dreadful one in Jeruſalem, 625, 643.
FAUSTUS CORNELIUS firſt enters the breach made in the temple by Pompey, 504.
FELIX defeats a band of robbers, and makes their chief priſoner, 550.
FLAMES, their horrid effects, 640.
FLORUS, governor of Judea, his horrid barbarities, 554. attempting the caſtle, is repulſed, 555.
FLORUS, his character, 474.
FORGERY committed by Diophantes, 528.
FOUNTAIN of Eliſha, its remarkable qualities, 603.
FREEBOOTERS, headed by Simon, 569.

G.

GALILEANS ſubmit to Herod, 351.
GAMALA taken by aſſault, 590. a dreadful ſlaughter, 591.
GATE of Braſs opens without human aſſiſtance, 641.
GAZA ſurrenders to Jonathan, 317.
GEDELIAH and his party cruelly murdered by Iſhmael.
GELLUS, a centurion, his bravery, 590.
GERASA taken by ſtorm, and burnt, 603.
GIDEON obtains a victory from a ſingular circumſtance; and his conduct afterwards, 135. Death, 136.
GOLDEN Eagle of Herod deſtroyed, 413.
GOLIAH ſlain by David, 333.
GREEKS better orators than hiſtorians, 476.

H.

HAMAN meditates vengeance againſt the Jews, 284. is hanged on the ſame gibbet which he had prepared for Mordecai, 286.
HAZAL murders Adad, king of Syria, and uſurps the government, 236. Makes war on the Iſraelites, 240. Dies, 242.
HEROD made governor of Galilee, 342. Appointed to the government of Lower Syria, 344. Defeats Marion and Antigonus; marries Mariamne, 345. endeavours to fall on his ſword, 348. Entertained by Cleopatra, 349. made king of Judea, 349. avenges the death of his brother by a great ſlaughter, 353. takes Jeruſalem, 354. ordered to attend Antony reſpecting the death of Ariſtobulus, 360. army routed by Athenion, 363. entertains Cæſar at Ptolemais, 366. Builds a ſuperb temple in Samaria, 372. marries the daughter of Boethus, 374. threatened by Cæſar, 397. is reconciled to him, 400. accuſes his ſons, 401. they are ſtrangled by his order, 403. death, 415.
HEROD the Tetrarch defeated by Aretas, 432. condemned to perpetual exile, 439.
HEZEKIAH ſucceeds his father Ahah, 246. Summonſes all his people to Jeruſalem to the feaſt of unleavened bread, 246. Overruns the country of the Philiſtines, 247. Is beſieged in Jeruſalem by the Aſſyrians, 249. Delivered by a ſignal act of Providence, 251. Life prolonged by the Almighty, fifteen years, 251. Imprudently ſhews the royal armoury and treaſury to two ambaſſadors from the king of Babylon; death, 251.
HIRAM, his family, 479.
HOZEA made priſoner by Salmanazar, and his ſubjects tranſplanted to Media in Perſia, 247.
HYRCANUS envied by the Jews and Phariſees, 325. turns Sadducee, 326.
HYRCANUS, the ſon of Alexander, advanced to the pontificate, 332. cauſe eſpouſed by the king of Arabia, 336. reinſtated by Pompey, 338. put to death, 365.

I.

JACOB perſonates Eſau, 31. His viſion of the ladder, 32. His tranſactions while in bondage to Laban, as a ſhepherd, 34, &c. Meets his brother, 37. His progeny, 37. Sends into Egypt for corn, 46. Meets his ſon Joſeph, 53. Dies, 54
JAMES of Idumea compacts with Simeon of Geraſa, to betray his country, 604.
JEHOAHAZ ſucceeds to the throne of Judah; is carried captive into Egypt, where he dies, 254.
JEHOAHAZ ſucceeds Jehu as king of Iſrael, 240. Implores God againſt his enemies, 242. Dies 242.
JEHORAM ſucceeds Jehoſhaphat king of Judea, 234. His country ravaged by the Arabians, 237. Bowels drop from his body, at which his ſubjects triumph, 237.
JEHORAM ſucceeds Ahaziah, 232. Beſieges Ramoth, receives a wound, and retires to Jezreel, 237. Killed by Jehu, 238.
JEHU anointed king of Iſrael, 237. Ordered to root out the houſe of Ahab, 237. Dies, 240.
JEREMIAH the prophet foretels the Babylonian captivity, 255. Confined under a falſe pretence, and ſentenced to death, 256. Diſcharged, and committed to the care of Gedaliah, 258.
JERICHO, the palace of that place rebuilt by Archelaus, 424. ſituation deſcribed, 602.
JERUSALEM beſieged and taken, 126. Beſieged by Antiochus, 204. By Sennacherib, 250. City and temple burnt by order of Nebuchadnezzar, and the inhabitants carried captives to Babylon, 257. Ordered to be rebuilt, and the people reſtored to freedom, 265. The works ſtopped by Cambyſes, 266. They are again renewed in the reign of Darius, and finiſhed in ſeven years, 267. The altar erected, 268. The temple finiſhed, 269. Betrayed to Antiochus, who plunders the city and temple, 301. Repaired and fortified by Jonathan, 312. Made tributary to the Romans, 338. Walls rebuilt by Hyrcanus, 342. plundered, 348. beſieged by Herod, 350. ſubdued, and a dreadful ſlaughter, 353. inteſtine diſſentions during the abſence of Antipater, 417. relieved by Queen Helen, 464. a deſcription of the city, 483. prepares for war, 569. twelve thouſand perſons of rank put to death, 599. inveſted by Veſpaſian, 603. diſtracted with the ſeveral factions headed by Eleazar, John, and Simon, 612. ſix hundred thouſand bodies carried out of the city, 629.
JESUS CHRIST, his exiſtence, and the miracles performed by him, confirmed by Joſephus, 429.
JESUS murdered, 597.
JEWS. Ten thouſand defeated under Alexander, 340. contract an alliance with the Romans, and enter into a treaty with the Athenians, 341. teſtimonies in their honour, 343. the emperor Marcus Antonius writes to different provinces in favour of the Jews, 346. overthrows the Arabians in a bloody battle, 362. their cauſe ſucceſsfully pleaded before Agrippa, 383. diſſatisfied with a monarchial government, 422. baniſhed from Rome, 430. their diſtreſſes at Meſopotamia and Babylon, 442. fifty thouſand

ſlain

ſlain by the Greeks and Syrians, 445. courage and fortitude, 477. appeal to their enemies, 481. twenty thouſand maſſacred at Cæſarea, 559. thirteen thouſand put to death in Scythopolis, 560. tumult with the Greeks at Alexandria, which ends in the deſtruction of fifty-thouſand Jews, 561. ten thouſand of their throats cut in an hour at Damaſcus, 565. their miſerable ſituation, 587. addreſſed by Joſeph, 623. three thouſand ſlain in the foreſt of Jardes, 655.

IDUMEANS join the Zelotes, 596.

IMPOSTOR detected, 543.

JOHN of Giſchala, his character, 566. treachery to Joſephus, 567. his treachery, 595. ſides with the Anti-Zelotes, 600. maintains his ground in the temple, 707. his villainy, 614. rifles the temple, 629. ſurrenders to the Romans, 647.

JONAH, ſlighting the command of God, is ſwallowed by a whale, 243. Delivered, and executes his commiſſion, 244.

JONATHAN ſucceeds his brother Judas, 310. encounters Bacchides, and kills two thouſand of his troops, 311. Contracts an alliance with Demetrius, 312. Appointed high-prieſt by Alexander, 312. Receives a contemptuous challenge from Apollonius, general of the Syrians, whom he defeats, 315. Lays ſiege to the citadel of Jeruſalem, 316. Is confirmed in the office of high-prieſt, by Antiochus, ſon of Alexander, 317. Renews a league with the Romans and Lacedemonians, 318. Is betrayed by Tryphon, 319. Dies in captivity, and is buried in the family ſepulchre at Modim, 321.

JONATHAN ſucceeds Uzziah, 245. A good prince; repairs the temple and city, and makes the Ammonites tributaries. Dies, 245.

JOPPA taken by the Romans, 583.

JORDAN, the ſpring and courſe of that river, 587.

JOSEPH's dreams, 39. Ill treated by his brothers, 40. Sold to Arabian merchants, 41. Carried to Egypt, 42. Exalted by Phăroah, 45. Orders his brothers into cuſtody, 47. Diſcloſes himſelf to his brothers, 51. Dies, 54.

JOSEPHUS receives the government of the two Galilees and Gamala; his form of government, 565. people exaſperated againſt him, 567. narrowly eſcapes, 568. diſappoints the Romans by a ſtratagem, 576. aſſaults their guards, 577. reſigns to the Romans, 582. from whom deſcended, 702. life and writings, 703, &c. &c.

JOSHUA appointed general of the Hebrew army; and defeats the Amalekites, 72. Marches to the banks of Jordan, 117. Takes Jericho, 118. Arreſts the ſun and moon, 121. Orders the land of Canaan to be ſurveyed and diſtributed, 123, 124. His death, 126.

JOSIAH ſucceeds his father, Amon, in the throne of Judah, 252. Great zeal for the extirpation of idolatry, and eſtabliſhment of God's worſhip, 253. Oppoſes Pharaoh Necho; killed by an Egyptian, 254.

JOTAPATA beſieged by Veſpaſian, 576. taken, and forty thouſand Jews ſlain on the occaſion, 581.

ISAIAH foretels the captivity of Babylon, 251.

ISHMAEL's cruelty, 258. Purſued by Johanan, but eſcapes to the Ammonites, 259.

ISRAELITES, their miſeries in the wilderneſs, 68. Relieved by heavenly manna, 70. Laws, 85, 87. Mutiny againſt Moſes, 89. Condemned to wander forty years, 90. Defeat the Ammorites, and ſlay their king, 99. Conquer the Canaanites, 126. Kept in bondage by the Aſſyrians eight years, 131. Thirty thouſand ſlain, and the ark taken by the Philiſtines, 144. Carried captive to Babylon, 157.

JUBILEE, year of, 87.

JUCUNDUS endeavours to abate a commotion among the Jews, 553.

JUDAS MACCABÆUS kills Appollonius, governor of Syria, and routs his army, 302. Defeats the Aſſyrians, 303. Overcomes the forces of Antiochus in ſeveral engagements, and repairs to Jeruſalem to purify the temple, 304. Eſcapes the ſnares of his enemies, 308. Falls bravely in battle, 309. Character, 309.

JUDEA ſubjected to a dreadful famine, 310.

IZATES, king of Adiabena, and his mother, embrace the Jewiſh faith, 462. dies, 466.

K.

KENAZ delivers the Iſraelites out of bondage, 204.

KING deſired by the Iſraelites, and granted, 333.

KING of Hamath enters into a league with David, 333.

KINGS, Five, in a confederacy againſt the Iſraelites, taken and put to death, 103.

L.

LACADEMONIANS admit no ſtrangers, 494.

LEVI, the tribe from that name, appointed to officiate at the altar, 85.

LEVITE's wife defiled, which occaſions a dreadful civil war, 128, 129.

LONGINUS, one of the Roman cavalry, performs a gallant action, 622.

LONGUS, his bravery, 636.

LOT quits Sodom, 23. His wife turned to a pillar of ſalt, 24.

LUCIUS, his death, 637.

LUPUS executed, 456.

LYDDA deſtroyed, 562.

LYSIMACHUS murders his brother, 329. undeſerving credit, 484.

M.

MACCABEES, their martyrdom, 691, &c.

MANASSAH ſucceeds his father Hezekiah, 251. Is made priſoner by the king of Babylon, but afterwards reſtored, 252. fortifies the city, and dies, 252.

MALICHUS ſlain by order of Caſſius, 345.

MARION, governor of Tyre and all Syria, eſpouſes the cauſe of Antigonus, 345.

MASSADA taken; the Jews who garriſoned it having ſlain themſelves to a man, 662.

MATTHIAS, a prieſt, refuſes idol worſhip; and the conſequences, 302.

MARIAMNE, the wife of Herod, ordered to be murdered by her huſband, in caſe he ſhould fall himſelf, 360. treats him with indifference, 367. executed, 368.

MICHAIAH forewarns Ahab of the conſequences which would attend his lenity to Adad, 227. his prediction verified, 229.

MOABITES diſperſed, and their country laid waſte by Jehoſhaphat, 233.

MORDECAI, a Jew, informs Artaxerxes of a conſpiracy againſt him, for which he is only appointed a domeſtic in the palace, 284. is promoted to high honours, 286.

MOSES born, 56. thrown into a river, 57. preſerved, 58. ſlaughters the Egyptians, 59. ſpoken to by God, inveſted with the power of working miracles, and ordered into Egypt, 61. meets Aaron, 62. leads the Iſraelites out of Egypt, 65. receives the ten commandments, 75. buries his ſiſter, 98. nominates Joſhua his ſucceſſor, 104. death and character, 115. books deſtroyed by a ſoldier, 467.

MOTHER, dreadful action of one, 763.

N.

NABOTH's vineyard, 226.

NAHUM propheſies the deſtruction of Nineveh and the Aſſyrian empire, 245.

NAZARENES, their cuſtoms, 97.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR ſubdues Pharaoh Necho, who had all Syria under his command, 254. Makes Jehoiakim his tributary, 255. Raiſes Zedekiah to the throne under certain conditions, which being violated, he again beſieges Jeruſalem, which he plunders and burns, 256, 257. Death, 260.

NEHEMIAH obtains permiſſion of Xerxes to repair the walls of Jeruſalem, 282.

NERO ſucceeds to the Roman empire, 469. poiſons Britannicus, murders his mother, and his wife, 469. Dies, 683.

NICHANOR endeavours to inveigle Judas, 308.

NICANOR wounded, 620.

NICON, a battering-ram, deſcribed, 621.

NIGER wonderfully preſerved, 571. put to death, 599.

O

OBODAS, king of Arabia, defeats Alexander, 500.

OLYMPIC Games, proviſion made for them by Herod, 387.

ONE God, one world, and one temple, 492.

ONIAS ſucceeds Jaddus his father in the pontificate, 289. dies, 292.

OTHO diſputes the Roman empire with Vitellius, 605.

OUTRAGES committed by robbers, 594.

P.

PAPPUS, general of Antigonus, ordered to have his head ſtruck off, 517.

PAULINA robbed of her chaſtity, 430.

PERSIAN empire divided into principalities, 290.

PETRONIUS, governor of Syria, writes to Caius in behalf of the Jews, 441.

PETRONIUS, his generous reſolution in favour of the Jews, 548.

PHARISEES, account of their ſects, 318.

PHAROAH's army drowned, 67.

PHASAEL and Hyrcanus ſeized by the Parthians, and delivered up in chains, 512.

PHILADELPHUS, king of Egypt, releaſes one hundred and twenty thouſand Jews from bondage, 291. Orders the Jewiſh laws to be tranſlated into the Greek language, 291. Six elders out of every tribe ſent to attend him with the books of the Jewiſh laws, 292. Rewards the tranſlators, 294.

PHILISTINES ſuffer great calamities while they detain the ark; on which they abandon it, 146.

PHILIP aſſumes the government of Syria, 331.

PLAGUE rages in Judea, 369.

PLACIDUS repulſed before Jotapata, 574. purſues the Jews, and reduces Beſemoth, Juſias and Abila, 602.

PLAGUES of Egypt, 63.

PHEBUS, an ambaſſador from Agrippa, killed, 419.

POMPEY makes Ariſtobulus a priſoner, who not being able to fulfil the conditions he had propoſed, occaſions a tumult in Jeruſalem, which ends in the deſtruction of twelve thouſand Jews, 504. appoints Hyrcanus high-prieſt, 504.

PONTIFICATE, it's hiſtory, 473.

PRIESTHOOD, various revolutions therein, 287.

PROPHET, the head of a falſe one expoſed, 466.

PTOLEMAIS ſubdued by Tigranes, 333.

PTOLEMY makes himſelf maſter of Jeruſalem on a ſabbath day, 290. Tranſplants great numbers of the Jews into Egypt, 291.

PTOLEMY recals his daughter from Alexander, and marries her to Demetrius, 315. Is thrown from his horſe in an engagement with Alexander, which cauſes his death, 316.

PTOLEMY LATHURUS, with an army of thirty thouſand men, marches to the relief of Ptolemais, 327. Takes Aſochus, 328. Routs Alexander, and commits a moſt horrid butchery on the Jewiſh women and children, 328. Is ſlain, 329.

Q.

QUAILS ſent to the relief of the children of Iſrael in the Wilderneſs, 94.

R.

RAM, battering, its deſcription, 578.

REBELS, three thouſand ſubmit to Joſeph, 568.

REHOBOAM ſucceeds king Solomon, 217. his wickedneſs, 218. delivers up Jeruſalem to Shiſhak, 220.

ROMANS, a civil war among them, 344. defeated in their attack on Jeruſalem, 563. diſtracted ſtate of their affairs, 570. forced out of Gamala with a great loſs, 590. driven from the ſecond wall at the ſiege of Jeruſalem, 623. ſhut up in fort Antonio, 633.

RUE, deſcription of that plant, 654.

S.

SABINUS, a Syrian, undertakes a great adventure, 631.

SABINUS ſeizes on the Capitol, 610.

SALMANAZER, king of the Aſſyrians, attacks Hoſea, king of Iſrael, and makes him tributary, 246.

SALOME, widow of Ariſtobulus, advances Janneus Alexander to the throne, 327.

SAMARITANS reproved by Darius for their enmity to the Jews, 280. diſclaim being of the ſtock of Abraham, 301. quarrel with the Jews about their temple and worſhip, 314.

SAMPSON kills a lion, 140. his atchievement with

with the jaw-bone; carries away the gates of Gaza, 141. betrayed, 142.
SAMUEL begins to prophecy at the age of thirteen, 144. proclaims Saul king of the Jews, 150. his death, 167.
SAND, a ſurpriſing kind, 547.
SAUL's various exploits, 152, 153. his diſobedience, 156. conſults the Witch of Endor, 169. his death, 172.
SCYTHIANS, though barbarous, have a tenderneſs for laws and cuſtoms, 494.
SECTS, account of thoſe of the Phariſees, the Sadducees, and the Eſſenes, 426.
SENNACHERIB makes war on Hezekiah, and promiſes to relinquiſh the ſiege of Jeruſalem for a ſum of money, but forfeits his word after taking the bribe, 249. murdered by his two ſons, 251.
SICARII, a band of ruffians, take Engaddi, 600. attacked by the Jews, 663.
SICHEMITES maſſacred, 37.
SIMON leaves the pontificate to Eleazar, 292.
SIMON, the brother of Jonathan, takes the command of the Jews, 320. murdered by his ſon-in-law, 322.
SIMON, once a ſervant of King Herod's, claims the crown, and commits great depredations, till taken priſoner by Grotus, who ordered him to be executed, 420.
SIMON, ſon of Saul, after occaſioning the deaths of ſeveral thouſands of his countrymen, kills with his own hands his father, mother, wife, and children; gets on the bodies, and ſtabs himſelf, 560.
SIMON, the ſon of Gioras, his ravages in Idumea, 569. character, 658.
SIMON of Geraſa, heads the Sicarii, and ravages the country of Idumea in his way to Jeruſalem, 604. his cruelty to Matthias, 628. ſurrenders to Titus, 647. put in chains, 649. miſerable end, 653.
SODOM deſtroyed, 24.
SOLOMON's birth, 186. anointed king, 203. marries Pharoah's daughter, 206. receives the gift of wiſdom, 207. begins the temple, 209. its deſcription, 210 to 213. receives great preſents from other princes, 215. degenerates to wickedneſs, 216. death, 217.
STRATON's Tower, ſome account of it, 375.

T.

TABERNACLE of the Jews built, 77. its contents deſcribed, 78, 79. purified and conſecrated, 82. laws relative thereto, 83.
TEMPLE built by Herod deſcribed, 378.
TEMPLE enriched with ſeveral preſents from Philadelphus, king of Egypt, 293. taken by Pompey, 338. ſet in flames, 639.
THEATRE, an elegant one built at Berytus, 472.
THEATRE and ampitheatre built by Herod, 521.
THEOPHILUS conſtituted high-prieſt, 432.
THUCYDIDES cenſured, 476.
TIBERIUS nominates Caius Cæſar his ſucceſſor, 438.
TITUS, at the ſiege of Jotapata, apprehenſive for the fate of his father, 578. diſperſes the Jews at Tarichea, 585. enters Gamala, 591. rout towards Jeruſalem, 610. reconnoitering that city, is attacked, and narrowly eſcapes, 613. proclaimed emperor by the army, 642. embarks for Italy, after conquering Jeruſalem, 652.
TRACHONITES revolt, 395.
TREES, fable of their chuſing a king, 136.
TRYPHON protects Antiochus the ſon of Alexander, and gets him proclaimed king, after defeating Demetrius in a pitched battle, 317. aſpires to the ſovereignty, and treacherouſly captures Jonathan, 319. prepares for an incurſion into Judea, 320. murders Antiochus, and takes the ſovereignty; but is defeated and ſlain by Antiochus Soter, 321.
TYRO, his bravery in favour of Herod's ſons, 529.

U.

VENTIDIUS ſeizes the treaſure of Antigonus, 514.
VESPASIAN inveſted with the government of Syria, and draws together a mighty army, 571. marches into Galilee, 574. takes Gadara by aſſault. 575. wounded, 578. advances to ſuccour Jeruſalem, 601. diſſatisfied at the election of Vitellius, 707. elected emperor; dedicates a temple to peace, 652. triumphs in his honour, 652.
VOLGESUS ſucceeds to the throne of Parthia, 465.
VONONES defeated by the king of Media, 428.
UZZIAH ſucceeds Amaziah, 244. falls from the true worſhip, becomes a leper, is driven out of the city by the prieſts, and dies, 244.

W.

WALL erected round Jeruſalem, 627.
WAR, Jewiſh, its cauſe, 552. laid aſide, on account of commotions in the Roman empire, 603.
WITNESSES, falſe ones, ſtoned to death, 399.
WOMEN, two, refer a moſt horrid caſe to Jehoram, king of Judea, 235.
WOMEN's oratory, 617.

X.

XERXES gives permiſſion to repair the walls of Jeruſalem, 282.

Y.

YEAR of reſt, 322.

Z.

ZABELUS cuts off Alexander's head, 316.
ZACHARIAH falſely accuſed of treaſon, 598.
ZEDEKIAH predicts falſely againſt Ahab, 229.
ZEDEKIAH, king of Judah, rejects the predictions of Jeremiah, 255, children and friends ſlain before his face, and his own eyes put out, 257. dies in priſon at Babylon, 258.
ZELOTES, their proceedings, 594. apply to the Idumeans for ſuccour, 596. routed, 706.
ZIMRI murders Elah, king of Iſrael, and poſſeſſes himſelf of the government, 223. ſets fire to the palace, and burns himſelf with it, 224.
ZOROBABEL obtains permiſſion of Darius, king of Babylon, to finiſh the building of Jeruſalem, 266.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

A.

ALLEN Miſs, Pool
Archer Mr. Sheffield-Street, Clare-Market
Aſton Mr. Birmingham
Arnold Mr. Stanſtead, Herts.
Allen Mrs. Cheſhunt
Alexander Mr. London
Anderſon Mr. Chatham
Allcock Mr. Litchfield
Aſhman Mrs. King's Printing-Houſe
Abdy Rev. Mr. Taydon Garnon
Abbott J. Eſq. St. Dunſtan's, Canterbury
Althorn Mr. Bromley, Kent
Alexander Mr Hendon
Alexander John, Eſq. Bow Street
Appleby Mr. Oxford Street
Anſon Mr. Kenſington
Atleff Miſs, Bedford
Andrew Mr. Fleet Street
Auſtin Rev. Mr. Hutton
Arnold Jones, Eſq. Cornhill
Arnett Mrs. Exeter
Armſtrong Mr. York
Amherſt John, Eſq. St. James's Square
Alder Mr. Gray's Inn Lane
Abchurch Mr. Dollſton
Abchurch Mr. Jun. Dollſton
Aſhby Mr. Weſt-Smithfield
Anneſley Miſs, Kingſland
Armet Mr. Oxford
Ackland Mr. Canterbury
Ackland Miſs Ditto
Arden Mr. Newington Green
Arnett Mr. Abchurch Lane
Amlet Mr. Richmond, Surry

B.

Bridges Mr. Fox-Hatch
Black Mr. No. 17, Kirby Street, Hatton Garden
Boaſe Mr. Penzance
Brown ———, Eſq. Penzance
Bowes Miſs, Batterſea
Brant Joſeph Capt. Britiſh America
Baterſcomb Mr. Furnival's Inn, Holborn
Bridge Mr. Leman Street, Goodman's Fields
Bynon Mr. No. 28, Aldgate
Boyce Mr. Portſmouth
Brown Mr. Stockport
Brooks Mr. ditto
Blackford George, Eſq. Eaſt Cowes, Iſle of Wight
Bearblock Mr. Manſion-Houſe, London
Brooke Mr. No. 18, Aldermanbury
Bathurſt Mr. Rocheſter
Block Mr. Long Acre
Banniſter Mr. Canterbury Row, Iſlington
Beach Mr. Whelford
Browne Mr. No. 32, Kirby Street, Hatton Garden
Blandy Mr. George Street, Weſtminſter
Bland Mr. Red Lion Square
Briſcoe John, Eſq. Blackheath
Brown Dr. Hackney
Brown Rev. Mr. Bath
Bruce Alexander, Eſq. Tower Hill
Bumſtead Miſs, Highgate
Brookes Mrs. Chelſea
Branſcome Mr. Holborn
Biggs Mr. Briſtol
Beaven Rev. Mr. Briſtol
Barrett Mr. Abingdon
Bradley Mr. Layſtal Street
Buchton Mr. Lincoln's Inn
Buchton Mr. Brook Street, Holborn
Barry Mr. Long Acre
Bezon Mr. Auſtin Friars
Brooks Mr. No. 14, Great Carter Lane, Doctors Commons
Buſſy Mr. Cavendiſh Square
Black George, Eſq. Epping
Bedford Mr. Iſle of Thanet
Bagſhaw Mrs. Clapton
Blower Mrs. Guildford
Blower Mr. Plymouth
Blanch Mr. Mancheſter
Blanchard Mr. York
Bond Mr. Chelſea
Brodie Mr. Edinburgh
Blandy Mr. Rickamworth
Boyde Mr. Glaſgow

Bradey

15 59 AUG

SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

Bradey Mr. St. James's Street
Burchall Mr. Red Lion Street, Holborn
Burbridge Mr. Bath
Barker Mr. Northampton

C.

Canter William, Pool
Clarke Mr. Penzance
Clarke Mr. Half Moon Alley, Biſhopſgate Street
Claus Daniel, Eſq. No. 18, College Street, Weſtminſter
Comyns Charles, Fleet Street
Clough Mr. Compton Street, Soho Square
Collings Mr. Mare Street, Hackney
Cudworth Mr. Chancery Lane
Colly Mr. Froombridge, Glouceſterſhire
Colvill Mr.
Clarke Mr. Newport, Iſle of Wight
Cook Mr. Rocheſter
Church Mr. Soleſbridge, near Rickmanſworth
Cadogan Mr. Bethnal Green
Clarke Mr. Chatham
Cooper Mr. Chatham
Cooper Mr. Ware
Cook Rev. Mr. Bridgend, Wales
Clayton Mr. Keighley
Collings Mr. No. 38, Dorſet Street, Saliſbury Square
Cale Mr. Shoe Lane
Coates Mr. Shoe Lane
Coles Mr. Shoe Lane
Church Mr.
Croucher Mr. Queen Street, Cheapſide
Carr Mr. Albion Mills
Claperton Mr. Leiceſter Fields
Crowder Mr. Hammerſmith
Crowſet Miſs, Spring Gardens
Clanker Mrs. Bow
Conder Mr. Cheapſide
Clarkſon Mr. Kew
Chant Mr. Hackney Road
Cane Mr. Canterbury
Caime Mr. Durham
Campbell Mr. Panton Square
Campbell Mr. Ditto
Crookſhanks Mr. Portman Square

D

Dover Mr. No. 57, Threadneedle Street
Deacon Joſeph
Dickeſon Benjamin, St. Saviour's
Dover Mr. Water Street, Bridewell
Davis Mr. Stockport
Dickinſon Rev. Mr. Blymhill, Staffordſhire
Daubeny George, Eſq. Briſtol
Day Mr. Cheapſide
Dancer Mr. No. 6, Temple Lane
Davidſon Mr. Deal
Denham James, Eſq. Portman Square
Drake Rev. Mr.
Drinkwater Mr. Fleet Street
Doe Mrs. Greenwich
Dunning Mr. Richmond
Dequer ——, Eſq. Wells Street, Hackney
Delamare Nicholas, Norton Fallgate
Dutton John, Eſq. Exeter
Domely Mr. Pall Mall
Dickenſon Mrs. May Fair
Dickenſon Miſs, Ditto
Douglas Archabald, Eſq. Privy Garden
Davenport Mr. Richmond, Surry
Downes Mr. Portſmouth
Dommet Mr. Wincheſter

E.

Eliſha Mr. No. 186, Biſhopſgate Without
Ewbank George, Eſq.
Eaton Mr. Peartree Street
Emmet Mr. Morton Bank
Eaton Mrs. Lambeth
Earle Mr. Canterbury
Emmerſon Mrs. Iſlington
Entick Mr. Cannon Street
Euſton Mr. Plymouth
Edneads Mrs. Tower Hill

F.

Fleet Mr. Shoreditch
Force Mr. Gunpowder Place
Frith Mr. London
Fouldſham Mr. Queen Hithe
Frances Thomas, Eſq. Parliament Street
Froſt Mrs. Red Lion Street, Holborn
Fanſhaw Miſs, Richmond, Surry
Frobiſher Mr. New Bond Street
Forſhaw Mr. Mancheſter
Fullerton John, Eſq. Portman Square
Felton Mr. Hackney
Furnaſe Mr. Gloſter Street
Fortiſcue Mr. Bath
Fame Mr. Trinity Lane
Fortune Mr. Strand
Fleming Allſend, Eſq. Edinburgh

G.

Griffin Mr. Wood Street
Grant Mr. Southampton Buildings
Goodwin Mrs. Roſemary Lane
Gatis Mr. Endfield
Glegg John, Eſq. Baldwick, Herts.
Gardner Mr. Harp Alley
Goodall Mr. Moorfields.
Gould Mr. Rev. D. D. Stapleford Abbot
Gondel Mrs. Newington Green
Gage Mr. Pall Mall
Gooſetree Mr. Coldbath Fields
Good Mr. York
Goar Mr. Exeter
Greaves Mr. Tooting, Surry
Graham Mr. Penton Square
Gardener Mrs. Harp Alley, Shoe Lane

H.

Hall John Aſhley, Little St. Helen's
Hoſkings Rev. Mr. Penzance
Hewett Mr. Ditto
Hewett Mrs. Ditto
Hewett Miſs, Ditto
Hart Mr. Ditto
Hand Mr. Hendfield, Suſſex
Heſeldine James, Eſq. Doctors Commons
Hendaſyde Mr.
Hobkirk Mr. South Street, Groſvenor Sq.
Hood Mr. Rocheſter
Haggerſon Mr.
Hare Mr. Richmond
Hagers Mr. Hartford
Herford Mr. Monmouth Forges
Herford Mr. Melin Griffith, Glamorganſhire
Halſey Mr. Kingſland Road
Hodgſon Miſs, Canterbury Square
Harris Mr. New Palace Yard
Hare Mr. Briſtol
Hagan Mr. Hertford
Holdſworth Mr. Bingley
Hayward Mr. Shoe Lane
Harriſon Mr. Edward Str. Portland Chapel
Horſwell Mr. Auſtin Friar
Holmes Mr. Flour de luce Court, Fleet Str.
Hayes Mr. Bear Alley, Fleet Market.
Harris Mr. Moorfields
Hamilton Rev. Mr. Chelſea
Hoare Mr. Saliſbury
Hynde Mr. Kentiſh Town
Hyndemarche Mr. Moorfields

I.

Joli Mr. Kentiſh Town
Jarvis Mr. Whittington
Jackſon Mr. St. Catherine's Lane
Illingworth Mrs. Stockport
Jones Mr. Ware
Jubb Mrs.
Inman Mr. Briſtol
Jones Mr. Broad Street
Jackſon Mr. New Court, Fleet Market
James Mr. Moorfields
Johannet Mr. Northampton
Jordan Mr. Uxbridge
Innes Mr. Portſmouth
Jones Mr. Temple
Johnſon Mr. Branford
Japthon Mr. Windſor

K.

King Mr. Buckingham
Kennedy Rev. Mr. Abington
Keyſer Mr. Crutched Friars
Kinyon Rev. Mr. Hampton
Kingſman Mr. Briſtol
Kennet Mr. White Chapel
Knowles Mr. Enfield
Kam Mr. Durham
Knowland Mr. Cheſter
Keynon Mr. Liverpool
Keys Mr. Coventry

L.

Law Mr. Windmill Street
Lewis Mr. Cheapſide
Longdown Mr. Portſmouth
Lewin Mr. St. Martin's Lane, Charing Croſs
Lake Mr. Rocheſter
Levy Mr. Eaſt-Smithfield
Lowder Mr. Rev. Cardiff, Wales
Lee Mr. Black-horſe Yard
Lowndes Mr. Guildford
Loman Mr. Oxford
Landon Rev. Mr. Oxford Street
Landon John, Eſq. Ditto
Landon Mrs. Ditto

M.

Maſon Mr. Hackney
Moore Mr. Pool.
Mills Mr. Penzance.
Mardle Mr. Hounſditch.
Millington Mr.
Matthews Mr. Newnham.
Marſhall Mr. Mancheſter.
Mogg Mr. Strand.
Mogg Miſs, Wigmore Street.
Mandeville Mr. Kaygill.
Moxhen Mr. Portſmouth
Mawway Mr. Ditto.
Muggeridge Mr. Caſtle Street, Southwark
Moore Mr. Andover
Moody Mr. Alderſgate Street
Marks Mr. Milbank Street, Weſtminſter
Millar Mr. Ware
Middleton Mrs. Kenſington

N.

Norris Mrs. Says Park, Herts
Newman Mr. Vintner
Newlove Mrs. Ely
Noakes Mr. Bridgewater Square
Norman Mrs. Popping's Court Fleet Street
Nicholls Mr. Broadſtairs, Iſle of Thanet
Noble Mr. Norwich
Noble Mr. Poole
Nowland Mr. Strand

O.

Oliphant Mr. Fleet Street
Onſlow Mr. Whitehall
Oulton Mr. Queen Square
Overton Mr. Paddington
Oliver Mr. Rev. Oxford
Orcheſter Miſs, St. James's Palace.

P.

Peacock Mr. George Street, Foſter Lane
Peacock Mr. Hoddſdon, Herts
Palmer Rev. Mr. Brimhill, Wilts
Purſey Mr. White Croſs Street
Penfold Mr. Maidenhead

Perryman

SUBSCRIBERS NAMES.

Perryman Mr. Taviſtock Court, Covent-Garden
Pullen Mr. London
Portman Mr. Lime Street
Phillips Mr. Mile End
Poore Mr. Andover
Planche Mr. Gravel Lane, Southwark
Poore Richard, Eſq. Andover
Proſſer Mr. Briſtol
Pride Mr. Landoff, Wales
Price Mr. Neath, Wales
Peen Mr. Stoke-Newington

R.

Richards Mr. Penzance
Robinſon Mr. North Row, Groveſnor Sq.
Randall William, Hoddſdon, Herts.
Rigand Mr. Richmond, Surry
Ruſted Mr. Great Cheſterford
Royden Mrs.
Rees Mr. Briſtol
Roberts Mr. Briſtol
Roſe Mr. Abington
Roys ———, Eſq.
Robinſon John, Eſq. Wellcloſe Square
Randall Mrs. Hunſdon, Herts.

S.

Stevens Francis, Eſq. Penzance
Smith Mr. No. 23, Queen Street, Weſtminſter
Shaw Mr. Batterſea
Spooner Mr.
Smart Mr.
Snailham Mr. Fromebridge, Glouceſterſhire
Smith Mr. Witminſter, Glouceſterſhire
Swiney Mr. Weſt Cowes, Iſle of Wight
Snatt Mr. Rocheſter
Salomons Mr. Great Tower-hill
Salomons Lion, Great Tower-hill
Stteman Mr. No. 12, Fiſh-ſtreet-hill
Smith Mr. Richmond, Surry
Snowball Mrs.
Shirley Mr. Greenfield Street, Whitechapel
Simro Mr. May's Buildings
Sealey Benjamin, Eſq. Auſtin Friars
Stock Mr. Poppin's Court, Fleet Street
Simmerton Mr. Cold Bath Fields
Savage Mr. Hounſditch
Speare Mr. Poppin's Court, Fleet Strket
Stipto Mr. Fleet Market
Scraggs Mr. Field Lane

T.

Thompſon Mr. James Street, Oxford Road
Tyce Mr. Fleet Market
Tibbs Mr. Richmond, Surry
Thompſon Alexander, Portſmouth
Turner Mr. Stockport
Tuttell Mr. Swallow Street
Teuſh Samuel, Eſq. Coleman Street
Tomling Mr. Brook Street
Thompſon Mr. Leatherſellers Buildings
Taylor Mr. Poppin's Court, Fleet Street
Towers Mr. Coldbath Fields

U.

Venables Mr. Doctors Commons
Voice Mr. St. John's Square

W.

Weſton Mrs. Pool
Willis Mr. Pool
Wright Mr. Penzance
Williams Mr. Dolgelly, Merionethſhire
Walton Rev. Mr. Wootton, Iſle of Wight
Woodward Lieut.
Willkerſon Mr. Fleet Street
Willox Mr. No. 149, Fenchurch Street
Worthington Mr. St. Mary Axe
Wilding Richard, Eſq. Llanſkydar-hall, Denbighſhire
Wade Mr. Portſmouth
Wardell Mr. Enfield
Wheatly Mr. Frinſbury
Wellard Mr. Cliff, near Rocheſter
Ward Mr. Litchfield
Walkins Mr. Chatham
Williamſon Mr. Old Street
Walker and Son, Warner St. Coldbath Fields
Walker Rev. Mr. Briſtol
Wheeler Mr. Briſtol
Watts Mr. Abingdon
Wilſon Mr. Ave-Maria Lane
Whiter Mr. George Street, Lambeth Marſh
Wetherhilt Mr. Great Carter Lane, Doctors Commons
Whitechurch Mr. Fleet Market

Y.

Yeoman Mr. Crutched Friars
Young Mr. Strand
Yonge Mr. Andover
Yonge Mr. Coldbath Fields
Yorke Mr. Highgate

⁂ We have purpoſely delayed the laſt Number of this Publication for near two months, with a view to procure an accurate liſt of our Subſcribers names; notwithſtanding which, and other means that we have uſed, we have not ſucceeded, from the remote reſidence of many gentlemen, &c. But the Editor, unwilling any longer to diſappoint his kind friends, will give the remainder of the names, (which are again requeſted to be ſent as ſoon as poſſible) in the ſecond Edition of Joſephus, which is now printing, with equal elegance.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

NO.		PAGE
1	ANTIGONUS beheaded	357
	Habits of the Jews	78
2	Head of Joſephus	*To face the Title*
3	Miracle of Aaron's rod	97
4	Tower of Babel	15
5	Table of ſhew-bread, &c.	79
6	Jacob and Rachel	33
7	Sarah and Hagah	22
8	Elijah and prieſt	225
9	Jeptha's vow	136
10	Joab beheaded	206
11	Noah's ſacrifice	16
12	Samſon's birth foretold	139
13	Samſon killing a lion	140
14	Lot's hoſpitality	23
15	Pharaoh's daughter and Moſes	56
16	David with Goliah's head	160
17	Solomon and Sheba	206
18	Solomon's idolatry	216
19	Map of Eden	13
20	David and harp	197
21	Adam and Eve	6
22	Amaſa ſlain	195
23	Solomon's temple	212
24	Moſes and burning buſh	61
25	Map of Canaan	124
26	Beaſt of ſacrifice	77
27	Laban and Jacob	35
28	Mordecai honoured	286
29	Bathſheba	184
30	Jehoram killed	238
31	Eſther and Ahaſuerus	285
32	Joſhua	122
33	Saul and the witch of Endor	169
34	Jacob's viſion	32
35	Nebuchadnezzar	260
36	Courage of Eleazar	695
37	The deaths of Hyrcanus and Phaſael	348
38	Jeremiah taken out of the dungeon	256
39	View of Jeruſalem	216
40	Crucifixion	433
41	Iſaiah and Hezekiah	257
42	Daniel's viſion	263
43	Plan of the temple	211
44	Ptolemy's cruelty	228
45	Samſon with the gates of Gaza	141
46	Zachariah ſtoned	241
47	Map of the world	24
48	The Egyptian attributes of Divinity	64
49	Numbers of Jews crucified	625
50	Jews inſulted	612
51	Death of Ammonius	409
52	Celebration of the tabernacle	214
53	Joſephus recovers his liberty	722
54	A Jeweſs ſuffering martyrdom	701
55	Exerciſes at the theatre	450
56	Plan of Jeruſalem	615
57	Siſera killed	133
60	Joſeph's chaſtity	42
60	The Syrians maſſacring the Jews	445

FINIS.

15 AUG 59

BRITISH MUSEUM
30 MAY